Cobbett's
weekly political
Register
vol. 24
July - 1813.

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PRICE OF BULLION per *Ounce*, in the London Market, during the Six Months ending 31st Dec. 1813, being the *average price of each Month*.—N.B. Where there is no price mentioned, there has been none of that sort of Bullion in the Market.

Sorts of Bullion.	July.			Aug.			Sept.			Oct.			Nov.			Dec.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Portugal Gold Coin	5	5	0	5	7	0	5	9	0	5	9	6	5	9	10	5	12	0
Standard Gold in Bars	5	4	0	5	9	4	5	8	0	5	9	11	5	10	0	5	10	0
New Doubloons	5	7	0	0	0	0	5	10	6	5	10	0	5	10	6	5	11	0
New Dollars .	0	6	9	0	7	0	0	6	11	0	6	11	0	7	0	0	7	0
Standard Silver in Bars . . .	0	6	0	0	7	2	0	6	11	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	1

N. B. The **MINT PRICE**, per *Ounce*, of the *Standard* Gold and Silver Bullion is as follows: Standard Gold in Bars, £.3 17*s.* 10½*d.* Standard Silver in Bars; 5*s.* 2*d.* The other sorts of Bullion, except the Portugal Gold Coin, are below Standard Value. The Prices in the above table is the *Market* Price in Bank of England Notes.

Number of **BANKRUPTCIES** as announced in the London Gazette; from 17th May, 1813, to 14th December, 1813.

To 18 June, 1813 .	133
— 17 July	18[illegible]
— 17 August	113
— 17 September . .	55
— 16 October . . .	53
— 16 November . .	116
— 14 December . .	145
	746

Table of the Prices of **MEAT, SUGAR, SALT,** and **COALS,** in **LONDON,** from July to December, 1813, inclusive.

	July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.		
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Beef .	6	4	6	4	6	0	5	8	6	4	7	0	Per Stone of 8 lb., to sink the offal.
Mutton	6	8	6	8	6	4	6	8	6	8	7	6	
Pork .	7	8	8	0	8	0	8	0	8	4	8	8	
Sugar .	56	7	54	2½	59	11½	59	4½	62	9½	76	11	Cwt.
Salt . .	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	20	0	Bushel
Coals .	53	0	56	0	56	0	60	0	64	9	62	0	Chald.

Price of the **QUARTERN LOAF**, according to the Assize of Bread in **LONDON**, for the Six Months ending with Dec. 1813, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.—N. B. The Weight of the Loaf, according to Law, is 4lb. 5oz. 8dr.

	s.	d.
July	1	6½
August	1	6¼
September	1	4½¾
October	1	2¾¼
November	1	1½
December	0	11¼¾
Average Price during the Six Months	1	3½

Prices of the **ENGLISH FUNDS, or STOCKS,** as shown from the Prices here given of the *Three per Cent.* Consolidated Annuities, for the Six Months, ending with Dec. 1813.—N. B. The Prices here given are the *average* Prices for each Month.

July.	56⅛
August	57⅝
September	58⅛
October	58⅝
November	59⅞
December	61⅛

Number of **CHRISTENINGS** and **BURIALS** within the Bills of Mortality, from 22d June 1813, to 28th Dec. 1813.

Months.	Christenings.		Burials.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
To July 27 . .	1098	1035	724	672
— Aug. 24 . .	877	869	625	573
— Sept. 21 . .	782	717	533	551
— Oct. 26 . .	681	653	559	47[illegible]
— Nov. 23 . .	836	702	682	[illegible]5
— Dec. 28 . .	970	908	1271	[illegible]
	5,244	4,884	4,394	[illegible],067

Total Christenings 10,128.

Children under two years of age . . . [illegible]61 / [illegible]857

Total Burials . . . [illegible]1,118

Average Prices of **CORN**, through all England and Wales, and of **HAY, ST**[illegible]**W**, and best **FARNHAM HOPS**, in London, from July to December, 1813, both Mon[illegible] inclusive.

Corn per Quarter of 8 Winchester Bushels.										Hay per Load.			Str[illegible] per [illegible]oad.			Hops per Cwt.		
Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.										
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
81	6	60	4	51	9	35	2	67	10	4	18	[illegible]	1	16	2	17	3	4

LIST OF

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

1813.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Lord Harrowby - - - - - - -	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon - - - - - - - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland - - - - - - -	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Bathurst - - - - - - - - -	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Liverpool - - - - - - - - -	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)
Right Hon. N. Vansittart - - - - -	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst - - -	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Viscount Melville - - - - - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave - - - - - - - - -	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Sidmouth - - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for the Home Department
Lord Castlereagh - - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Bathurst - - - - - - - - -	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Lord Buckinghamshire - - - - - -	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose - - - - - -	Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston - - - - - - - -	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. C. Long - - - - - - -	Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. Fred. John Robinson - -	
[illegible]rl of Chichester - - - - - - -	Joint Postmaster-General.
[illegible] of Sandwich - - - - - - - -	
Ric[illegible]d Wharton - - - - - - - -	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Rober[illegible]eel - - - - - - - - -	
Sir Will[illegible] Grant - - - - - - -	Master of the Rolls.
Sir W. Ga[illegible]w - - - - - - - - -	Attorney-General.
	Solicitor-General.

Persons of the Ministry of Ireland.

Viscount Whitworth - - - - - - -	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners - - - - - - - - -	Lord High Chancellor.
Rt. Hon. W. Fitzgerald - - - - -	Chief Secretary, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1813. [Price 1s.

[The readers of the Register are respectfully informed, that, the Index to Vol. XXIII. will be delivered next week.]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SWEDISH TREATY.——Of this treaty the Whigs disapprove, because, as they say, it makes great sacrifices, without gaining any thing in return.——To be sure, it is not easy to discover what our *Government* has gained by the treaty; for, it does not seem likely, that His Royal Highness, the Crown Prince, will be able, if he be willing, to do much in the *fighting* way against his old friend and patron; but, we, *the people*, of this country and of every country in the world, have gained greatly by this treaty, which acknowledges the legitimacy of the right of Bernadotte to the Crown and dominions of Sweden, to the exclusion of the king, who was, some time ago, driven out of his throne. A *principle* is here proclaimed by our Government of the utmost importance to the welfare of Europe and of the world. We here see it settled, that a people may discard their king, and choose another in his place, though that other be a foreigner; and, that they may settle the succession in the family of that foreigner, to the exclusion of the heirs of the king discarded.——When DOCTOR PRICE preached a sermon, in which he stated, that, at the Revolution in England, the point was settled, that the people had a *right to discard their kings for misconduct*, Burke bellowed forth against him all the curses in the Anti-jacobin list. He *denied* the fact. He said, that, though, indeed, the order of succession was changed, *it* was only changed from one branch of the old king's family to another; that, in fact, the order of succession was preserved as closely as possible, and that it was only confined to the protestant part of the old Royal Family; that there was no right acknowledged, or claimed, of *choosing* a king, or of discarding a king, or of making any change in the nature of the government.——Something of the same sort is said by Blackstone, who labours very hard to make it appear, that the thing was right in *practice*, but wrong in principle; or, in other words, to make his readers believe, that it was very right to effect such a change as would put the present family upon the throne; but that it would be very wrong to effect such a change as would put them off from the throne.——Whatever might be the motives of these writers, and however they might be able to raise disputes and doubts upon the subject, no dispute, no doubt, can now be raised as to this point in the case of Sweden.——For here, it is not one branch of the old family excluded in favour of another branch; here there was no dispute about religion; there was no question about protestantism or catholicism. The nation put away the late king and his heirs, and gave the Crown to Mr. Bernadotte and *his heirs in due succession*, after the death of the late king's uncle.——And, observe, our Government does, in the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, recognize the full and complete right to the Crown and dominions of Sweden to be in the said Mr. Bernadotte and his heirs.——Nothing can be more complete than this case. It is perfect in all its parts. Here is a king cashiered; here is an old reigning family set aside in the order of succession; here is a settlement of the Crown in another family; and, to complete the whole thing, the person at the head of that other family is a *Foreigner*; nay, and a Frenchman too!——What comfort th[illegible] treaty must pour into the souls of the B[illegible]bons and the other cashiered Princes [illegible] Europe!——I wish the Anti-jacobins [illegible]ow to tell us what they think. Will [illegible]ey say, that the treaty was necessary [illegible] order to make war with success again[illegible] Buonaparte? If they do, let them shew us what Mr. Bernadotte has *done*, or [illegible] he is *likely to be able to do*. If he sh[illegible]d, from whatever cause, do nothing, [illegible] I call upon them for their openly expres[illegible] opinion of this treaty, of which I highl[illegible] approve, because it fully recognizes the [illegible]ght of the Crown Prince to the throne and dominions of Sweden.

THE TRINITY.——If nobody else will

allow me to do good with my pen, I think, that the society of *Printers* ought to be grateful to me, who have, I verily believe, created more work for them than any other author that ever lived in this country.——Already has my article upon the Anti-Trinity Bill produced *three pamphlets*, and it would be hard to say how many productions of less magnitude. I was aware, that it was a *moving* subject, but could not have imagined that the article would make such a dreadful clamour against me.—— One of these pamphleteers, who calls himself "A FRIEND TO CHRISTIANITY," but who does not give us his *name*, and whose pamphlet is published by Messrs. Longman and Co., fills half his pamphlet with insinuations as to my *motives*. The pamphlet has 56 pages, and he takes occasion to impute motives of *selfishness* to me 67 times. He, p. 26, imputes to me *factiousness* and *abuse of the Government*.——Is this the way that Unitarians *answer* arguments? Is *this* the way to convince the world, that theirs is the true doctrine? Is *this* the sort of defenders which their doctrine has to boast of?——This writer, like all other sectarians, seems to suppose, that it ought to be taken for granted, that his is the *only true* faith; but, he has not made what ought to be called even an *attempt* to *prove* what he says. He pretty broadly hints, in page 20, that the *laws*, under which I was imprisoned for two years, and made to pay a fine *to the king* of 1,000*l*. for writing about the flogging of English Local militiamen at Ely, under the superintendence of Foreign Troops, are very *good* and *useful* laws; but he does not attempt to *answer me*. Oh! the paltry, the time-serving sectarian! His own conduct now, his adulation towards the government; his base prostitution of the press; make good my objection to the passing of the Bill, for they show, that a sectarian will desert all political principle for the sake of getting some little favour from the government in behalf of his sect. ——He argues that Mr. Eaton's is *a case in point*; but he does not *prove* it. He says, that no man ought to be punished, who writes on the subject of religion with "*fairness* and *propriety*." Aye, but, then, it is *he* and *his sect*, who are to be the judges whether you write with "fairness and propriety" or not. Yes, yes; admit that, and then we all go to jail, except their godly selves.——His pamphlet is a heap of trash; of personal abuse; of misrepresentation; of falsehood; and it only tends to confirm me in my opinion, that all the sectarians, the Quakers excepted, would, if they had the power, be ten thousand times more intolerant than the Church has ever been.——TRANQUILLUS, from whom I inserted a letter on a former occasion, has sent me a second, which I insert below. He is of a different stamp from the writer above-mentioned; but, as I think I shall show, he has not succeeded in *answering* my remarks upon his first Letter.—— Upon the subject of *tithes* he postpones what he has to say. I am not sorry for it; for I shall very much like to meet him there unencumbered with any other topic.——He appears, since his former letter was written, to have discovered, as he thinks, that I appeared in a *double* character, in my first article; namely, as *a member and defender of the Church*; and, as an *infidel*, ridiculing those fundamental doctrines, which compose the vitals of the Church. And, then, he tells me, that it is *not fair* to get behind the battery of the Church to work the artillery of Infidelity.——It is surprising, that he did not make this discovery before. How came he to treat me, in his first letter, as a *bigot*? Where has he gotten this new light as to my motives? Has his priest enlightened him? And, what does he mean by getting behind the battery of the Church to work the artillery of Infidelity? I must, surely, be the most cunning fellow that ever existed, if I am able, by the means of the Church doctrines, to work against revelation itself.——He tells me manfully to take my ground *in the Church* or *out of the Church*. Why, do I not take my ground manfully *in the Church?* Or, if I do not, let him tell me *how* I am to do it.——But, now comes his master hit! "You will, I am sure," says he, "answer this question with candour: are you a Churchman, believing the religion of that Church, as expressed in her Creeds, Articles, and Prayer Book; or, are you a disbeliever of that religion, and belong to her from *political* motives?"——But, I am very sure, that I *will not* answer this question; and that because, if there were no other reason, he has no right to put the question to me, it having nothing at all to do with the points at issue between us. No man has a right to rummage into another man's heart. I have not called upon him to tell me what *he* believes; nor has he any right to call upon me, except upon the principles of the *Inquisition*. Our Church calls upon nobody to make *confessions of their belief*. The law only requires us to

be *silent*, where we do not agree with her; but this *liberal* and *fair* antagonist wants me to come to *the* confessional.——Yes, says he, but you called upon me to say, *whether I regarded the Scriptures as the word of God.* To be sure, because the Scriptures were the only source of our dispute. The admission, or rejection of this position, was absolutely necessary before we could proceed an inch further in the dispute. It was like verifying a document in a court of law previous to the producing of it *in evidence*. But TRANQUILLUS's question to me resembles that which would call upon an advocate to say, whether *he* believed in the truth of such document.——We never ought to lose sight of the *origin* of this controversy.——The Church has laid down certain doctrines, founded on the Scriptures. The Unitarians want a law passed to enable them openly to decry those doctrines with impunity. I say, do not pass the law, unless you pass a law to remove for ever all penalties for writing or speaking on the subject of religion. The Unitarians say, no, no! Let us go *our* length; but, the *infidels* must not be let go *their* length.——Upon this I say, that, if you are permitted to deny one part of the Church doctrines, why are not others to be permitted to deny other parts of them? If you are allowed to call one chapter spurious, why are others not to be permitted to call other chapters spurious?——And, in *answer* to me, I am asked what is *my* belief? This is *answering* me, is it? Why, suppose me to be a *pagan*, how would that circumstance alter the state of the case, or affect any one of my arguments?——TRANQUILLUS has, however, endeavoured to answer me as to two points: 1st, "*Whether the Old and New Testament* "*are the Word of God.*" He says a good deal about this matter; but, at last, after much beating the bush, he comes to this declaration: "that the Books of the Old "and New Testament are *not*, in the *gross*, "the Word of God, but contain *some divine* "*truths*, which we are *bound* to believe." ——So! the gentleman talks of *binding* at any rate. But, *why* are we thus bound? Why, "not only from *their own excellence*, "but the *evidence* which is given of their "*authenticity*." And, of what nature is this evidence, pray? Why, "*other histo-* "*ries*; *prophecies*, the truth of which he "cannot dispute, because their *fulfilment* "is manifest *to him* every day." Then he talks of the "*sublimity*" of those parts of the Scriptures which he believes in, and of the good conduct of those who follow their precepts.——And, does he call this *evidence*? What he looks upon as *sublimity*, another may regard as bombast; what he looks upon as the fulfilment of a prophecy, another may see in a quite different light, and, by the by, he might as well have mentioned to us some one of those instances which he sees *daily* occur, of the fulfilment of the prophecies. As to "*other histories*" corroborating the Scriptures, what other history says any thing about the Paradise, the Fall, the Flood; and, indeed, about any of the great events recorded in the Scriptures?——In short, is it not clear, that our belief in the Scriptures must be *entire*, or *nothing at all*? They positively assert, that Christ was begotten *without the instrumentality of a man.* They positively assert, that he was born of the body of *a Virgin.* They positively assert that Mary, being married, but not having known her husband Joseph, had this child. They positively assert, that the Angel of the Lord was sent to her, to tell her, that she would be *overshadowed by God*, and that she would become with child. They positively assert that this was the case; and, that the Angel of the Lord appeared to her husband Joseph, and told him that this was the real state of the fact, and that he thus removed all the jealous suspicions of Joseph, who, as St. Matthew tells us, "was mind- "ed to *put his wife away privately*, being "a *just* man, and not willing to make her "a public example." He being, however, assured, by the Angel of the Lord, that "that which is conceived in her *is of* "*the Holy Ghost*," "took unto him his "wife, and knew her not, until she had "brought forth her first born."——Now, all this, and a great deal more to the same effect, TRANQUILLUS chooses to deny; and if he denies *this*, why are not others to deny the truth of other parts of the same book? TRANQUILLUS talks of the B...

if it were the work of mere men, and ... and
fore, he says he will believe a ..., some-
disbelieve another part. But ...*ne truths*"
how or other, he reserves "... ow comes it
and "*prophecies*." Now ...cies are there
to pass, that these pro... omes it that some
without *inspiration*; ho... *divine* origin, and
parts of the book are ...ness; what Melville-
others not? What ...e get into by this criti-
like *mixty-maxty* ...
cism of the Scriptures! Is there, can
there be, a... such thing as separating
them? Is it ...possible to disbelieve the plain
history of the *incarnation*, and to believe

that of the *resurrection*, which is not a jot more plainly told, and the fact recorded not a jot less wonderful to our narrow conceptions? *Is* it in any respect *more wonderful*, that a maiden should be impregnated by the Holy Ghost, than that Christ should rise out of the grave, and walk about, and be taken up into heaven, after having been killed, in a most barbarous manner, by those thieves of Jews? And, yet, I'll warrant you, that, if any one were to deny the fact of the resurrection, these Unitarians would join in stoning him to death.——The Unitarians profess to believe in the *miracles*, one of which was the restoring of the dead son to life, at the request of his mother; and yet, they will not believe that the Virgin Mary was impregnated by the Holy Ghost, though they have no other authority for the former than they have for the latter.——I cannot, and I will not, *separate* the Scripture into *false* and *true*. It is, and it must be, *all of a piece*. If the miracles took place, so did the incarnation. We are told of both in the same book, and we have *no other authority for either*.—— To deny, therefore, the fact of the *divinity* of Christ, is, I repeat it again, to deny the truth of the Christian system. ——TRANQUILLUS still stickles for what he calls *relief* to the Unitarians, and endeavours to justify a *partial repeal* of the laws against dissenters from the church.——I said, "I wish the law to stand as it now "does, if *every body* may not speak and "write what they please about religion;" and this he calls a *morose sentiment*. He does not notice my *reasons* for this wish, which I stated, however, very fully; and, I must say, that, if I had power, and desired to play the tyrant, I would desire nothing better than to have the people divided into a number of religious sects, all making their court to me for some favour, and each looking upon the other as being in error.—TRANQUILLUS, after quoting a passage from me, in which I insist upon the injustice of punishing *any one* for expressing his disbelief in one part of the Scriptures, if the Unitarians are permitted openly to express their disbelief in other parts of them, says, that, when oppressive laws *have been enacted*, it cannot be called *injustice* to *relieve part of the people* from the pressure of those laws. That it was the *imposing* of the laws that was unjust, and not the partial *removing* them.——Yet, there is great injustice in the latter; because, not only does the act prove, that the restraint was unnecessary, but, it leaves the still punished party in *a worse* state than he was in before; having deprived him of his associates in suffering, it deprives him of part of the means of obtaining redress.—It is acting upon the old maxim of "*divide and govern*." Why, suppose now, that the law of libel were so interpreted in future, that no nobleman or rich man would be at all in danger of being punished for any publication, while the law remained what it is now as to other people. Would you say, that this was *justice*? Would you not say that it was the grossest of injustice? *Impartial* laws cannot very easily be *unjust*; because, operating upon *all* men in the same way, the whole community will never long endure bad laws. It is in the partiality of laws, or in the application of them, that public injustice is always found. DENHAM says,

"When some escape for that which others die,
"*Mercy* to those to these is *cruelty*."

So say I; and I am decidedly of opinion, that we ought to use our utmost endeavours to prevent every *partial* repeal in favour of any sect whatever. TRANQUILLUS says, that, "humanity must acknowledge, that "the *fewer* an oppressive law affects the "*better*." So says every crafty tyrant in existence. He takes special care not to lay his fangs upon too many at once. If he finds he has more in his jaws than he can devour, he lets out a part till he has swallowed enough to make way for them. No; if there be oppressive laws, humanity wishes them to fall upon millions at once, that *redress* may be within the compass of hope. In a case where *slaves* could have, from their numbers, no hope of escape, the nine ought to rejoice at the release of the tenth, but not where there was such hope in existence, and, if the released slave were to express his *gratitude* to a deliverer, whose object was to weaken by dividing his slaves, thereby to hold a part, though unable to hold the whole in bondage, such released slave would well merit to be chained for life. In such case, the release of one slave would be an act of *injustice*; because its object would be to render the slavery of the other nine the more certainly durable. The illustration of the 18 shillings in the pound where 20 shillings are due is still more unfortunate; for, in the case before us, the Unitarians, thinking about nobody but themselves, are ready to take the 18 shillings in the pound, while the rest of the creditors are shut out, without a single remonstrance in their behalf on the part of the Unitarians. TRANQUILLUS, in order

to shew, that if we cannot get what we ought, we should take what we can get, observes, that it is upon this principle that I prefer publishing part of the truth to a suppression of the whole, in the weekly columns of my Register. But, this is not a case in point. By publishing under such laws as ours I do not render the lot of any writer worse, or *more hopeless, than it was before.*' Having now gone through the letter of TRANQUILLUS, I have only to add, that I shall be happy to hear from him on the remaining topics mentioned in his letter.

W. COBBETT.

Botley; 30th June, 1813.

SECOND LETTER OF TRANQUILLUS ON THE TRINITY.

SIR,—I apologize to you for not answering your question in Register, June 5th, but, being from home, I did not catch sight of the number till yesterday.——I feel myself much obliged by the fair and concise manner in which you have given the substance of my letter in your three propositions.——There are so many principles on which we agree, that I will confine myself to those points whereon we differ. As I was the aggressor, in wandering to the subject of tithes, I will quit it for the present, and, at no very distant time, endeavour to shew the injustice of making Dissenters support the Church by payment of *tithes*, that the operation of tithes is a general evil, and that their abolition would be an universal benefit. Meantime, let me explain any ambiguous phrase, and answer those questions on which you require my decision. Before I proceed, allow me to remark, that you appeared, in your first letter, in a double character, viz. That of a member and defender of the Establishment, and an infidel ridiculing those fundamental doctrines which compose the vitals of the Church. It is not fair to get behind the battery of an establishment, to work the artillery of infidelity; but manfully take your ground, in the Church or out of the Church, and prepare to support her against the clamour of her enemies, or defend yourself against the venom of her tongue, as well as the stings of the enraged Sectarians.——You will, I am sure, answer this question with candour.—Are you a Churchman, believing the religion of that Church, as expressed in her Creeds, Articles, and Prayer Book; or, are you a disbeliever of that religion, and belong to her from political motives?——Think not that I attach to the phrase infidel, any of those obnoxious meanings which it is but too often made to convey. As used in my last, I contrasted it with superstition: Infidelity and disbelief I consider as synonymous terms; I call superstition an excess of belief, and infidelity a total deficiency. He is a superstitious man who *believes* with a previous determination, every word to be inspired that is between the first chapter of Genesis and the last of Revelation: and he is completely an infidel who *disbelieves* the truth of every word lying in the same space. I use it not as a term of reproach, for it generally bespeaks an honest man, as he certainly must be most likely to be honest, who, after searching in vain for the evidence of any popular opinion, fairly states his disbelief of those opinions; especially when a little cant or so would have hoisted him into popularity with the sectarians, or when he might, with prudent silence, have taken credit for an established religionist. By way of distinction, for the future, I shall call the infidels a religious sect who disbelieve *in toto* what many other sects disbelieve *in part*, giving them full credit for their *total* disbelief, as I do others for their partial disbelief. That I may be kept from wandering, I will confine myself principally to the plain question you wish me to answer. "Are the old and new Testament the word of God?" and endeavour to give my reasons for being in favour of a partial repeal when a complete and universal one is impracticable.——In answer to the first query, are "the old and new Testament the word of God?" I may fairly infer that two others may immediately be put by you. If they are *all* inspired, which I suppose you mean by "word of God," how dare I object to a *single word* of them? If they are fic- why do I not believe them to be them; *tion?* I take the books and re previous mind, I do not take them with g the lids, determination to bolt all, exce it as all fic- as the word of God, or the well shut my tion; if I did, I might reason God has eyes and lay aside the te between truth, given me to discrim I find in them fiction, and falseh believe, because those facts related which d by evidence internal facts are suppo acts related which are to be and external: histories that had no interest found in oth them, therefore may be consi- to suppor dered as impartial: prophecies, the truth

of which I cannot dispute, because their fulfilment is manifest to me every day. It contains principles, truths, and directions for my conduct, which I believe not only on the credit of the historian, but on their own purity and sublimity, the truth of which is exemplified every day by those persons who make them the rule of their conduct. The answer to your question is this—that the books of the old and new Testament are not in the *gross* the word of God, but contain *some divine truths* which we are bound to believe, not only from their own excellence, but the evidence that is given of their authenticity. Till you give reasons that shall convince me otherwise, I must think you have treated this book unfairly, in previously determining it to be inspired or fictitious; if the former opinion prevail, the consequence would be horrible; if the latter, we should lose all the advantages we have derived from Christianity, excepting that portion which rests in the habits of the present generation. . . . . My reasons come next for preferring *partial reform* or *repeal* when an *universal* one cannot be obtained. You who appear to belong to the Infidel, or the Established sect, which of the two it is not for me to say, for you have not yet explicitly avowed, seem to grudge the Unitarians the little relief they are endeavouring to obtain. I believe I am right in quoting correctly your sentiments contained in your first letter, when I say that you wish the law to stand as it now does, rather than any partial alteration should take place, if every body may not speak and write whatever they please about religion," that is to say, you wish to see the oppression of others continued, because you may be under unjust restraint yourself. I will not give you credit for the spirit, though I must for the [illegible]rance of this morose sentiment. Whenever government oppresses many sects, the oppression is felt individually in proportion to its pressure; and it certainly is the more particular business of each sect or party, to be relieved from a part of its own individual sufferings whenever there is a fair opportunity; and I should call them bad politicians if they did not take advantage of every circumstance that occurred, to rid themselves of part of their burdens. There are times when an oppressive government, embarrassed in the mazes of its own crooked policy, finds it necessary to court one or other of the sects it has long been oppressing, and offers a partial repeal of the penal statutes in its favour. I say, let them accept this relief, call it boon if you please, and the more easy circumstances they find themselves in, in the better condition are they for demanding that part which is still in the hands of government. The more government gives, the less it has to give, and of consequence the fewer boons it has to offer for the allurement of that individual sect, and the more independent must that sect necessarily become.

As to justice, I think it is entirely on the side of a partial relief, though it would certainly acquire a larger extension by an universal repeal. Before I proceed further, let me quote one part of your paper, which serves to shew, that your notions of fairness on this part of the subject are not so correct as they usually are. "I am "sure no fair man will say that any man "ought to be punished for publishing a "work, intended to inculcate a belief of "the falsehood of certain parts of the "Scriptures, if the Unitarians are allowed "to publish works intended to inculcate a "belief of the falsehoods of other parts of "those same Scriptures. I am quite sure "that no just man will say this. What! "while the Freethinking Christian is al-"lowed to say in print, that the Scriptures "contain *corruptions*, *forgeries*, *lies*, and "*impious inventions*, shall other men be "punished for speaking in the same strain "of other parts of those very same writ-"ings? Ought not the law to operate on "all men alike?" This is not the fair way of putting the question. It would be very capricious and unjust to enact that one sect should be punished for doing what another is permitted to do. I say this would be a capricious and unjust enactment; but, when oppressive laws *have been* enacted, and bear hard on *all*, surely it cannot be called injustice to relieve any *one* from a part of its pressure. No! the injustice consists in the imposition, not in the relief. If ten slaves were each wincing under a galling weight, and each cursing the oppression of his taskmaster, if he, from any motive, chose to relieve one of them from the pains of his burden, the remaining nine would exhibit but very imperfect dispositions not to express joy at the sight of one poor wretch relieved from his oppressions. They would shew but imperfect notions of justice, if they thought it unjust to relieve him. No, no! the injustice consisted in imposing the burden on the ten, and continuing it upon the *nine*, but not in relieving the *one*. That the law ought to ope-

rate on all men alike, as a general principle, I allow. But your humanity must acknowledge, the fewer an oppressive law affects, the better. This, Sir, is the sketch of my notions of the policy and justice of partial reliefs and reforms. It is an universal principle acted upon in life; it is on this ground that the creditor takes eighteen shillings in the pound, when twenty is his legal due. It is on this principle you carry on your register, by giving publicity to ninety-nine facts, altho' you are obliged to suppress the hundredth; and how much more benefited is the nation at large by the publicity of the ninety-nine, than if you waited for years till you could publish all the hundred at once. Now give me leave to notice one or two of your remarks. "He surely did not think well of what he was saying, when he said, that the greater part of the landed proprietors in this kingdom look upon the church creeds as worse than nonsense; by which I may fairly presume that he meant them to be dissenters: for, if not, he must look upon them to be amongst those whom he calls infidels, a word, the meaning of which he has not explained, and in that case they could be entitled to very little of his commiseration." I trust, I have given you a sufficient explanation of the term *infidel*. The expression "worse than nonsense" appears to be hasty, but on further consideration I cannot find a better. I applied the term to churchmen in general, and not, as you might fairly presume from the expression, to dissenters only. In another part of your paper, you hint at the inconsistency of Unitarians in belonging to Bible Societies; and if you have no objection to such subjects cumbering your Register, I can have none, if you wish to offer my reasons on the consistency of such Unitarians as aid in the circulation of corrupted versions of the Scriptures, and in defence of my, perhaps, too virulent phrase "worse than nonsense."

TRANQUILLUS.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII, p. 928.)

Striegauerwasser to Gauth, and get in the Oder by passing through Bettlern, Olfaschin, and Altholf. The combined army shall be at liberty to occupy the towns of Landshut, Rudelstadt, Bolkenhagen, Striegau, and Gauth, as well as their suburbs. ——The line of the French army also setting out from the frontier which touches Bohemia, shall pass through Serffershauf and Altkanmitz, follow the course of the small river which falls into the Bober, not far from Bertelsdorf; afterwards from the Bober to Lhan: from thence to Newkeek upon the Katzbach, by the most direct line, from whence it will follow the course of that river to the Oder. The towns of Parchwitz, Leignitz, Goldberg, and Lhan, no matter on what side the river they are situated, may, as well as their suburbs, be occupied by the French troops.——All the territory between the French and Combined Armies shall be neutral, and cannot be occupied by any troops; not even by the Landstrum. This disposition consequently applies to the town of Breslau. From the mouth of Katzbach the line of demarcation shall follow the course of the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, and join the Elbe, in passing the Oder, not far from Muhlrose, and following the frontiers of Prussia, so that all Saxony, the country of Dessau, and the small States surrounding the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine shall belong to the French army, and all Prussia shall belong to the combined army.——The Prussian territories in Saxony shall be considered as neutral, and shall not be occupied by any troops.——The Elbe to its mouth fixes and determines the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies, with the exception of the points hereafter mentioned.——The French army shall remain in possession of the isles, and every thing which it occupied in the 32d military division, on the 27th May (8th June), at midnight.——If Hamburgh is only besieged, that town shall be treated like the other besieged towns. All the articles of the present armistice which are r
lative to them, are applicable to it.——re-
line of the advanced posts of the b May
rent armies at the epoch of the 2 m, for
(8th June), at midnight, shall the de-
the 32d military division, tha n the mili-
marcation of the armistice, ective Com-
tary alterations which the ry. These al-
mandants shall judge nec concert with an
terations shall be mad ch army, upon the
Officer of the Staff of iprocity.
principle of perfect

V. The fortr s of Dantzic, Modlin,
Zamosc, Stetti and Custrin, shall be re-
victualled ev five days, according to the
force of the garrisons, through the care
of the commanders of the blockading
troops. A Commissary appointed by the

Commandant of each place shall be with one of the besieging troops, to see that the stipulated provisions are exactly supplied.

VI. During the time of the Armistice every fortress shall have behind its walls an extent of a French league. This ground shall be neutral. Magdeburg will consequently have its frontier a league upon the right bank of the Elbe.

VII. A French officer shall be sent into each of the besieged places, to inform the Commandant of the conclusion of the Armistice, and of its re-victualling. A Russian or Prussian Officer shall accompany him during the journey, both going and coming.

VIII. Commissaries named on both sides, in each place, shall fix the price of the provisions furnished. This account, settled at the end of every month by the Commissioners charged with maintaining the Armistice, shall be paid at the head-quarters by the Paymaster-General of the Army.

IX. Officers of the Staff shall be appointed on either side to regulate in concert the general line of demarcation, respecting points which shall not be determined by running water, and respecting which there may arise any difficulty.

X. All the movements of the troops shall be so regulated, that each army shall occupy its new line on the 12th June (31st May). All the corps, or parts of the combined army which may be beyond the Elbe or in Saxony, shall return into Prussia.

XI. Officers of the French and Combined Armies shall be dispatched conjointly, to cause hostilities to cease on all points, and make the Armistice known. The respective Commanders in Chief shall furnish them with the necessary powers.

XII. On both sides two Commissaries, General Officers, shall be appointed to watch over the stipulations of the present Armistice. They shall remain in the line of neutrality at Neumarkt, to decide upon such disputes as may occur.—These Commissaries shall proceed there within 24 hours, in order to expedite Officers and orders that may be sent in consequence of the present Armistice.

Done and settled the present act in twelve Articles, in double copy, the day, month, and year above-mentioned.

(Signed) Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicence.
Count Schouvaloff.—De Kleist.

Seen and ratified by order of the Emperor and King, the Prince Vice-Constable of France, Major-General of the Grand Army.

(Signed) ALEXANDRE.

June 4, 1813.

Paris, June 12.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence respecting the situation of the armies on the 6th of June:—

The Emperor's head-quarters were on the 6th at Leignitz.——The Prince of Moskwa was still at Breslau.——The Commissioners appointed by the Emperor of Russia for the execution of the treaty, are Count Schouvaloff, Lieut.-General, Aid-de-camp-General to the Emperor, and M. de Koutowsof, the Emperor's Aid-de-camp-General. Those named on the part of France are the General of Division Count Dumoutier, commanding a division of the Guard, and the General of Brigade Flahault, Aid-de-camp to the Emperor. These Commissioners are at Neumarkt.——The Duke of Treviso, with the young Guard, had his head-quarters at Glogau.——The old Guard is returning to Dresden, where it is supposed the Emperor is going to establish his head quarters.——The different corps d'armée are marching to form camps in the different positions of Goldberg, Loewenberg, Buntzlau, Leignitz, Sproleau, Logau, &c. The Polish corps of Prince Poniatowski, which crossed Bohemia, is expected at Zettau on the 10th of June.—*(Moniteur, June 13.)*

Paris, June 13.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence of the situation of the armies on the 7th:—

His Majesty's head-quarters were at Buntzlaw. All the corps d'armées were in march for their cantonments. The Oder was covered with boats which descended from Breslau to Glogau, laden with artillery, tools, meal, and articles of every description, taken from the enemy.——Hamburgh was retaken on the 30th, by main force. The Prince of Eckmuhl especially praises the conduct of General Vandamme. Hamburgh was lost the last campaign by the pusillanimity of General St. Cyr; it was owing to the vigour displayed by General Vandamme, upon his arrival in the 32d military division, that the preservation of Bremen was owing, and the present retaking of Hamburgh. Several hundred prisoners were made. Two or 300 pieces were found in the town, 80 of which were on the ramparts. Works had been constructed to place the town in a state of de-

fence. Denmark acted with us; the Prince of Eckmühl intended to march upon Lubeck. Thus the 32d military division, and all the territory of the Empire, is delivered from the enemy.——Orders have been given to make Hamburgh a strong place: it is surrounded by a bastioned rampart, having a large fosse full of water, and can in part be covered by inundations. The works are so constructed, that at all times the communication with Haarbourg can be maintained by the Isles.——The Emperor has ordered another fortress to be constructed upon the Elbe, at the mouth of the Havel. Konigstein, Torgau, Wittenberg, Magdebourg, the fortress of the Havel, and Hamburgh, will complete the defence of the line of the Elbe.——The Dukes of Cambridge and Brunswick, Princes of the House of England, arrived in time at Hamburgh to give more eclat to the success of the French. Their journey was reduced to this—they arrived and saved themselves.——The last battalions of the Prince of Eckmuhl's five divisions, which are composed of the 72 battalions, and at their full complement, have set out from Wesel.——Since the commencement of the campaign, the French army has delivered Saxony, conquered the half of Silesia, reoccupied the 32d division, confounded the hopes of our enemies.—*(Moniteur, June 14.)*

Copy of a Letter from the General of Division Count Vandamme to Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl.—Haarburg, May 13, 11 o'clock in the morning.

The day before yesterday we were imperfectly established in the Isle of Wilhelmsburg. The night having arrived, it was necessary to confine ourselves to keeping it in a military point of view.——Yesterday, the 12th, at eight in the morning, the enemy began by disembarking 1,000 or 1,200 men, in front of Hamburgh. A brisk fire of musketry took place with the light infantry brigade, commanded by General Gengoult. I went to examine the affair, and seeing that the enemy's column was waiting to be supported, made a feint of pretending to quit the isle.——The enemy at first pressing his attack, gained some advantage, and advanced in force with the artillery he had disembarked. At that instant, I ordered the three battalions of light infantry to turn en masse, supported by the remainder of Dufour's division. I ordered the charge, and in a quarter of an hour all was put in the most complete rout.——The enemy abandoned all his artillery, his caissons, his ammunition, and re-embarked in the greatest disorder, leaving some prisoners, and a great number killed, among whom were found many Danes.——Generals Dufour and Gengoult conducted themselves perfectly well in this affair.——I decided to make Reuss's brigade pass to the isle, which I destined to occupy Altwerden, Kattwick, Rosmeuhof. Scarcely had I disembarked the troops, when I learned that the enemy attempted a fresh disembarkation at the point of Ruperstiogerland, from which it appeared he wished to march upon the point of my passage.——A brisk fire commenced, and the enemy seeing he could not surprise us, precipitately retired, with the loss of some killed, wounded, and prisoners.——I have established the 152d in reserve, and in observation, at the castle of Wilhelmsbourg, in order that it may be enabled to march to any part. Foreseeing fully a new attack, I ordered the 37th, which was upon the causeway, to march. A serious fire took place; I did not hesitate in ordering the 37th to retire slowly, defending the causeway, and to allow the enemy to advance, so as to be able to cut off his retreat, or vigorously pursue him.——I immediately ordered two battalions from the right of the division, Dufour, to directly proceed to the bridge, where the enemy had passed, whilst I directed Prince de Reuss to precipitately march upon the enemy with the two battalions which were in the castle of Wilhelmsbourg.——The fire then began, and as we could only proceed by high causeways, I ordered the troops to cease firing, and beat the charge from all parts. The enemy was obliged to retreat, and pursued for an hour at the poi[nt] of the bayonet.——Never was conf[usion] more complete. All who threw them[selves] into the boats were drowned or kille[d]; 400 men, who were not able to re-em[bark], laid down their arms. I cannot [suf]ficiently praise the valour of our troo[ps]. I do not recollect ever having foun[d] more ardour among our old bands.——[Se]veral officers of all ranks, have partic[ular]ly distinguished themselves.

(Signed) [C]ount VANDAMME.

Paris, June 14.—Yesterday, at six in the morning, disch[ar]ges of artillery announced the ceremony [of] *Te Deum*, which was sung in the met[ro]politan church, on account of the victor[y] gained by his Majesty the Emperor [an]d King, at Wurtchen, over the

Russian and Prussian armies. This glorious event, which has dissipated the last hopes of the enemies to the French name, must be regarded as one of the most signal triumphs of his Majesty the Emperor's military genius. When all the obstacles that art and the nature of the ground opposed to his Majesty's armies are considered, one cannot, whilst admiring the wise combinations which prepared victory, but acknowledge in it the special protection of providence, and to him impute such wonderful success.——To this double sentiment of gratitude and admiration, which all hearts experienced during the august ceremony, the interest of which was augmented by her Majesty's presence, were joined the delightful hope that the late armistice has given rise to, of a near pacification.——Thus, it says, are realizing the great projects of a Sovereign, found faithful in all his promises. Victories are for him, but the means of ensuring the integrity of his empire, the happiness of his people, and the independence of Europe. As soon as his enemies shew the least desire of stopping the scourge of war, he lays down his arms, he himself puts a term to his conquests; and although certain of conquering, it is to a magnanimous moderation that he wishes to owe the benefits of an honourable and lasting peace.

Sturemberg, *June* 1.—The effects and precious articles have been removed from Breslau to Glatz. It is for this town several Prussian Ministers and superior functionaries have set out.——During his late abode at Breslau, the King of Prussia collected there the Ministers Hardenberg, Golz, Kirchusen, and several members of his Privy Council and Chiefs of Departments. The [illegible]ussian Princesses, who were at Breslau, [illegible] proceeded to Glatz.——The French arm[illegible] Siles[illegible]bserves the most exact discipline in [illegible] The regulation of the landsturm is tacitly [illegible]gated in that province. It is no more tho[illegible] of than if it had never existed.——W[illegible]ve accounts from Prague to the 30th Ma[illegible] Couriers succeed each other with the same [illegible]vity. Many strangers of distinction are [illegible]he present moment in Prague. Baron [illegible]on has arrived from Cracow, at Toeplitz. The posts from Berlin have not arrived at [illegible]ague.

Rustadt, *June* 8.—[illegible] following has just been published at [illegible]lsruhe:—According to positive intelligence, a suspension of arms was agreed to on the 1st of this month, between the Belligerent Powers. A speedy interview between their Majesties the Emperors of France and Russia, at which the Emperor will also be.

Frankfort, *June* 9.—For some days past the passage of troops, especially of cavalry, through our town, has been very frequent. Among those troops were several regiments of infantry belonging to the Imperial Guards, and numerous trains of artillery.

Breslaw, *June* 2.—In virtue of orders from his Majesty our King and Sovereign, we are not dissolved, but remain in our places, in the exercise of our functions.——Yesterday morning, at seven o'clock, arrived the French General in Chief, Count Lauriston, with his corps de armée. He made so good dispositions, the French troops took possession of the town with the greatest calmness and order. Some hours after him, Count Hogendorf, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor, arrived in quality of Governor of this town.——In consequence of these events, we determined, in concert with the Deputies of the town, that our first and most paramount duty was to send a deputation to his Majesty the Emperor's head quarters, to recommend our good town to his Majesty's magnanimity and protection.——His Majesty not only deigned to assure the deputation, that the burghers and inhabitants might rely upon his protection for the safety of their houses and property, and that he would be pained if he could not guarantee the town from all the dangers which threatened it, which, however, was not to be feared, whilst the inhabitants conducted themselves orderly and peaceably. In order to tranquillize every body, his Majesty has been pleased to order that his intentions should be made public.——We shall not fail to conform ourselves to this superior order, and are convinced that the inhabitants of this town will prove themselves worthy of the Emperor's clemency, by their peaceable and good conduct.——We, at the same time, summon the merchants and artisans to re-open their warehouses and shops, in order that commerce may resume its usual course.

Frontiers of Saxony, *June* 1.—The position near Hochkirchen, which, properly speaking, formed the left wing of the principal Russian and Prussian army, and which was defended by Generals Barclay de Tolly and York, having been carried with the bayonet, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the enemy in his triple entrenchments, the combined army, broken and repulsed at all points, retired in more disorder than it had hitherto done in its different retreats, and it was only in conse-

quence of the support of the cavalry that it was enabled to gain Gorlitz.

On her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent arriving on the 13th June at the Metropolitan Church, to assist at singing *Te Deum*, on account of the victory of Wurtchen, she was addressed by the Archbishop of Paris. The following is an abstract of the speech:

"To-day, Madam, we had assembled in this temple in honour of the Anniversary of the King of Rome's baptism. Your august presence has at this moment doubled, and rendered still more majestic, this national Fête, in consecrating the new victories, which have been crowned by the suspension of hostilities. Such has been the prelude to the armistice, which your magnanimous husband has just concluded with our enemies, stopping himself the rapidity of his career of victory, to treat of conditions of peace, in the midst of his triumphs and his conquests.——It is to the Emperor's heroism and moderation we owe this blessing of heaven. May the titulary genius of France be quickly restored to the wishes of his people, and to the tenderness of the august companion whom heaven has given him, to establish the first throne in the world."

Copenhagen, June 5.

The Gazette of this day contains the following article:——On the 31st ult. an English naval officer, who arrived in the road in a flag of truce, delivered a letter from Mr. Thornton, the English Envoy at the Court of Sweden, and from the English General Hope, together with another from the Swedish Chancellor, Baron Wetterstedt, both dated on board the English man of war, Defiance, Admiral Hope, in Kioge Bay. It was at the same time stated, that the Russian Gen. Baron Von Suchtelen, was on board the same vessel, in order to participate in the negociations for peace, proposed, on the part of England, in the above-mentioned letter, and for which purpose the said Envoy and General declared themselves to be provided with full powers, as was also the Swedish Chancellor, to treat with regard to the doubtful relations now subsisting between Denmark and Sweden. After what has already been communicated to the Public upon this subject, his Majesty's faithful subjects in both Kingdoms, and in the Duchies, will not be surprised that the Crown Prince of Sweden, in the name of his Swedish Majesty, should represent it as a proof of moderation and disinterestedness, that there is now demanded, on the part of Sweden, the cession only of the diocese of Drontheim, with the territory lying between it and the Russian frontier. They will herein perceive only another proof of those scandalous and oppressive demands which have lately exposed the inhabitants of Norway to the privation of that peaceful condition which prevails among them, and which accords with their common welfare. They will find it no less incompatible with their sentiments, and the national feeling, that a demand was, at the same time, made, that 25,000 Danish troops should be placed under the command of the Swedish Crown Prince, to be employed, in conjunction with those of Sweden and other Powers, in the North of Germany, against France. Upon this basis have the English Plenipotentiaries proposed a negociation for the re-establishment of peace with Great Britain; at the same time, pointedly observing, that there can be no cessation of hostilities, for the benefit of navigation, unless the Royal troops in Jutland and Holstein are previously placed at the disposal of the Swedish Crown Prince. Upon the conclusion of peace, the colonies are to be restored, but not the island of Heligoland; nor is there to be any indemnification for the loss of the fleet. Every inhabitant of these kingdoms and countries may be assured, that these propositions were, by his Majesty's command, answered in a manner corresponding to the dignity of the Crown, and the known interests of his States. The flag of truce returned from this place in the afternoon of the 2d inst. It was ordered to wait only forty-eight hours for an answer. ——His Majesty, deeply afflicted at the scarcity which inevitably resulted from prolonged defensive war, which interr in- ed the corn trade, and obstructed th way, munication between Denmark and posals had, as is already known, madc reat Bri- of peace to the Government of authorized tain, but the person who tain a hear- to deliver them could not ich, with the ing. To the proposals ted through the same view, were trans Envoy in Stock- medium of the Engl ation of his Govern- holm, for the info objection can be made, ment, no reasonab he restitution of all that as they claimed from his Majesty, in con- had been take e unexpected rupture; or an sequence of ion for the same, and to gua- indemnific his Majesty the possession of his rantee t When two Governments, after States the breaking out of a war, unite again, in

order to conclude peace, nothing is more usual than to demand indemnifications; but such demands are not to be constituted indispensable preliminaries, without which negociations are not even to take place. ——It will, on the other hand, be remarked, that the proposals for peace and reconciliation, just made by the agents of the English Government and the Swedish Chancellor, are entirely dependent upon such preliminaries as have no justification whatever in the events of the war in which Denmark has been involved with England. Both the above mentioned Governments endeavour to give their demands a colour of justice, whilst they, on the contrary, refer to engagements entered into among themselves, by which the kingdom of Norway is destined to become subject to Sweden; as if any obligation upon his Majesty could thence be derived to fulfil what had been stipulated between his Majesty's enemies, and a neighbouring power, whose Ruler endeavours to separate the two kingdoms from each other, whilst he in the mean time subjugates Norway.——It is the King's unalterable determination to maintain the union of his kingdoms. ——Fellow Countrymen! we will support his Majesty's incessant exertions for the independence and welfare of the country! We will with him encounter every danger, and our banner shall be "God and a just cause."——Almost insuperable obstructions have been thrown in the way of the corn trade to Norway, with the view of weakening the courage of the brave Norwegians, by the cries of their wives and children for bread,—by the want of food for their necessary subsistence. These are the weapons that have been employed against an innocent people, to seduce them into disloyalty to their lawful King, who has been incessantly occupied with the means of relieving their necessities, and who has left nothing untried to restore peace upon honourable terms,—who will not, however, lend a hand to dissever the union of the two kingdoms, inherited from his ancestors, and which are to him equally dear.

Pegau, Saxony, May 3.

Yesterday morning the two hostile main armies met between Pegau and Lutzen, the Russians and Prussians being under the chief command of General Wittgenstein, and the enemy's army under the Emperor Napoleon in person. One of the most dreadful cannonades known in latter annals of warlike operations took place. It continued from eleven o'clock until ten in the evening, when night alone put an end to it.——During this cannonade the fire of musketry was nearly uninterruptedly kept up, and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attack with the bayonet. Seldom or ever was there a battle fought with such animosity, or so murderous. The French derived great advantage from their position on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, which they defended with a heavy fire of artillery. But the valour of the allied troops drove them back from one position to another, nor were they to be deterred even when the superior defence of the enemy in his last positions rendered frequent attacks necessary. The result of this warm day was, that the Russian and Prussian troops kept possession of the field of battle during the whole night, and caused the enemy double or treble greater loss than their own.——As yet there has not been brought in but little more than 1,000 prisoners, with ten pieces of artillery, and likewise 23 powder waggons, which Gen. Von Winzingerode took from the enemy early this morning, the animosity during the fight being too great to give much quarter. But the great consequence is, that the French have now been convinced by the Russian and Prussian troops what may be performed by valour when inflamed by noble enthusiasm in so great, just, and sacred a cause as ours, and of what they may have to expect in future when all the armed force collecting for this war will be assembled.——It certainly is likewise very true, that the loss of the Russian and Prussian troops is very great, nor shall we over-rate it if we for the moment estimate it at from 8 to 10,000 men in killed and wounded, but most of the latter only very slightly. It gives us much pain to be obliged to mention Major the Prince of Hesse Homburg among the dead, and General Blucher as being wounded (he however only left the field half an hour); Generals Von Scharhorst and Von Hunerbein, whose wounds are however only slight; as likewise the Russian Generals Von Karlwinzen and Alexief. But besides these an unusually greater proportion of officers, and also of the younger sons of our native Prussia, are among the number of killed and wounded. The noble ardour with which these volunteers met death in the just cause, ensures them of being immortalized in the remembrance of their

friends and their native country. Even this morning the enemy attempted to make some attack on the allied troops, but was soon repulsed by some connonading. To afford the latter some rest and refreshment, after their great fatigue, they will be taken into the positions of Borna and Rochlitz, from whence it is expected they will immediately break up to commence fresh operations.——By what we can learn from the prisoners, Marshal Ney and Gen. Souham are among the killed on the enemy's side, and Gen. Bessieres is wounded.——According to accounts before us, nothing material took place on the 4th and 5th. The Elbe, above Magdeburg, was not threatened.——We still wait the official statement of particulars concerning the motions of the several corps, and of their marches and counter-marches.

(Signed) L'Estoq Sock.

The Royal appointed Military Governor for the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Berlin, May 7.

Particulars of the Battle before Hamburgh on the 9th May.

Marshal Davoust had on the 9th May, drawn a part of his troops, which had till then been stationed along the Elbe, from Lunebourg to the mouth of that river, and concentrated about 5,500 men, on a line from Harburg to the Customs store house, with this force at one o'clock in the night of the 9th, he made an attack on the island of Wilhelmsburg, and on Ochienwarder. He had left about 1,500 men at Harburg; we had on our side 1,100 men, infantry, at Wilhelmsburg, and 600 at Ochienwarder. The enemy, who took advantage of the ebb-tide for landing, crossed the river in a mass at several points, under a smart fire from all his batteries; he pushed our advanced posts, and caused them to fall back, and gradually gained some ground. But no sooner had the advanced posts and the smaller detachments joined the reserves in their rear, than the enemy was attacked, and a brisk fire commenced at all points. A battalion of Mecklenburghers were now sent to the support of Wilhelensberg, and a regiment of Hanoverians with a battalion of Lubeckers, advanced from Bergedorf and the custom stores, against Ochsenwerder and the enemy's right flank.——The enemy could not long withstand this new and impetuous attack; he gradually gave way at all points, covering his retreat by burning some houses and mills. Our troops pursued him closely, and made many prisoners. The enemy then re-embarked under the protection of his numerous batteries on the other shore. His loss amounts to about 300 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and on our side to about 150, among whom are thirteen officers.—*Correspondent, May* 11.

The *Correspondent* of the 18th May gives an account that there was an obstinate engagement between the French and the Prussians, in the very heart of the city of Leipsic. Before the gate called Galgehou, there was a French half battery, consisting of three cannons and a howitzer. The battle, says the account, had scarcely lasted half an hour, when we saw one of these cannons carried to the market, and it was soon after known that the other cannon and the howitzer were taken by the Prussians.——The French withdrew into the town, and the Prussian cavalry and sharpshooters followed close at their heels. In all the streets of the town, and especially in the great market, the contest was very obstinate, as it was also at all the gates. The Prussians rushed in every where, scaled walls, leaped ditches, and made their way through gardens and houses.——It surpasses all belief with what bravery and activity the Prussians began, continued, and ended the fight. Many fell in this contest; the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded is especially considerable. The French were pursued for several hours.——A letter from Halle, dated 4th May, says, since Sunday the corps of Bulow, about 4,000 strong, had occupied our town.

AMERICAN WAR.

Capture of York.

Washington, May 11.——*From General Dearborn to the Secretary of War, dated Head-quarters, York, Capital of Upper Canada, April* 28, 1813.

Sir,—After a detention of some days by adverse winds, we arrived at this place yesterday morning, and at eight o'clock commenced landing the troops, about three miles westward from the town, and one and a half from the enemy's works. The wind was high, and in an unfavourable direction for the boats, which prevented the landing of the troops at a clear field, the site of the ancient French fort Tarento. It prevented also many of the armed vessels from taking positions which would have

most effectually covered our landing; but every thing that could be done was effected. ——The riflemen under Major Forsyth first landed, under a heavy fire from Indians and other troops. General Sheaffe commanded in person. He had collected his whole force in the woods near the point where the wind compelled our troops to land. His force consisted of 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians. Major Forsyth was supported as promptly as possible, but the contest was sharp and severe for near half an hour, and the enemy were repulsed by a number far inferior to theirs. As soon as General Pike landed with seven or eight hundred men, and the remainder of the troops were pushing for the shore, the enemy retreated to their works. Our troops were now formed on the ground originally intended for their landing, marched through a thick wood, and after carrying one battery by assault, were moving in columns towards the main work: when within sixty rods of this, a tremendous explosion took place from a magazine previously prepared, and which blew out such an immense quantity of stone as most seriously to injure our troops. I have not yet been able to collect the returns of the killed and wounded; but our loss will, I fear, exceed 100, and among these I have to lament the loss of that brave and excellent officer Brigadier General Pike, who received a contusion from a large stone, which terminated his valuable life in a few hours. His loss will be severely felt.——Previously to this explosion, the enemy had retired into the town, excepting a party of regulars, to the number of forty, who did not escape the effects of the shock, and were destroyed. ——General Sheaffe moved off with the regular troops, and left directions with the Commanding Officer of the Militia to make the best terms he could. In the mean time all further resistance on the part of the enemy ceased, and the outlines of a capitulation were agreed on.——As soon as I learned that General Pike had been wounded, I went on shore. To the General I had been induced to confide the immediate attack, from a knowledge that it was his wish, and that he would have felt mortified had it not been given to him.——Every movement was under my view. The troops behaved with great firmness, and deserve much applause, particularly those first engaged, and under circumstances which would have tried the steadiness of veterans.——Our loss in the morning, and in carrying the first battery, was not great; perhaps forty or fifty killed and wounded, and of them a full proportion of Officers. ——Notwithstanding the enemy's advantage in position and numbers in the commencement of the action, their loss was greater than ours, especially in officers. It was with great exertion that the small vessels of the fleet could work into the harbour against a gale of wind; but as soon as they got into a proper position, a tremendous cannonade opened upon the enemy's batteries, and was kept up against them until they were carried or blown up, and had, no doubt, a powerful effect upon the enemy.——I am under the greatest obligations to Commodore Chauncey, for his able and indefatigable exertions in every possible manner which could give facility and effect to the expedition. He is equally estimable for sound judgment, bravery, and industry. The Government could not have made a more fortunate selection.——Unfortunately the enemy's armed ship Prince Regent left this place for Kingston a few days before we arrived. A large ship on the stocks, and nearly planked up, and much naval stores, were set fire to by the enemy, soon after the explosion of the magazine. A considerable quantity of military stores and provisions remain, but no vessels fit for use.——We have not the means of transporting prisoners, and must of course leave them on parole.——I hope we shall so far complete what is necessary to be done here, as to be able to sail to-morrow for Niagara, whither I send this by a small vessel, with notice to General Lewis of our approach. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

HENRY DEARBORN.

Hon. Gen. J. Armstrong, Secretary of War, Washington.

SPAIN.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE.

War Department, Downing-street, May 18.——A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this morning received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieut. General Sir John Murray.

Castalla, April 14.—My Lord, I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship a copy of a dispatch addressed this day to General the Marquis of Wellington; and I am happy it is in my power to lay before your Lordship so convincing a proof of the gallantry and spirit which pervades this army. I have, indeed, but faintly describ-

ed the exertions of the officers and soldiers who have been engaged, but I still venture to hope that they will appear sufficiently meritorious to attract the notice and obtain the approbation of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. This dispatch, with its enclosure, will be delivered to your Lordship by Capt. D'Aguilar, of the 81st regiment, my Military Secretary. I have, with great inconvenience to myself, selected this officer, because he is so well qualified, from the situation he holds, to give your Lordship every information relative to this army and the province. I think I may safely venture to assure your Lordship, that Capt. D'Aguilar eminently possesses every quality which we prize in the character of a soldier; and I take the liberty of earnestly recommending him to your Lordship's favourable notice and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. MURRAY, Lieut. Gen.

The Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Castalla, April 14, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that the allied army under my command defeated the enemy on the 13th inst. commanded by Marshal Suchet in person.——It appears that the French General had, for the purpose of attacking this army, for some time been employed in collecting his whole disposable force. His arrangements were completed on the 10th, and in the morning of the 11th he attacked and dislodged, with some loss, a Spanish corps, posted by General Elio, at Yecla, which threatened his right, whilst it supported our left flank. In the evening he advanced in considerable force to Villena, and I am sorry to say, that he captured, on the morning of the 12th, a Spanish garrison, which had been thrown into the castle by the Spanish General, for its defence.——On the 12th, about noon, Marshal Suchet began his attack on the advance of this army posted at Biar, under the command of Col. Adam.——Colonel Adam's orders were to fall back upon Castalla; but to dispute the passage with the enemy; which he did with the utmost gallantry and skill, for five hours, though attacked by a force infinitely superior to that which he commanded. The enemy's advance occupied the pass that evening, and Col. Adam took up the ground in our position which had been allotted to him.——On the 13th, at noon, the enemy's columns of attack were formed, composed of three divisions of infantry, a corps of cavalry of about 1,600 men, and a formidable train of artillery. The position of the allied army was extensive. The left was posted on a strong range of hills, occupied by Major-General Whittingham's division of Spanish troops, and the advance of the allied army under Col. Adam.——This range of hills terminates at Castalla, which, and the ground to the right, was occupied by Major-General Mackenzie's division, and the 58th regiment, from that of Lieutenant-General Clinton. The remainder of the position was covered by a strong ravine, behind which Lieutenant-General Clinton was stationed, supported by three battalions of General Roche's division, as a column of reserve. A few batteries had been constructed in this part of the line, and in front of the Castle of Castalla. The enemy necessarily advanced on the left of the position. The first movement he made was to pass a strong body of cavalry along the line, threatening our right, which was refused. Of this movement no notice was taken; the ground to which he was pointing, is unfavourable to cavalry, and as this movement was foreseen, the necessary precautions had been taken: when this body of cavalry had passed nearly the half of our line of infantry, Marshal Suchet advanced his columns to the foot of the hills, and certainly his troops, with a degree of gallantry that entitles them to the highest praise, stormed the whole line, which is not less than two miles and a half in extent. But gallantly as the attack was made, the defence of the heights was no less brilliant; at every point the enemy was repulsed, at many with the bayonet.——He suffered very severe loss; our gallant troops pursued him for some distance, and drove him, after a severe struggle, with precipitation on his battalions of reserve upon the plain. The cavalry, which had slowly advanced along our right, gradually fell back to the infantry. At present his superiority in that art enabled him to venture this movement, which otherwise he should have severely repented. Having united his shattered battalions with those which he kept in reserve, Marshal Suchet took up a position in the valley; but which it would not have been creditable to allow him to retain. I therefore decided on quitting mine; still, however, retaining the heights, and formed the allied army in his front, covering my right flank with the cavalry, whilst the left rested on the hill. The army advanced in two lines to attack him a considerable distance, but unfortunately Marshal Suchet

did not choose to risk a second action, with the defile in his rear.——The line of the allies was scarcely formed when he began his retreat, and we could effect nothing more than driving the French into the pass with defeat, which they had exultingly passed in the morning. The action terminated at dusk, with a distant but heavy cannonade. I am sorry to say that I have no trophies to boast of. The enemy took no guns to the heights, and he retired too expeditiously to enable me to reach him. Those which he used in the latter part of the day, were posted in the gorge of the defile, and it would have cost us the lives of many brave men to take them. In the dusk, the allied army returned to its position at Castalla, after the enemy had retired to Biar. From thence he continued his retreat at midnight to Villena, which he quitted again this morning in great haste, directing his march upon Fuente de la Higuera and Onteniente.——But although I have taken no cannon from the enemy, in point of numbers his army is very considerably crippled, and the defeat of a French army, which had boasted it had never known a check, cannot fail, I should hope, in producing a most favourable effect in this part of the Peninsula. As I before mentioned to your Lordship, Marshal Suchet commanded in person. The Generals Harispe, Habert, and Robert, commanded their respective divisions. I hear from all quarters that General Harispe is killed; and I believe, from every account that I can collect, the loss of the enemy amounts fully to three thousand men; and he admits two thousand five hundred. Upwards of [illegible]0 have already been buried in front of our one part of our line; and we know that he has carried off with him an immense number of wounded. We had no opportunity of making prisoners, except such as were wounded; the numbers of which have not yet reached me. I am sure your Lordship will hear with much satisfaction, that this action has not cost us the lives of many of our comrades.——Deeply must be felt the loss, however, of such brave and gallant soldiers; but we know it is inevitable, and I can with truth affirm, that there was not an officer or soldier engaged who did not court the glorious termination of an honourable life, in the discharge of his duty to his King and country. The gallant and judicious conduct of those that were engaged, deprived much more than one half the army of sharing in the perils and glory of the day; but the steady countenance with which the divisions of Generals Clinton and Mackenzie remained for some hours under a cannonade, and the eagerness and alacrity with which the lines of attack were formed, sufficiently proved to me what I had to depend on from them, and Marshal Suchet awaited the attack. I trust your Lordship will now permit me to perform the most pleasing part of my duty, that of humbly submitting for His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's approbation, the names of those officers and corps which have had the fortunate opportunity of distinguishing themselves, in as far at least as has yet come to my knowledge. Colonel Adam, who commands the advance, claims the first place in this honourable list. I cannot sufficiently praise the judicious arrangements he made, and the ability with which he executed his orders on the 12th instant.——The advance consists only of the second battalion of the 27th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves; the 1st Italian regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Burke; the Calabrian Free corps, commanded by Major Carey; one rifle company of the 3d and 8th battalions King's German Legion, commanded by Captains Lueder and Brauns of those corps; and a troop of foreign hussars, under the orders of Captain Jacks, of the 20th dragoons, with four mountain guns, in charge of Capt. Arabin, royal artillery.——The enemy attacked this corps with from five to six thousand men, and for five hours (and then only in consequence of order) succeeded in possessing himself of the pass. This fact alone says more in favour of Colonel Adam, and in praise of those he commands, than any words of mine can express. I shall therefore confine myself to assuring your Lordship, that the conduct of all engaged in this brilliant affair, merits, and has met with, my highest approbation. Colonel Adam was wounded very early in the attack, but continued, and still continues in charge of his division. On the

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

STATE OF THE NAVY.——Below will be found the report, as copied from the London news-papers, of a most interesting debate on this most interesting subject. I, for my part, *know*, of myself, nothing at all of the matter; but, I must take it for granted, that LORD COCHRANE does know a great deal of the matter; and, as he offered to *prove*, at the bar of the House, the *truth* of all that he stated in his *resolution*, it seems to me, that news-paper editors ought to be very cautious how they accuse him of *bad motives*.——The COURIER news-paper, in speaking of the matter, has this passage: ——" Lord COCHRANE, *a Captain in the* " *Royal Navy*, brought forward a Naval " Motion in the House of Commons yester- " day, which we cannot characterize better " than by saying, that it excited the indig- " nation of every Member present, *Sir* " *Francis Burdett excepted*.——Mr. CRO- " KER, in a most spirited speech, frequent- " ly interrupted by loud cheering, replied " to and refuted every part of Lord COCH- " RANE's statement. We need not add, " that the motion was indignantly and de- " cisively rejected."——Yes, it does appear, that Mr. CROKER's speech was " fre- " quently interrupted by *loud cheering;*" but, my good friend, loud cheering is *no proof;* it is no *refutation* of a statement. Mr. TIERNEY was interrupted by loud cheering, when he made a speech against Mr. MADOX's motion about seat-selling, on the 11th of May, 1809; but, that did not invalidate, Mr. Madox's statement. Mr. YORKE was interrupted by loud cheering, when he talked, on Mr. WARDLE's motion, about " *a conspiracy against the House of* " *Brunswick*," and expressed his joy that the thing had assumed a " *tangible shape;*" but, it turned out, at last, that that cheering was no certain sign of the goodness of the cause of the cheered party. Which of the noisy, nasal, bombastical speeches of Pitt, predicting the overthrow of the French, was not received with " *loud* " *cheering*" by the Honourable House? And, was any one of those predictions ever fulfilled?——As to the " *loud cheering*," then, that was heard against my LORD COCHRANE's Resolution, we may, I trust, take the liberty to suppose, that it was worth nothing at all in the way of answer to his Lordship.——The motion was, we are told, " *indignantly* and decidedly *re-* " *jected*." So was Mr. MADOX's motion of the 11th May, 1809, though that Gentleman offered to bring to the bar of the Honourable House full proof of the truth of all that he alleged.——The rejection of the motion does not, then, amount to *proof* that its statements were false, or that its tendency was mischievous. A great many motions are rejected; that, for instance, for Catholic emancipation; but, are we hence to conclude, that they were *wrong?*—— We are told, by this writer, that Mr. CROKER *replied to*, and *refuted*, every part of Lord COCHRANE's statement.——This, indeed, is something; and, if Lord COCHRANE's Resolution had consisted of *reasonings*, or of *abstract propositions*, it might have been possible for Mr. CROKER to *refute* it by his speech; but, my Lord COCHRANE's Resolution consists, as will be seen, principally, of a statement of *specific facts;* and, of course, was not to be *refuted* but by specific facts, and those facts *proved* too. ——Mr. CROKER *asserted*, indeed, as appears by the report, that all that Lord COCHRANE had stated was *false* and *libellous;* but, this was only *assertion:* assertion is no *proof;* it is no *refutation;* for, refutation means, *disproof of an alleged fact*, or the *overselling of an argument*. ——In the Resolution of my Lord COCHRANE and the speech of Mr. CROKER we have *assertion against assertion;* and we are at full liberty to believe which of the two we think most worthy of credit, always bearing in mind, however, that the former offered to produce *proof*, at the bar of the House, of the truth of his assertions, and that the latter objected to the permitting of him to endeavour to produce that proof. My Lord COCHRANE was ready to put his assertion to the test of proof; Mr. CROKER seems to have been satisfied, that his assertion would stand

good without any such test.—— Now, for my part, I am sorry that the motion was not adopted by the Honourable House; because, we should then have had before us the *refutation*, or the *confirmation*, of my Lord COCHRANE's statement. As the matter now stands, we have, really, *no refutation at all*, unless we are to look upon the *assertions* of Mr. CROKER as a great deal better than those of Lord COCHRANE; and, we are to bear in mind, that the assertions of the former were made merely in the way of SPEECH, while those of the latter are recorded in the Votes of the House, in distinct and *unsayable* propositions.—— From the report of the debate, Mr. CALCRAFT seems to have taken a very active part against the motion. His words, as reported in the COURIER, are these:— "Mr. CALCRAFT bore testimony to the "Regulations according to which the pay-"ment of Wages and Prize-money was "conducted. They were, he could say "from his own personal experience in ap"plying for others, carried into effect with "great punctuality and precision. The "Noble Lord's Resolutions, he believed "in his heart, were calculated to *do more* "*mischief than almost any others that* "*could be framed;* and the time which he "chose to bring them forward, at the end "of the Session, made them still more "dangerous. The Honourable Baronet "had admitted, that he knew little of the "subject; and he was confident that if the "Hon. Baronet had but read them, he "would not have given them his support. "The Hon. Member had, indeed, spoke "with warmth, but he had spoken with "clearness, with propriety, *and with ef-"fect.* It was impossible to read one of "the Resolutions, which ascribed our late "losses to the decayed and heartless state "of our crews—not to the superiority of "the enemy's ships, and weight of metal "—without the strongest emotions *of in-"dignation:* and when he considered that "it came from a Noble Lord, *who owed* "*all his distinction to those decayed and* "*heartless seamen*, he felt himself justified "in calling it *a libel of the very worst kind.* "It was an unfounded attack upon the ho-"nour and valour of our officers and crews. "The Resolutions were, indeed, a tissue "of groundless assertions, and might be "justly considered as so many gross re-"flections *and libels* upon the character "and glory of the Navy."——Now, really, I do not understand this.——If the allegations in the Resolution were *false*, and *grossly false*, what possible *mischief* could they do? The sailors would, of course, *know* them to be false, and, though they might do harm to the reputation of the mover, they could do no harm to any body else. They could not tend to cause disaffection in the navy, because the officers and the sailors would *know* them to be *false*, and knowing them to be so *grossly false* they would only treat the mover with the contempt that a dealer in falsehood deserved.——What *mischief*, then, could they possibly do, if false?——If *true*, what mischief? Why, by inflaming discontents. But, if that were to be looked upon, in such a case, as a valid objection, what *petition* would escape censure, if it complained of any *abuse?* The petitioner, upon this principle, must always be accused of a *mischievous* act; because his petition, as far as it was known, must tend to inflame discontent: and thus would the only poor right which the Whigs left *the people*, at the Revolution, be totally destroyed; the *right* of *praying* for redress! ——Mr. CALCRAFT appears to have been filled with indignation at hearing the capture of our frigates by the Americans ascribed to any other cause than the *weight of metal* and *number of guns.*——Why, the Americans assert, that they had *no superiority in these respects;* and, I should, I must confess, like to see their assertions *disproved* by something worthy of the name of *proof.*——There is, in this case too, *assertion against assertion*, but, we see nothing in the way of *proof.* In the case of the sloop of war taken by a Yankee sloop of war, I have never seen it even *asserted*, that ours was the weakest vessel.——Had we not better, then, endeavour to make out the *proof* of the *American superiority in point of strength?* At least, I think we should do this, before we hasten to conclusions so hostile to the statements of my Lord Cochrane; before we call those statements *libels of the worst kind.*—And, *how* is the statement *libellous?* Whom does it *libel?* Whom does it calumniate? Nobody, that I can discover. Its professed object is to obtain good for the seamen of the Royal Navy; and, surely, it says no *harm* of either officers or men; unless it be to say harm of a man to say, that, owing to long and arduous exertions in his country's service, he is *worn out.*——As to Lord COCHRANE's *owing all his distinction to the seamen*, will not this apply to Lord ST. VINCENT and Lord WELLINGTON? If nothing of this distinction is to

be ascribed to my Lord COCHRANE's genius and courage, why is any thing to be ascribed to those qualities in Lord Wellington? Mr. CALCRAFT will hardly deny, that Lord Cochrane's successes are ascribable to the same cause as the successes of other commanders.——However, let it be so, for the sake of the argument, and then we shall be pleased with that feeling in his Lordship, which looks so much like gratitude, and which has prompted him to endeavour to do something for those, who have, at least, been his *companions* in success.——But, after all, why accuse my Lord Cochrane of uttering *libels?*——This is so stale an accusation; it has so long been applied to the statements of every one, who has any complaint to make against the government, that it, now-a-days, passes for little or nothing. Let the statements head by head, be *disproved*, and then call them *libels*, or what you please; but, until disproved, until the prayer of the maker of the statements to submit them to proof be granted, we, surely, ought not to call them *libels*, more especially as they speak evil of nobody belonging to the navy.——They do, indeed, speak ill of some persons, who use *borough influence;* but, my Lord COCHRANE, if permitted, pledges to *prove the truth* of what he says in this respect; and, if he be not permitted to endeavour to give such proof, in the name of candour, let him not be called a *libeller*.——In no part of this resolution is any ill said *of any part of the navy*, and, it is curious to see the *twist* that is given to the whole thing. The accusations of Lord COCHRANE are not against the *sailors* or their *officers*, but against *divers branches of the government;* but, the speeches of his opponents would seem to imply, that his resolution attacked the *navy* and *only the navy!*—And, the vile press, for the far greater part, has *suppressed the resolution*, while it has given currency to the *speeches*. This has been the conduct pursued both by the COURIER and the CHRONICLE; by the leading prints of both the political factions.——Let us hope, however, that the subject will be revived as soon as possible; for it is one of the greatest importance.

Want of time compels me to postpone my answer to Mr. FORDHAM, and my remarks on the *illuminating news* from *Spain*.

W. COBBETT.

Mr. Fordham's Letter on the Subject of the Trinity.

SIR,—I am glad that your notice of the Trinity has excited attention, because it has, at least, given rise to sentiments which regard the rights of man. I do not intend to make a long preface about irrelative points. Whether you are a Churchman or a Pagan; whether your motives are selfish or benevolent: I will not inquire into, because they do not, as you observe, affect the argument of the case. At the same time, your reflections upon the Unitarians, when you say, they would join in stoning him to death, who should deny the fact of the resurrection, is equally unfair on your part. I will now proceed to two principal points, which I will treat as concisely as I am able. The first, which is the main subject, respects the repeal of the law. To this repeal you object as *partial.* You say, "you can see no reason for this favour to one particular sect." But I beg leave to observe, that your statement is not accurate; the favour is not confined to one particular sect, it extends to every description of persons, to Atheists, Deists, and Mahometans, as much as to Unitarians, for all may alike preach against the Trinity upon the repeal of this law. *As far therefore as the repeal of this law is concerned, and this is the alone subject before us now, the benefit which will result from it is common to all men without distinction.* Now this is one point; there is another point in which you contend that this law ought not to be repealed, "*unless a law is passed to remove for ever all penalties for writing or speaking on the subject of religion.*" In the first place, as far as I myself am concerned, I would, *if I could*, pass a law which should authorize all persons to write and speak *whatever they please*, either for or against religion, as being, in my opinion, the right of every man: at the same time, I would repeal this present law alone, if I could not pass the general one. If you carry your principle home, it will paralyse all human efforts at once. There never was a man who *could do all he wanted to do at once;* the grandest efforts have been accomplished by short and regular steps. By this all-grasping principle, you ought not, I presume, to repeal *any* bad law, unless *all* the bad laws that exist, without the exception of *one*, were repealed at once and for ever, or unless the whole Constitution is at once restored in perfection. I say this appears to me to be the fair extent of your principle. On the contrary, I

would say, here is a bad law, repeal it; as soon as this is repealed, I go again, and say, here is another bad law, repeal this; and so on as far as I *can* proceed; thus I shall gain the whole, by gaining the parts which constitute the whole. If not, the parts which I have obtained are so much nearer the end of my journey. The second point is of a very different kind, but I think equally untenable. You say "I cannot, and I will not, *separate* the Scriptures into *false* and *true*. It is, and it must be, *all of a piece*." This is a singular assertion, and violates the common sense of mankind. Why should the Bible be treated in a manner in which we should not think of treating any other book, history, or publication whatever?—Some parts of profane history are rejected, while other parts are retained, according to the evidence; one column of a newspaper is authentic, another column contains a forgery, according to the evidence; yet they are both in the same newspaper; and thus, in like manner, one part of the Bible may be proved to be a forgery, while other parts are proved to be an authentic narrative of facts. I do not now say what part is true, and what is false; this would be totally irrelative; but I oppose your position, that the Scriptures "*must be all of a piece*."——I never knew, or read of, any Infidel who did not make this distinction. They all believe that such a man as Jesus existed, and, in your own words, "was killed in a most barbarous manner by those thieves of Jews," and yet they reject the miracles, because they think the evidence will support the first, and will reject the second; thus they separate the Scriptures into *false* and *true*. So the Unitarians think the evidence will reject the incarnation, and retain the resurrection; and so Trinitarians and Churchmen reject the Apocrypha, and retain the rest. Every thing must stand or fall upon evidence, and I see no reason why the Scriptures, more than any other book, "must be all of a piece."——If you think these remarks worthy a corner in your Register, which I certainly consider as a very useful argumentative publication, you will oblige me by their insertion.

I remain your's sincerely,

G. G. FORDHAM.

London, July 4th, 1813.

STATE OF THE NAVY.

Lord Cochrane rose in pursuance of his notice, to call the attention of the House to the present state of the navy. He would not long trespass on the attention of the House. In order to place before them in a clear and perspicuous manner his sentiments upon this most important subject, he had embodied them in a Resolution, which Members would have an opportunity of pursuing, and weighing with due deliberation during the period of adjournment, and the truth of which they would thus have an opportunity of ascertaining. He could only say, that to the correctness of the facts which he should state, he could most fully pledge himself. He would then content himself with reading his Resolution, and should reserve whatever else he might have to offer to the House till he heard whether any objection should be made—an event which he did not anticipate, as he saw not upon what ground objection could arise.—The Noble Lord then read the following Resolution:

"That the honour of his Majesty's Crown, the glory and safety of the country, does in a great degree depend on the maintenance, especially in time of war, of an efficient Naval Establishment.——That during the late and present war with France, splendid victories have been gained by his Majesty's fleets and vessels of war, over a vast superiority in the number of guns and men, and in the weight of metal.——That these victories, gained under such circumstances, were obtained by the skill and intrepidity of the officers, and by the energy, zeal, and valour of the crews.——That during the present war with the United States of America, his Majesty's Naval Service has, in several instances, experienced defeat, in a manner, and to a degree, unforeseen and unexpected by this House, by the Admiralty, and by the country at large.——That the cause of these lamentable defeats is not any superiority possessed by the enemy, either in skill or valour, nor the well known difference in the weight of metal, which heretofore has been deemed unimportant; but arises chiefly from the decayed and heartless state of the crews of his Majesty's ships of war, compared with their former energy and zeal—and compared, on the other hand, with the freshness and vigour of the crews of the enemy.——That it is an indisputable fact, that long and unlimited confinement to a ship, as well as to any other particular spot, and especially when accompanied with the diet necessarily that of ships of war, and a deprivation of the usual recreations of man, seldom fails to

produce a rapid decay of the physical powers—the natural parent, in such cases, of despondency of mind.——That the late and present war against France (including a short interval of peace, in which the navy was not paid off) have lasted upwards of twenty years, and that a new naval war has recently commenced.——That the duration of the term of service in his Majesty's navy is absolutely without any limitation; and that there is no mode provided for by law, for the fair and impartial discharging of men therefrom; and that, according to the present practice, decay, disease, incurable wounds, or death, can alone procure the release of any seaman, of whatever age, or whatever length of service.——That seamen who have become wholly unfit for active service, are, in place of being discharged and rewarded, according to their merits and their sufferings, transferred to ships on harbour-duty, where they are placed under officers wholly unacquainted with their character and former conduct, who have no other means to estimate them, but on the scale of their remaining activity and bodily strength; where there is no distinction made between the former petty officer and the common seamen; between youth and age; and where those worn-out and wounded seamen, who have spent the best part of their lives, or have lost their health in the service of their country, have to perform a duty more laborious than that of the convict felons in the dock-yards; and with this remarkable distinction, that the labours of the latter have a known termination.——That though the seamen, thus transferred, and thus employed, have all been invalided, they are permitted to re-enter ships of war on actual service; and, that such is the nature of the harbour-duty, that many, in order to escape from it, do so re-enter; there being no limitation as to the number of times of their being invalided, or that of their re-entering.——That to obtain a discharge from the navy, by purchase, the sum of eighty pounds sterling is required by the Admiralty, which, together with other expenses, amounts to twenty times the original bounty, and is equal to all that a seaman can save, with the most rigid economy, during the average period in which he is capable of service; that this sum is demanded alike from men of all ages and of all lengths of servitude; from those pensioned for wounds, and also from those invalided for harbour duty: thus converting the funds of Greenwich and the reward of former services into a means of recruiting the Navy: that such is the horror which seamen have of this useless prolongation of their captivity, that those who are able, in order to escape from it, actually return into the hands of Government all those fruits of their toil which, formerly, they looked to as the means of some little comfort in their old age.——That besides these capital grievances, tending to perpetuate the impress service, there are others worthy the serious attention of this House. That the petty officers and seamen on board of His Majesty's ships and vessels of war, though absent on foreign stations for many years, receive no wages until their return home, and are of course deprived of the comforts which those wages paid at short intervals, would procure them; that this is now more severely felt, owing to the recent practice of postponing declarations of war until long after the war has been actually begun; by which means the Navy is deprived under the name of Droits, of the first fruits and greatest proportion of the prize money to which they have heretofore been entitled: and thus, and by the exactions of the Courts of Admiralty, the proportion of captures which at last devolves to the Navy is much too small to produce those effects which formerly were so beneficial to the country; that while their wages are withheld from them abroad, when paid at home, which, to prevent desertion, usually takes place on the day before they sail out again, having no opportunity to go on shore, they are compelled to buy slops of Jews on board, or receive them from Government at 15 per Cent higher than their acknowledged value; and being paid in Bank-notes, they are naturally induced to exchange them for money current in other countries, and which it is notorious that they do at an enormous loss; that the recovery of the pay and prize money by the widows, children, or relatives of seamen, is rendered as difficult as possible; and finally, the regulations with regard to passing of the examination requisite, previous to an admission to the benefits of Greenwich Hospital, subject the disabled seaman to so many difficulties, and to such long delays, that in numerous cases, he is compelled to beg his way in the pursuit of a boon, the amount of which, even in event of the loss of both eyes, or of both arms, does not equal that of the common board wages of a footman.——That one of the best and strongest motives to meritorious conduct in military and naval men, is the

prospect of promotion, while such promotion is, at the same time, free of additional expense to the nation: but that in the British naval service, this powerful and honourable incitement has ceased to exist, seeing that the means of rewarding merit has been almost wholly withdrawn from Naval Commanders in Chief under whose inspection services are performed; in fact it is a matter of perfect notoriety, that it has become next to impossible for a meritorious subordinate petty officer or seaman to rise to the rank of Lieutenant; that in scarcely any instance promotion or employment is now to be obtained in the Navy, through any other means than what is called Parliamentary interest—that is, the corrupt influence of Boroughs.——That owing to these causes, chiefly, the crews of His Majesty's ships of war, have, in general, become in a very considerable degree worn out and disheartened, and inadequate to the performance, with their wonted energy and effect, of those arduous duties which belong to the Naval service; and that hence has arisen by slow and imperceptible degrees, the enormous augmentation of our ships and men, while the Naval force of our enemies is actually much less than in former years.——That as a remedy for this alarming national evil, it is absolutely necessary that the grievances of the Navy, some of which only have been recited above, should be redressed; that a limitation of the duration of service should be adopted, accompanied with the certainty of a suitable reward, not subject to any of the effects of partiality, and that measures should be taken to cause the comfortable situations in the ordinary of the dock-yards; the places of porters, messengers, &c. &c. in and about the offices belonging to the sea service. the Under Wardens of the Naval Forests, &c. to be bestowed on meritorious decayed Petty Officers and seamen, instead of being, as they now generally are, the wages of corruption in Borough elections.——That this House, convinced that a decrease of energy of character cannot be compensated by an augmentation of the number of ships, guns, and men, which is, at the same time, a grievous pecuniary burden to the country, will, at an early period next Session, institute an inquiry by Special Committee, or otherwise, into the matters above stated, and particularly with a view to dispensing suitable rewards to seamen; that they will investigate the state of the fund of Greenwich Hospital, and ascertain whether it is necessary to apply the Droits of the Admiralty, and the Droits of the Crown, as the natural first means of compensation to those who have acquired them by their valour, their privations, and their sufferings."

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the Resolution, and on the question having been put from the chair,

Mr. Croker said, he should think himself wanting in duty to the House, if he did not at once assure them, that except the very opening of the Resolution which had just been read from the Chair, there was not one statement which was not unfounded in fact, or exaggerated in the highest degree. *(Hear, hear).*—He had only to lament that the Noble Lord had not brought forward this subject at an earlier period of the Session, so that his statements might have been refuted in a manner more decided, although perhaps not more satisfactorily than they would be on the present occasion. He was surprised that the Noble Lord should have ventured to submit to the House a Resolution bearing upon its face such evident marks of its own falsehood—a Resolution, so replete as it was with the most unfounded calumny, and with such distortion of facts—who but the Noble Lord would have ever dreamed of such an insinuation as that the late victories gained by the American Navy over the British Flag had been attributable, not to the inequality of force, but to the misconduct and pusillanimity of our sailors?—*(Hear, hear.)*—What! he would ask, was the crew of the Java dispirited when she was taken?—*(Hear.)*—When the Macedonian was taken, was her crew sunk in apathy and broken-hearted?—*(Hear, hear.)*—So far from this being the case, he could state from his own knowledge, that in the latter part of the actions in which these vessels were engaged, and in which they had fought with so much honour to themselves, and so much glory to the British name, when almost all hopes had failed, their spirit and valour still remained unsubdued; and instead, as the Noble Lord would have the House to believe, sinking amidst the weight of their misfortunes, they cheered each other, with reiterated shouts of encouragement; and those cheers invariably commenced amongst the wounded in the cockpit! Did this, he would demand of the Noble Lord, shew any thing like a crew disheartened? Did this shew a British sailor to be aught but what he had ever proved himself to be? Did this tend to tarnish, or to diminish the

lustre which had ever attended the career of the British Navy?—*(Hear, hear.)*—With these facts before the House and the country, was he not authorized to call upon the Noble Lord to state, how he could presume to ask the House to vote for his Resolution? Another fact he would state, which he supposed the Noble Lord would construe into a new proof of the apathetical and disheartened state of our sailors. That to which he alluded was the conduct of John Humble, the boatswain of the *Java*, who, it would be seen on his examination before a Court-Martial, amongst other facts, stated, that having had his arm carried away, he went below to the surgeon, and, having had the stump "put to rights," as he termed it, by having the tourniquet applied to it, returned to the deck and cheered the boarders with his pipe.—*(Hear, hear.)* Was this a proof of any diminution of British valour, or of a falling off in the character and spirit of those brave men, who, until libelled and blown upon by the Noble Lord, had stood above the most distant imputation of misconduct?—In the same degree as this part of the resolution of the Noble Lord was incorrect, so was all the rest. With respect to the fact stated, of 80l. being demanded for the discharge of every seaman from the navy, nothing could be more unfounded. The truth was, that 80l. certainly was demanded for the discharge of an able seaman; but in proportion as the ability and usefulness of the man diminished, so did the sum required for his discharge. For instance, an ordinary seaman paid but 60l. and a landman but 40l.; and if these men became invalided, and were only employed in harbour duty, this demand was diminished one half. And again, where they were unfit for service, they were not alone discharged without fee, but received a pension for the remainder of their lives.——*(Hear)*.——If the sailors in His Majesty's service were not heart-broken before, the base libel which the Noble Lord had that day, attempted to throw on their character and their honour, was sufficient to effect that object, had the Noble Lord maintained so much authority over them as he did in former times—a circumstance which, happily there was much reason to doubt. The Noble Lord had talked also of corruption, and had said, that motions could only be obtained by means of corruption and Parliamentary influence. He would ask the Noble Lord, if his promotion was the effect of corruption?—*(hear, hear, hear.)*—Was the red ribbon which was given to him, for the first time to a man of his rank, the effect of Parliamentary influence?—*(hear, hear!)*—And was the promotion of many other men who he could name, if it would not be in some degree invidious, to be attributed to such an unworthy cause? It was easy, however, for the Noble Lord to talk in generals, but let him name who had received the wages of corruption, or who had given them—*(Hear, hear!)* The Right Honourable Gentleman having made some further reprobatory comments upon the resolution of the Noble Lord, concluded by expressing a hope that if the Noble Lord dared to press it to a division, that the House would leave him in such a minority as would prove the indignation with which it was regarded by the House.

Mr. Lockhart entreated the Noble Lord to withdraw a Resolution so inconsistent with the character which his Lordship had always borne, and so hostile to every feeling which the House had ever entertained towards the British navy.

Sir F. Burdett thought there was sufficient reason stated by the Noble Lord for an inquiry, and the very doubts which were urged by the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Croker) proved to him most strongly the necessity of that inquiry. He would agree that the period of the Session at which the matter had been brought forward was too advanced, yet if the Resolution was rejected now, he hoped the Noble Lord would renew the subject at an early part of the ensuing Session. He would not, however, advise the Noble Lord to withdraw his Resolution after the manner in which it had been stigmatized by the Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Croker).

Mr. Rose in the fullest manner denied all that had been advanced by the Noble Lord, with respect either to the difficulty of sailors receiving their pay or their prize money.

Mr. Calcraft, in terms of great animation, complimented Mr. Croker on the speech which he had made, and observed, that the Resolution of the Noble Lord was calculated to do more mischief in the British navy, than any other plan which could be devised. The Hon. Gentleman then defended the character of the British sailors with becoming zeal and energy, and concluded by expressing a hope, that the Resolution would meet in that House the fate it so eminently deserved.

Mr. *Wrottesley* bore testimony to the facility afforded in the navy public offices.

the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major-General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham reports, that in the execution of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th and 8th cacadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor. As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. The Lieutenant-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade, and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery, and, under cover of this fire, Col. Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry. During the operation at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under the command of Major-General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark. The movement of the troops under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pamplona; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions, taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Aruney and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken, close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only. The army under Joseph Buonaparté consisted of the whole of the armies of the South and of the Centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the North. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa; and General Clausel, who commands the army of the North, was near Logrono, with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Topin, and General Vandermaassen's division of the army of the North. The 6th division of the Allied Army, under Major-General the Honourable Edward Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores. I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the General Officers, officers, and soldiers of the army in this action. Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill speaks highly of the conduct of General Murillo, and the Spanish troops under his command, and of that of Lieut.-General the Hon. W. Stewart and the Conde d'Amarante, who commanded divisions of infantry under his directions. He likewise mentions the conduct of the Hon. Lieut.-Col. O'Callagan, who maintained the village of Sabijana de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of it, and that of Lieut.-Colonel Brooke, of the Adjutant-General's department, and Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Alexander Abercromby, of the Quarter-Master-General's department. It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of these respective divisions of Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Charles Baron Alten. These troops advanced in echelons of regiments, in two, and occasionally three lines; and the Portuguese troops, in the 3d and 4th divisions, under the command of Brigadier-General Power and Colonel Stubbs, led the march with a steadiness and gallantry never before surpassed on any occasion. Major-

General the Hon. C. Colville's brigade of the 3d division was seriously attacked, in its advance, by a very superior force, well formed, which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of the 7th division, commanded by Colonel Grant, of the 82d. These officers, and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves. Major-Gen. Vandeleur's brigade of the light division was, during the advance upon Vittoria, detached to the support of the 7th division, and Lieut.-Gen. the Earl of Dalhousie has reported most favourably of its conduct. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Graham particularly reports his sense of the assistance he received from Col. Delancey, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and from Lieut.-Col. Bouverie, of the Adjutant-General's department, and from the officers of his personal staff, and from the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Upton, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Major Hope, Assistant Adjutant, with the 1st division; and Major-General Oswald reports the same of Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley, of the Adjutant-General's department, and Lieut.-Colonel Gomm, of the Quarter-Master-General's department. I am particularly indebted to Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Graham, and Lieut.-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill, for the manner in which they have respectively conducted the service intrusted to them since the commencement of the operations, which have ended in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to Marshal Sir William Beresford, for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations. I must not omit to mention, likewise, the conduct of General Giron, who commands the Gallician army, who made a forced march from Orduna, and was actually on the ground in readiness to support Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham. I have frequently been indebted, and have had occasion to call the attention of your Lordship to the conduct of the Quarter-Master-General, Major-Gen. George Murray, who, in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st instant, has again given me the greatest assistance. I am likewise indebted much to Lord Aylmer, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, and to the officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General's departments respectively, and to Lieut.-Col. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieut.-Col. Campbell, and the officers of my personal Staff, and to Lieut.-Col. Sir R. Fletcher, and the officers of the Royal Engineers. Colonel his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange was in the field as my Aid-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence. Mareschal del Campo Don Luis Wimpsen, and the Inspector-General Don Thomas O'Donoju, and the officers of the Staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at their conduct, as likewise with that of Mareschal del Campo Don Miguel de Alava, and of the Brigadier-General Don Joseph O'Lawlor, who have been so long and so usefully employed with me. The artillery was most judiciously placed by Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, and was well served, and the army is particularly indebted to that corps. The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged, but the general officers, commanding the several brigades, kept the troops under their command respectively close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria. I send this dispatch by my Aid-de-Camp, Captain Fremantle, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection: he will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the colours of the 4th battalion of the 100th regiment, and Marshal Jourdan's baton of a Marshal of France, taken by the 87th regiment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded in the late operations, and a return of the ordnance and ammunition captured in the action of the 21st inst.

Abstract of Loss from June 12 to 21.

BRITISH—2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 62 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded.

PORTUGUESE—3 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 3 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

On the 21st.

Total British Loss.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 6 captains, 10 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 15 serjeants, 4 drummers, 460 rank and file, 92 horses, killed, 1 general staff, 7 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 40 captains, 87 lieutenants, 22 ensigns, 5 staff, 123 serjeants, 13 drummers, 2,504 rank and file, 63 horses, wounded.

Total Portuguese Loss.—3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 138 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 majors, 16 captains, 10 lieutenants, 19 ensigns, 2 staff, 35 serjeants, 1 drummer, 811 rank and file, wounded.

Total Spanish Loss.—1 captain, 3 lieutenants,

85 rank and file, killed; 1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 453 rank and file, wounded.

Grand Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 10 captains, 14 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 staff, 19 serjeants, 5 drummers, 683 rank and file, 93 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 9 lieutenant-colonels, 9 majors, 59 captains, 103 lieutenants, 41 ensigns, 7 staff, 153 serjeants, 14 drummers, 3,768 rank and file, 68 horses, wounded.

N. B. 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 263 rank and file, have been returned missing by the several corps of the army, British and Portuguese; it is supposed that the greater number of them lost their regiments in the course of the night, and that very few have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

(Signed) Aylmer, Dep.-Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed.
British.

11th Light Dragoons. Lieut. the Hon. G. Thellusson, attached to the 16th Light Dragoons.—12th Ditto. Cornet Hammond.—18th Hussars. Capt. Turing.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Thorn, Adj. Barker.—5th Foot. Capt. Adams, Ensign Bolton.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut. Harley, Lieut. Hill.—51st Foot. Lieut. Percy.—52 Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Curry.—68th Foot. Capt. Anderson, Ensign Parvin.—71st Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Col. Hon. H. Cadogan, Capt. Hall, Lieut. C. M'Kensey.—82d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Carrol.—83d Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut. Bloxham, Lieut. Lindsay.—87th Foot, 2d Batt. Ensign Greedy.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieut. L. Campbell.—94th Foot, 1st Batt. Volunteer Enright.

Names of Officers wounded.
British.—From 12th to 19th June.

3d Dragoons. Capt. Sitwell, severely.—25th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Raggup, ditto.—Brunswick Oels. Lieut. Meger, ditto.—1st Royal Scot. Volunteers W. Dobbs and S. Miller, slightly; T. Suthrill, severely.—23d Fusileers. Lieut. Sedly, severely.

On the 21st of June.

General Staff. Major-Gen. the Hon. Charles Colville, slightly; Major the Marquess of Tweeddale, 44th regiment, A. Q. M. G. ditto; Capt. T. H. Brown, 23d Fusileers, D. A. A. G. ditto; Capt. Hay, 1st Royal Scots, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Hay, severely; Capt. Bringhurst, 1st Dragoon Guards, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Fane, slightly; Capt. Hay, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Brisbane, ditto; Capt. Webster, 9th Light Dragoons, Extra Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Long, ditto; Capt. Woodyer, Royal Artillery, ditto.

3d Dragoon Guards. Lieut. W. Stewart, severely.—15th King's Hussars. Capt. Hencox, slightly; Lieut. the Hon. J. Finch, ditto.—16th Light Dragoons. Lieut. Arnold, ditto; Adj. Barra, ditto.—18th Hussars. Capt. R. Caw, severely (since dead); Cornet Forster, severely.—Royal Engineers. Lieut. Wright, slightly.—Royal Horse Artillery. Lieut. Swaby, severely.—1st Foot, 3d Batt. Lieut.-Col. Campbell, and Lieut. Glover, ditto; Lieuts. Armstrong, and Rae, slightly; Lieuts. M'Kelleghane, and Cross, severely, Ensign Green, slightly.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Captains Williamson, Kepping, Ward, and Edgel, severely; Lieut. Hopkins, slightly; Ensign M'Crohan, severely.—5th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Bateman, ditto; Lieut. Bird, slightly; Lieut. Higgins, severely; Lieut. Welch, very slightly; Lieut. Johnson, severely; Lieut. Galbraith, very slightly.—27th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieuts. Gordon, Wehr, and Hill.—28th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Patterson (Lieut.-Col.), Capt. Wilson, Capt. Bowles, Lieut. Wolf, Lieut. Morris, severely; Lieut. Gordon, slightly; Lieut. Irwing, severely; Lieut. Coen, Lieut. Burne, slightly; Lieut. Sweney, Lieut. M'Donnell, severely; Lieut. Clark, slightly; Lieut. R. Mitchell, severely; Lieut. Evans, slightly, Lieut. R. H. Mitchel, severely; Ensign Alexander, slightly; Ensign Burn, severely.—31st Foot, 2d Batt. Capt. Girdleston, ditto.—34th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut. Ball, slightly; Lieut. Moggerige, severely; Lieut. Cairnes, slightly.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. M'Gill, ditto; Ensign Curren, severely.—39th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Carthew, slightly; Capt. Walton, Capt. Hicks, severely; Lieuts. Mead, Crotty, and Reynolds, ditto; Lieuts. Spiers, and Baines, slightly.—40th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Ellis, Lieut. Gorman, and Ensign Fox, severely.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Duffey (Major), slightly; Lieut. Houlton, severely.—45th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. Ridewood, Lieuts. Reynet, Little, and Ensign Edmonds, ditto.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. Captains Hodges and Parsons, slightly; Capt. Yates, severely; Lieut. Short, slightly.—50th Foot, 1st Batt. Captains A. Gordon and Gardiner, Lieuts. Bower and Turner, and Ensigns Williams and Reid, severely.—51st Foot. Ensign J. Campbell, slightly. 52 Foot, 1st Batt. Adj. Jones, severely.—57th Foot, 1st. Batt. Lieuts. Northey, Dix, and Frances, slightly.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut.-Col. Fane, Major Weir (Lieut.-Col.) Lieuts. M'Gregor, Mayne, Walker (since dead), Langley, and M'Pherson, severely; and Ensign Pyne, slightly.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. Capt. Franchiny, Lieut. Joyce, ditto.—66th Foot, 2d Batt. Capt. Nicholls, severely.—68th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieut.-Col. Johnson, and Capt. Gough, ditto; Capt. Read, Lieuts. Sorly and M'Kay, slightly; Ensigns Fawke, Ball, and Stretton, severely; Ensign Skene, slightly; Adj. Hinds, severely.—71st Foot, 1st Batt. Brevet Lieut.-Col. Cothen, slightly; Capt. Read, severely; Capts. Pidgeon and Grant, and Lieut. Duff, slightly; Lieut. Fox, severely (since dead); Lieuts. Richards, M'Intyre, Toriarno, Campbell, and Commeline, severely; and Lieut. Cox, severely, and missing.—74th Foot. Capt. M'Queen, slightly; Capt. Ovens, Ensigns Hamilton and Shore, and Adj. White, severely.—82d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. Grant, Lieut. Derenzy, Lieut. Agnew, ditto.—83d Foot, 2d Batt. Major Widderington, ditto: Capt. Venables, Lieut. Smith, slightly; Lieut. Baldwin, severely.—87th Foot, 2d Batt. Capts. Vandeleur, O'Brien, and King; Lieuts. Higginson, and Mountgaret, ditto; Lieut. Dowling, Ensign Stafford, slightly.—88th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. M'Dermot, severely; Lieuts. Flood, Fitzpatrick, Faires, slightly; Ensign Sanders, severely.—94th Foot. Lieut.-Col. Campbell, Capt. Cairncross, Lieut. M'Arthur, ditto; Lieut Cannon, slightly; Ensigns Stainton and Nairne; Adj. Jackson, severely.—95th Foot, 1st Batt. Brevet Lieut.-Col. Cameron, severely; Lieuts. Cox, Hopwood, and Gairdner, ditto; Lieut. Lester, slightly.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. Capt. Jenkins, ditto.—Chasseurs Britanniques. Capt. Millims, ditto; Lieut. Lenhart, severely.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Lieut. Hedeman, slightly.—1st Foot, 3d Batt. Volunteer

Dobbs, severely.—5th Foot, 1st Batt. Volunteer Rees, ditto.

NAMES OF THE PORTUGUESE OFFICERS.

Killed.—9th Regiment of the Line. Ensign Martinho C. Reyo, Dns. Joao Matiro.—16th Ditto. Capt. Lynch.—21st Ditto. Capts. M. V. Sequera, C. J. D'Aro; Lieut. J. Palmer.—6th Cacadores. Ensign A. Ozzorio.

Wounded.—Lieut.-Col. Harding, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, severely; Capt. Fitzgerald, Brigade-Major, slightly.—3d Regiment of the Line. Capt. Smith, severely; Lieut. J. V. Cordor, slightly.—9th Ditto. Major Ross, Capts. J. M. J. Desoure, F. V. Boaz (since dead); G. Potter, Lieut. St. Martino, Querado; Ensigns T. J. Mesiell, I. L. Baieto, G. N. de Malos, and A. P. da Gema; Adj. M. S. Gomes.—11th Ditto. Major Donahoe, slightly; Capt. J. de Govic, ditto; Capt. G. Shipping, severely; Lieut. M. Saritos, ditto; Lieut. L. Pinto, Ensign A. Ribeiro, slightly; Ensign F. de Govia, severely.—16th Ditto. Major A. Campbell, ditto; Capt. R. Baptisto, slightly.—16th Ditto. Capt. M. J. Xavia, Ensign F. T. Penebra, ditto—17th Ditto. A. Evage, ditto.—21st Ditto. Capts. S. Girnier, A. J. Soeras, D. Mechad; Lieuts. Galbrieth, and F. de Lima; Ensigns J. A. Pinto, F. de Rango, A. S. Locvas, J. P. de Cea, and J. de Oleveira.—23d Ditto. Major F. D. de Pod Azeo, severely; Capt. F. J. Pierio; Ensigns S. de Cunha, and J. Robeira, slightly.—4th Cacadores. Capt. M'Greggor, severely; Ensign Frazao, slightly.—7th Cacadores. Capt. T. Velente, ditto; Lieut. P. Pauls, severely, Lieut. F. Cezai, Ensign J. Carisoatoms, slightly.—8th Cacadores. Capt. A. Carlos, severely; Ensign Perrara, ditto.—11th Cacadores. Lieuts. A. R. da Sa, P. D. M. Pioroto, Ensign A. J. Vedal.

SPANISH.

Brig.-Gen. Pablo Murillo, severely wounded. The other Spanish Officers' names not ascertained.

(Signed) AYLMER, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of Ordnance, Carriages, and Ammunition, captured from the Enemy in the Action of the 21st of June, 1813.

Vittoria, June 23, 1813.

Brass Ordnance on Travelling Carriages.

28 twelve-pounder guns, 42 eight pounder guns, 43 four-pounder guns, 3 eight-inch howitzers, 20 six-inch howitzers, 3 four and 2 five-inch howitzers, 2 six-inch mortars.—Total 151.

Caissons—56 twelve-pounder guns, 76 eight-pounder guns, 68 four-pounder guns, 7 eight-inch howitzers, 54 six-inch howitzers, 5 four and 9 five-inch howitzers, 149 small arm ammunition.—Total 415.

Rounds of Ammunition—1,936 twelve-pounder guns, 5,424 eight-pounder guns, 3,434 four-pounder guns, 97 eight-inch howitzers, 3,358 six-inch howitzers.—Total 14,249.

1,973,400 musket-ball cartridges, 40,668 lb. of gunpowder, 56 forage waggons, 44 forge waggons.

R. D. HENAGAN, Commissary Royal Artillery.
A. DICKSON, Lieut.-Col. commanding Artillery.

Irunzun, June 24.

My Lord,—The departure of Captain Fremantle having been delayed till this day, by the necessity of making up the returns, I have to report to your Lordship, that we have continued to pursue the enemy, whose rear reached Pamplona this day. We have done them as much injury as has been in our power, considering the state of the weather and of the roads; and this day the advanced guard, consisting of Major-General Victor Baron Alten's brigade, and the 1st and 3d battalions of the 95th regiment, and Major Ross's troop of horse artillery, took from them the remaining gun they had. They have entered Pamplona, therefore, with one howitzer only. General Clausel, who had under his command that part of the Army of the North, and one division of the Army of Portugal which was not in the action of the 21st, approached Vittoria on the 23d, when he heard of the action of the preceding day, and finding there the 6th division, which had just arrived under the command of Major-Gen. the Hon. E. Pakenham, he retired upon la Guardia, and has since marched upon Tudela de Ebro. It is probable that the enemy will continue their retreat into France. I have detached Gen. Giron with the Gallician Army in pursuit of the convoy which moved from Vittoria on the morning of the 20th, which I hope he will overtake before it reaches Bayonne.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *July* 3.
(Transmitted by Lord Keith.)

His Majesty's ship Surveillante, at anchor off Castro, June 25, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that the supplies of the garrison of Castro de Urdeales having been cut off by His Majesty's cruisers on this coast, and the total want of meat, obliged the commanding officer to evacuate the castle on the 22d instant, and retire to Santona. The Sparrow heaving in sight at the same moment, obliged the Commandant to do this so precipitately, as to prevent his destroying his artillery and powder, or doing any mischief to the castle itself. Captain Taylor very properly immediately garrisoned the castle, and this day we have had a party of the army under General Mendizabel. I am sorry to say, five-sixths of this town is in ruins, and that the dreadful barbarities committed by the French-Italian troops, as detailed by the few surviving old women, are too shocking to be made the subject of a public letter: nor was the carnage confined to the evening of the storm alone. The inhabitants

who fled are now returning, but misery and poverty are at an acme. Fourteen of the savage authors of these excesses were taken in Bilboa, since the evacuation, and were deservedly put to death. I have now the pleasure of saying, that the whole line of coast from Guetaria to Santonia is evacuated by the enemy.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) George R. Collier.

[Here follows a return of Ordnance found in the Castle of Castro.]

Supplement to the London Gazette of Saturday, July 3.

War Department.

Downing-Street, July 4, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have been received at Earl Bathurst's office, in the course of this day and yesterday, addressed to His Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquess of Wellington.—

Ainpudia, June 6, 1813.

My Lord,—The troops have continued to advance since I wrote to your Lordship on the 31st of last month, and were on the 1st at Zamora, and on the 2d at Toro. The English hussars, being in the advanced guard, fell in, between Toro and Morales, with a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which were immediately attacked by the 10th, supported by the 18th and 15th. The enemy were overthrown, and pursued for many miles, and 210 prisoners, with many horses, and 2 officers, fell into our hands. I enclose Col. Grant's report of this gallant affair, which reflects great credit upon Major Robarts and the 10th hussars, and upon Colonel Grant, under whose direction they acted.——On the same evening Don Julian Sanches surprised the enemy's post at Castronuno, and took two officers and thirty cavalry prisoners, and he drove their posts from the ford at Pollos.——The enemy had destroyed the bridges of Zamora and Toro, and the difficulties in the passage of the Esla had retarded the movement of our rear, while the enemy had concentrated their force to a considerable amount between Torrelobaton and Tordesillas. I therefore halted on the 3d at Toro, in order to bring the light division and the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, across the Douro, by the bridge of the town, and to close up the rear, and bring the Galician army to join our left. We moved again on the 4th.——The enemy had commenced collecting their troops towards the Douro, when they found that we passed Ciudad Rodrigo: and they crossed the Douro at Tordesillas on the 1st and 2d. The troops at Madrid, and the detachments on the Tagus, broke up on the 27th, and crossed the Douro at the Ponte de Douro on the 3d, and Valladolid was entirely evacuated on the 4th.——The enemy left considerable magazines of grain at Arevalo, and some ammunition at Valladolid and Zamora.——The enemy have passed the Carrion, and are apparently on their retreat towards Burgos.——I have received no accounts from Alicant since I addressed your Lordship last.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wellington.

(Enclosure in the preceding Dispatch.)

Morales, June 2, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that on approaching Morales this morning, with the hussar brigade, the French cavalry appeared in considerable force near that place.——The 10th Royal Hussars were immediately brought forward, under the orders of Major Robarts, who attacked the advanced squadrons of the enemy in the most gallant manner: their front line made a determined resistance, but was instantly overpowered by the irresistible impetuosity of the 10th Hussars, which being now supported by the 18th (the 15th being in reserve), reached their second line, and drove it, with loss, to the heights, two miles in front of Morales; a position which the enemy occupied with a large force of cavalry and infantry, and where the remains of their shattered squadrons took shelter under cover of their guns. It is with much satisfaction I acquaint your Lordship, that nothing could exceed the steadiness and bravery of the troops in this affair.——I have, however, to regret the loss of a very promising young officer, Lieut. Cotton, of the 10th hussars, who was killed in the midst of the enemy's ranks. I am sorry to add, that Capt. Lloyd, of the same regiment, is missing.——I have the honour to enclose the return of the killed and wounded, also a return of the loss sustained by the enemy, as far as it can be ascertained.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. Grant.

The Marquess of Wellington.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have learnt that Capt. Lloyd was wounded and

taken prisoner, but has been left at Pedrosa del Rey, having given his parole to the enemy. His wound is severe, but not dangerous.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing in Action with the Enemy's Rear Guard, near Morales, on the 2d June, 1813.

10th Royal Hussars, 1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file, 4 horses, killed; 10 rank and file, 9 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, 10 horses, missing.—15th Hussars, 1 colonel, wounded.—18th Hussars, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Total—1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file, 4 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 serjeant, 13 rank and file, 12 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, 11 horses, missing.

Officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Killed—10th Royal Hussars, Lieut. Cotton: *wounded*—15th Hussars, Colonel Grant, slightly: *missing*—10th Hussars, Captain Lloyd.

Villadiego, June 13, 1813.

My Lord,—The army passed the Carrion on the 7th. The enemy having retired across the Pisuerga, and on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, we brought forward our left, and passed that river. The celerity of our march up to this period, induced me to make short movements on the 11th, and to halt the left on the 12th; but on the latter day I moved forward the right, under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, consisting of the 2d British, Brigadier-General Murillo's Spanish, and the Conde D'Amarante's Portuguese divisions of infantry, and the light division, under Major-Gen. Charles Baron Alten, and Major-General Victor Baron Alten's, Major-Gen. Fane's, Major-Gen. Long's, the Hon. Brigadier-Gen. Ponsonby's, and Colonel Grant's (hussars) brigades of cavalry, towards Burgos, with a view to reconnoitre the enemy's position and numbers near that town, and to force them to a decision whether to abandon the castle to its fate, or to protect it with all their force.——I found the enemy posted with a considerable force, commanded, as I understand, by General Reille, on the heights on the left of the Hormaza, with their right above the village of Hormaza, and their left in front of Estepar. We turned their right with the hussars, and Brigadier General Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and the light division from Isar, while General Victor Alten's brigade of cavalry, and the Hon. Colonel O'Callaghan's brigade of the 2d division, moved up the heights from Hormaza; and the remainder of the troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, threatened the heights of Estapar. These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of our left and centre were entirely in the rear of the enemy, who were obliged to retire across the Arlanzon, by the high road towards Burgos. Although pressed by our cavalry, and suffering considerable loss by the fire of Major Gardiner's troop of horse artillery, and obliged to make their movements at an accelerated pace, that they might not give time to our infantry to come up, they made it in admirable order; but they lost one gun, and some prisoners, taken by a squadron of the 14th light dragoons, commanded by Capt. Milles, and a detachment of the 3d dragoons, which charged their rear.——The enemy took post on the left of the Arlanzon and Urbel rivers, which were much swelled by the rains; and in the course of the night retired their whole army through Burgos, having abandoned and destroyed, so far as they were able, in the short space of time during which they were there, the works of the castle, which they had constructed and improved at so large an expense; and they are now on their retreat towards the Ebro by the high road of Briviesca and Miranda. In the mean time the whole of the army of the Allies has made a movement to the left this day; and the Spanish corps of Gallicia, under General Giron, and the left of the British and Portuguese army, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, will, I hope, pass the Ebro to-morrow.——In the course of the 9th, 10th, and 11th, Don Julian Sanchez was very active on the left of the enemy, and took several prisoners.——I have received a letter from General Elio, in which he informs me that the third Spanish army had joined the second, and these armies had taken the positions before occupied by the second army, and the Anglo-Sicilian corps, under Sir John Murray; and that General Sir John Murray embarked, in obedience to the orders which he had received, with the troops under his command, had sailed from Alicant with a fair wind, and was out of sight on the 1st inst.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

The Earl Bathurst, &c.

Subijana, on the Bayas, June 19, 1813.

My Lord,—The left of the army crossed the Ebro on the 14th, by the bridges of St. Martin and Rocamunde, and the remainder on the 15th, by those bridges and that of Puente Arenas. We continued our march

on the following days, towards Vittoria. ——The enemy assembled on the 16th and 17th a considerable corps at Espejo, not far from the Puente Carra, composed of some of the troops which had been for some time in the provinces in pursuit of Longa and Mina, and others detached from the main body of the army, which were still at Pancorbo. They had likewise a division of infantry and some cavalry at Frias since the 16th, for the purpose of observing our movements on the left of the Ebro. —— These detachments marched yesterday morning; that from Frias upon St. Millan, where it was found by the light division of the Allied Army, under Major-Gen. Charles Alten; and that from Espejo on Osma, where it met the 1st and 5th divisions, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham. ——Major-General Charles Alten drove the enemy from St. Millan, and afterwards cut off the rear brigade of the division, of which he took three hundred prisoners, killed and wounded many, and the brigade was dispersed in the mountains.——The corps from Espejo was considerably stronger than the allied corps under Sir T. Graham, which had arrived nearly at the same time at Osma. The enemy moved on to the attack, but were soon obliged to retire; and they were followed to Espejo, from whence they retired through the hills to this place. It was late in the day before the other troops came up to the advanced position which those under Sir Thomas Graham had taken, and I halted the 4th division, which had relieved the 5th, near Espejo.——The army moved forward this day to this river; found the enemy's rear-guard in a strong position on the left of the river, having his right covered by Subijana, and his left by the heights in front of Pobes.——We turned the enemy's left with the light division, while the 4th division, under Lieut.-Gen. Sir Lowry Cole, attacked them in front, and the rear-guard was driven back upon the main body of the army, which was in march from Pancorbo to Vittoria, having broken up from thence last night. I am informed that the enemy have dismantled Pancorbo. —— Colonel Longa's division joined the army on the 6th, on its arrival at Medina del Pomar.—— The Conde del Abisbal will arrive at Burgos on the 24th and 25th.——I have not received any intelligence from the eastern coast since I addressed your Lordship last.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Marquis Wellington to Earl Bathurst, dated the 24th of June.

I have the honour to enclose a report which I have received from General Copons, of a very gallant affair in Catalonia, on the 7th of May, by a brigade of Spanish troops, under the command of Colonel Don Manuel Llander; and I have received a report (not official) stating, that on the 17th of May, General Copons had defeated the enemy in the position of Concal, near El Abisbal.

(Translation.)

Most Excellent Sir,—The God of armies favours the operations of that which I have the honour to command.——The 2d brigade of the 2d division, under the command of Colonel Don Manuel Llander, has completely destroyed, on the 7th instant, an enemy's column, composed of 1,500 men, commanded by the Marshal, who left Puycerda for the purpose of attacking Colonel Llander's flank, while he was engaged in the blockade of Olot: 4 officers and 290 men made prisoners, 12 caissons, and more than 500 muskets and the reduction of the enemy's number to some 300 men, are the results of this fortunate affair.——General Maurice Mathieu, with a corps of 6,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and five pieces of cannon, under Generals Expert and Debans, marched to Tarragona, for the purpose of protecting a convoy.——I followed with the 2d brigade of the 1st division, the 1st of the 2d, the battalion of the General, and 30 cavalry, making a total of 3,200 men. On the return of General Mathieu for Barcelona, I endeavoured to draw him to an advantageous position, which I occupied at the village of Abisbal, where I offered him battle on the 17th. At half-past seven in the morning the fire began, and soon became general along the whole line: the attack and movement of the enemy to turn my flank were unavailing. At half-past twelve he attacked, with the greatest spirit, and being repulsed and vigorously pursued, commenced his retreat in sight of our valiant soldiers.——The field remained co-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 17, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE TRINITY.——MR. FORDHAM'S LETTER.——This letter, inserted in my last, at page 38, I deem worthy of particular attention, as well on account of the fair and clear manner in which the writer has expressed himself, as because he has put his name to what he has written.——MR. FORDHAM complains of unfairness in me, in saying that the Unitarians would join in stoning to death those who deny that part of the Bible which they believe in.——I did not mean *all* Unitarians. I mean some of those who had written against me at this time; and, after hearing them answer my *arguments* by asserting that I was actuated by motives of *gain*, and by calling me by all manner of vile names; after hearing one of them hint, that it was an excellent code of laws, in virtue of which I was put into Newgate for two years, and had a fine of a thousand pounds imposed on me, for writing about the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, in England, they having first been reduced to submission by the means of German Troops; after hearing my *reasonings* answered in this way by an Unitarian, was it going too far to suppose, that the same man, and that others like him, would gladly join in stoning me to death; or in stoning any other man to death, who differed with them in opinion as to their religious tenets, and who exposed the absurdity of those tenets?——The man who threw out such a hint; the man who could be base enough thus to indulge his spite, shall never persuade me, that any act is too cruel for his mind; and, I shall always be of opinion, that want of power alone prevents him from playing the tyrant.——MR. FORDHAM, in answer to my objection against the proposed repealing law, as *partial*, says, that my statement is *not accurate; for*, that the favour is *not confined to one particular sect;* that it extends to every description of persons, to Atheists, Deists, and Mahometans, as much as to Unitarians; for all may alike preach against the Trinity upon the repeal of this law.——MR. FORDHAM does, in my opinion, deceive himself by the speciousness of his argument.——It is true, that, if this law had passed, a Deist, for instance, might have preached against the Trinity; but, what *favour* would that have been to the Deist, who, if I rightly understand the meaning of the word, disbelieves the whole of the Christian religion, and thinks that to be compelled to hold his tongue in the denial of it is a hardship. To him, then, what *favour* is the repeal of this law? If there were a law, forbidding all the farmers in Hertfordshire to graze any of their land, and also to sow wheat on any of their land; and, if the former prohibition were repealed without the repeal of the latter, though those who had good grass land might be benefited, what good would the repeal do to those who had no land fit for grazing, and whose land would bear very good wheat? The graziers might say, "come, come, this is so "far so good; perhaps you wheat-land "people will find redress in time;" but, I imagine, that the latter would look upon their grievance as more firmly fixed on them than before, and, for this very good reason, that the complainants would have been reduced to a smaller number.——To have liberty to deny the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, is nothing at all to the Deist. His opinions want to have a free course over *the whole* of revelation, and, therefore, to tell him that they may go to a *certain extent*, is no favour. It is, indeed, to him, *a fresh act of restraint*. It is telling him, that, though others, who do not think like him, may be indulged in their opinions, *he* must, by no means, be indulged in his.——I object to a *partial* repeal of the penal statutes concerning religion; I say, that *all* ought to be repealed, or that *all* ought to remain.——MR. FORDHAM says, that this principle, carried home, would paralyse all human efforts; for, that there never was a man who could *do all that he wanted to do at once;* and, that the *grandest efforts have been accomplished by short and regular steps.* Granted, where the efforts have been those of *the mind*, and in most cases where there has been *no political power* to contend with. But, not so

where laws, or systems of government, have been the object of opposition. The Church of Rome was not overset in England by short and regular steps; the House of Stuart were not driven out by short and regular steps; there were no short and regular steps in either the American or French revolutions. In these cases, *nothing* was done till *all* was done.——And, in these before us, the chances against success by short and regular steps are still fewer; for, the proposed measure does not at all *tend* towards a *general repeal*. It is a measure that will *satisfy* one sect. It is not a measure intended *to go part of the way towards a general repeal*. It is proposed for the purpose of satisfying one particular sect, and, of course, it must have the effect of taking them out of the general mass of complainants. Adopt this measure, and the Unitarians have nothing more to complain of; the cause of a general repeal *is weakened* by dividing those who before contended for it.——Would Mr. Fordham think that a separate peace between France and Russia ought to be looked upon as a *favour* to England? Upon his principle he must, I think; and yet he certainly would not. France, as we are told, is exercising despotic power over the continent, and, amongst other powers, over Prussia; but, I much question, whether many people here would regard it as a good thing for Europe in general for France to relax in her system towards Prussia, and thereby satisfy Prussia, and take her out of the number of those powers who have now, it is said, to complain of the despotism of France. I much question whether many people here would suppose that such a measure on the part of France was a short and regular step towards the "*deliverance of Europe*."——In making use of this illustration, I am not to be understood as comparing our penal statutes on the subject of religion to the acts of France on the Continent. I do not pretend to characterize those statutes; but, what I say is this: that, supposing the statutes to be unjust towards *one* sect, they are so towards *all* sects; and that to repeal them as far as they affect *one only*, is not a step towards a general repeal, any more than a peace between France and Russia would be a step towards a general peace.——Mr. Fordham seems to regard this work of repealing penal statutes against religious sects, in the same light as almost any work which requires *time* to accomplish it. But, it is manifestly very different; for, it requires no time at all. The whole thing can be accomplished in a few days. Those who can repeal the law as far as the Unitarians want it repealed, can, at the same time, repeal the whole of the law as far as *any* sect can possibly wish for a repeal. This work of repealing laws is very different from those efforts of man, which require *time* and the *increase of means* to accomplish them.——No, Sir, I am not against repealing *one* bad law, unless *all* bad laws are repealed at the same time. I have not stated any such thing, nor will my principle extend to any such length. I am for repealing any bad law that may be found to exist; and, if the law about religion be bad (a point which I will not pretend to determine) repeal it; but, pray repeal the *whole of it;* do not repeal the part which one sect complain of, and leave in force a part which another sect complain of. I, like Mr. Fordham, would repeal all bad laws, *one at a time;* but, what I object to, in this case, is, that Mr. Smith proposes the repeal of only *that part of a law* of which *a particular sect* thought proper to complain, *leaving all the rest of the law in full force;* and that, too, with this important circumstance, that the repeal must obviously render the cause of those, who still complained, *more hopeless than it was before*, thereby doing, what partiality always must do, an act of injustice.——Mr. Fordham, in quoting my expression, "that I cannot and "will not *separate* the Scriptures into *true* "and *false*," and my assertion that "they "are *all of a piece*," says, that this is a *singular* assertion, and *violates the common sense of mankind*.——I believe, that, however I may differ from others in other respects; however singular I may be in other opinions, I perfectly agree, in this respect, with almost all the world, where the Scriptures were ever heard of; for, though many have denied their truth, very few have contended, that they were *partly true* and *partly false*. The fact is, that the world has been divided with respect to them; on one side they have been held to be *the word of God*, and, of course, to be all true; on the other side they have been held to be the mere work of man, and, of course, as pretending to be the word of God, all false.——When I say *all false*, Mr. Fordham can hardly suppose, that I mean that no proposition stated in them is true unless all be true. For instance, can he suppose, that I mean to include in the alternative, such a phrase as this; "*the wind bloweth whither "it listeth?*" Why, I *know* this to be true, and all the world knows it to be true.

Therefore, when I say, that the Scriptures must be all true, or all false, he cannot suppose, that I mean to include every word and syllable of the Book.——But, what I do mean is this; that *the whole* of those facts, which are taken in support of the Christian religion, are *true*, or that the whole of them are *false;* and that it is a gross absurdity to believe that Jesus Christ *rose from the grave*, and, at the same time, to say that his miraculous birth is *improbable*. Upon *what authority* does the Unitarian believe in the *resurrection?* Why, upon the authority of the Scriptures, for he has no other; and, why, then, does he reject a belief in the *incarnation*, which is not a bit more wonderful to our conceptions, and is, at any rate, related, by the same authority, in as circumstantial and positive a manner as is the history of the resurrection.——Mr. Fordham never heard of even any *infidel*, who did not believe *part* of the Scriptures to be true. They all, he says, believe, that such a man as Jesus *existed*. Yes, but he will misunderstand me. This is not one of those facts that I am speaking of. Such a fact as this might be true, and much of the rest of the book false; because *we know that men do exist;* it is a fact that has nothing of the supernatural in it. But, what puzzles me, what worries me almost out of my life, is, that a man like Mr. Fordham should be a sincere believer in the *resurrection* of Jesus Christ, and that he should want an act of parliament passed to permit him to say that he does not believe in the *incarnation;* though the *authority*, and the sole authority, for his belief, is exactly the same in both cases.——There is, as I have before said, nothing *more wonderful* in the incarnation than in the resurrection. Mr. Fordham thinks the former improbable, and *why?* Is it because he does now see nothing of the kind passing in the world? If this be his reason, does he, I pray him, ever see any people rising out of their graves? We hear, indeed, of ghosts appearing, in winding-sheets sometimes; and I have heard of a holy sister, amongst the fanatics in America, who pretended to have had a miraculous conception. But, this was too gross to pass any where but in the *back woods;* and we know, that, in our own country, Ghosts become every day more and more rare. In short, these supernatural appearances are now confined to the scenes invented by the monstermongers of the Theatre, who seem to be engaged in that struggle against the light of reason, which a more solemn set of impostors have been obliged to give up.——I return, then, to my position; that the Scriptures are *all of a piece;* that we must, with our Church, believe in the *incarnation*, or, we must reject the *resurrection;* because both rests upon the *same authority;* because there is only *one* single authority for both; and because the two things are *equally supernatural*.——If a man were to tell me that he had a hen, and that she laid him an egg full of guineas every day; of these two facts I should disbelieve the latter, and, perhaps, believe the former; because, I see that there are hens enough about, but that they never do lay eggs with guineas in them. Here I should *separate* the history into *true* and *false;* and why? Because, though resting upon the self-same sole authority, one is agreeable to what I see passing in the world, and the other is directly the reverse of what I have always observed. But, let it never be forgotten, that, in the case of the incarnation and the resurrection, they are *equally wonderful;* equally contrary to human experience and observation; and, of course, resting, as they do, upon the *same sole authority*, entitled to equal credit.——I really am quite astonished, that Mr. Fordham should repeat the notion of a *mere book*, the work of man. "*Why*," says he, "should we treat the *Bible* in a manner, "in which we should not think of treating "*any other* book, history, or publication "whatsoever?" *Why!* Do you ask *why?* And, can you be *serious* in your question? *Why*, is not the Bible composed of writings called the *Holy* Scriptures? Are they not called the *sacred* writings? Are not the whole body of their contents called *Revelation?* Are not the immediate authors held to have been *inspired?* Are they not, in short, the WORD OF GOD? This is the WHY. This is the reason for treating the Bible in a manner, in which we should not think of treating any other *publication*.——The *whole* is the word of God, or *none of it* is the word of God: or, at least, there is no one to tell us which part is and which part is not.——This treating of the Scripture as a common history or other *publication* has, however, been forced out from the Unitarians; for Mr. Smith said, that they had no objection to the Act of parliament, which required of them a declaration of a *belief in the Holy Scriptures*. By which, of course, he meant a belief in them as being *the word of God;* for of what use would have been a declaration, *that they believed in there being such a book?*

——They could hardly mean to save themselves under the Jesuitical pretence, that the declaration might mean, that they believed *in part* of the Scriptures. They must believe in the *whole*, or their declaration would have been false.——The separation of the Scriptures into *false* and *true* shows that what I said from the outset was correct. I said, that the proposed act, if passed, would be a blow into the very bowels of the Christian system; because it was easy to perceive, that it must lead to discussions that would involve a flat denial of the Scriptures being the word of God, which the Unitarians now openly make; and yet some of them have had the conscience to ascribe to me the motive of attacking Christianity from behind the ramparts of the Church!——If we do not believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, how can we find fault with any one for what he says about them, any more than for what he may choose to say about the writings of HUME or PAINE?——There are many things very wonderful, related in the Scriptures; but, we must, it appears to me, believe in them all, or, we must disbelieve them all. We are told, in one chapter, that an *Ass spoke*, and remonstrated with her master for his cruelty; but, though we never hear Asses speak, we are not to reject this interesting portion of the sacred book, for the fact is not, in the least, more wonderful than the resurrection, or the turning of a woman into a pillar of salt.——If we go about to pick and choose, I say the whole will be blown into the air. We must take *the whole together*, and believe it, or reject it.——The BILL is, I see, thrown out in the House of Lords; and, I must say, that I am glad of it, for the reasons which I have before so amply stated; and, until the Bill be revived, I think that this discussion may as well be closed. I shall, however, be very glad to hear from TRANQUILLUS, the *reasons* why the Unitarians *aid in the circulation of the Bible*, while they scruple not to assert, that it contains *forgeries* and *falsehoods*. I shall be very glad to hear why the Unitarians lend their aid to the putting into the hands of children a book, of which they speak in such terms.

WAR IN SPAIN.——The late victories obtained by Lord Wellington, have filled the nation with joy, and will, I hope, reconcile all classes to the payment of taxes of all sorts; for, it is not to be supposed, that so much glory and advantage are to be had for nothing.——This is what I find fault of in the people of England. They can rejoice at victories as much as any nation. They can set out lamps and transparencies with any body. They can brag of the thumpings which we give the enemy; but, when the taxgatherer comes, they look like a set of jolly guests when the landlord comes in with the reckoning.——Just as if any thing good was to be had without paying for it!——As to the *effects* of these victories upon *the enemy*, they will, I imagine, in the *end*, have very little. They will tend to *lengthen the war*; but, we cannot *keep* Spain and Portugal, and I do not suppose, that the old family of Spain will ever see that country again.——The war now costs us about 70 millions of money annually; and my Lord Liverpool avers, that we pay in paper which is equal in value to gold. Mr. Addington, at the outset of the war, said the annual cost would never exceed 26 millions!——He was not so good a prophet as Mr. PAINE, who has *told our fortune* thus far to a hair. He said that this war would carry the debt to a *thousand millions!* He was, I am afraid, far under the mark.——The *Bank*, it is said, illuminated very brilliantly for the victory, exhibiting a CROWN and a M. W. It should have had a grand transparency with the figures representing the amount of the *national debt*.——However, as I said before, we are not to expect victories without *paying for them*.——It is said, that news is now come of the French having *evacuated Spain*. This fact is, indeed, positively asserted. Now, then, let us hear of no more troops *sent to Spain*; and, I shall think it odd if our army be not sent away to join in the battles against Buonaparté himself.——If the news be *true*, our army can now have no more to do in Spain; and, if it be *false*, what becomes of the cause of all our joy?——Shall I state my real opinion? It is this: that the French, long reduced to the defensive, on account of the war in the North, have been beaten by us; but that they will *not* evacuate Spain; and, that we have yet many a hard battle to fight in that country, before we compel them to quit it.——We have killed and taken about 15,000 men; but what is the number to France? It is hardly worth naming. The eyes of France are fixed on *the North*; and there it is that the fate of Europe, Spain included, will be decided.

AMERICAN WAR.——We have much

more cause for rejoicing at the defeat and capture of an *American Frigate* by one of ours of not superior force. This is of far greater importance than the victories of Lord Wellington, and as such the public appear to feel it; for every one runs cackling about it to his neighbour with as much glee as a long-married husband carries the news of the birth of his first child. Why, there is more boasting about this defeat of one American frigate than there used to be about the defeat of whole fleets. This is no small compliment to the Americans, who, I dare say, will lose no time in endeavouring to return it.——CANADA seems to have been thrown into great confusion by the invasion of the Americans, who are certainly resolved to lose no opportunity of pushing on in that direction. They may fail at last; but, by keeping a large body of men in arms to oppose them, they will assist in swelling our *Debt* and our *Taxes*. They understand this very well indeed. They know the game that we are playing. If *we* do not see what the Debt will lead us to, *they do*. It may be asked, *why* they wish to see us ruined? It is not *us*, but our power of impressing them and knocking down their towns. This is what they wish to see put an end to; and, however anxious we may be to keep this power, we cannot think that their wish is very unnatural.——The American war costs, perhaps, in one way and another, about £10,000,000 a year; and when we rejoice at the defeat of the Americans, we ought to bear in mind, that the taxgatherer comes round afterwards. For my part, when I hear of a new victory, I always begin to calculate how much it will cost me. I wish every one did the same, and then we should not hear so much grumbling about the taxes. Besides, are we not fighting and paying for *peace* and *safety*, and have we not been at it these twenty years last past? The taking of this frigate is a step on the way to a "*secure* "*peace!*" Let us, then, pay away cheerfully all sorts of taxes, till we have not a shilling in our pockets.

W. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

Supplement to the London Gazette of Saturday, July 3.

(Continued from page 64.)

vered with bodies and arms; the enemy's loss exceeded 600 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. One commanding, and five inferior officers, were among the first, and seven were wounded.——The enemy confessed this loss in the village, in which he left a part of his wounded, under charge of a French surgeon.——My loss is not accurately ascertained, but I know that it bears no proportion to that of the enemy. When the different reports are received, I shall forward them to your Excellency; but in the mean time, I have the honour to give your Excellency this information for your satisfaction.——God preserve your Excellency many years.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DE COPONS NAVIA.

Head-quarters, Villa Franca, May 18, 1813.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy from the 12th to the 19th of June, 1813, inclusive.

June 12, 1813.

3d Dragoons. 5 horses, killed; 1 captain, 1 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded.—14th Light Dragoons. 1 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded; 1 horse, missing.—18th Light Dragoons. 2 horses, wounded.

Total—1 rank and file, 6 horses, killed; 1 captain, 2 rank and file, 10 horses, wounded; 1 horse, missing.

18th June, 1813.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion. 3 horses, killed; 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded.—1st Royal Scots. 3 rank and file, killed; 9 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file, missing.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file, killed; 8 rank and file, wounded.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file, killed, 10 rank and file, wounded.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file, wounded.—95th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 10 rank and file, wounded.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 serjeant, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. 2 rank and file, wounded.—2d Line Batt. King's German Legion. 2 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.—Brunswick Light Infantry. 1 lieutenant, 3 rank and file, wounded.

Total British—2 serjeants, 8 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 2 captains, 1 serjeant, 51 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 6 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese—2 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded.

General Total—2 serjeants, 10 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 2 captains, 2 serjeants, 57 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 6 rank and file, missing.

19th June, 1813.

7th Fusileers, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file, wounded.—20th Foot. 3 rank and file, wounded.—23d Fusileers, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.

Total British—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded.

Total Portuguese—1 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 10 rank and file wounded.

General Total—1 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 19 rank and file, wounded.

Total British from 12th to 19th June inclusive—2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 62 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded; 6 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Ditto Portuguese—3 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 3 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

Grand Total—2 serjeants, 12 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 78 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded; 6 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Allied Army under the Command of his Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy near Vittoria, on the 21st day of June, 1813.

General Staff—1 general, 1 major, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, wounded.

3d Dragoon Guards. 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded; 5 horses, missing.—5th Dragoon Guards. 1 rank and file, wounded.—1st (Royal) Dragoons. 2 horses killed; 1 drummer wounded; 1 horse missing.—3d Dragoons. 2 horses killed; 1 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded.—4th Dragoons. 2 horses wounded.—10th (Royal) Hussars. 6 rank and file, 8 horses, killed; 1 drummer, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, wounded; 6 horses missing.—12th Light Dragoons. 1 lieutenant killed.—2th Light Dragoons. 1 ensign, 3 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, wounded.—18th Light Dragoons. 1 horse killed; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.—15th (King's) Hussars. 10 rank and file, 4 horses, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 46 rank and file, 16 horses, wounded.—16th Light Dragoons. 7 rank and file, 11 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 staff, 2 serjeants, 10 rank and file, 11 horses, wounded; 1 horse missing.—18th Hussars. 1 captain, 10 rank and file, 12 horses, killed; 1 captain, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 11 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded; 13 horses missing.—Royal Horse Artillery. 4 rank and file, 28 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 31 rank and file, 23 horses, wounded; 8 horses missing.—Royal Foot Artillery. 5 rank and file, 15 horses, killed; 18 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded.—Royal German Artillery. 2 rank and file, 5 horses, killed; 5 rank and file wounded.—Ditto Engineers. 1 lieutenant wounded.—1st Foot, 3d Batt. 8 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 92 rank and file, wounded.—4th Foot. 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 1 staff, 11 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 5 serjeants, 67 rank and file, wounded.—5th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 captain, 1 ensign, 22 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 5 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 127 rank and file, wounded.—7th Foot, 1st. Batt. 2 rank and file, killed; 2 rank and file, wounded.—20th Foot. 3 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—23d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.—27th Foot, 3d Batt. 7 rank and file, killed; 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 30 rank and file, wounded.—28th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 12 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 6 serjeants, 165 rank and file, wounded.—31st. Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 13 rank and file, wounded.—34th Foot, 2d. Batt. 10 rank and file, killed; 3 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 59 rank and file, wounded.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 6 rank and file, wounded. 39th Foot, 1st Batt. 2 serjeants, 24 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 6 serjeants, 175 rank and file, wounded.—40th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 drummer, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 32 rank and file, wounded.—43d Foot, 1st. Batt. 1 drummer, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 25 rank and file, wounded.—45th Foot, 1st Batt. 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 5 serjeants, 61 rank and file, wounded.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 5 serjeants, 83 rank and file, wounded.—48th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.—50th Foot, 1st Batt. 27 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 77 rank and file, wounded.—51st Foot. 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 17 rank and file, wounded.—52d Foot, 1st. Batt. 1 captain, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 16 rank and file, wounded.—53d Foot, 4 Companies 2d Batt. 4 rank and file, killed; 6 rank and file, wounded. 57th Foot, 1st Batt. 5 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 21 rank and file, wounded.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. 11 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 123 rank and file, wounded.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. 2 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 43 rank and file, wounded.—66th Foot, 2d Batt. 2 rank and file, killed. 1 captain, 22 rank and file, wounded.—68th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 captain, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 21 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 87 rank and file, wounded.—71st Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 38 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 13 serjeants, 3 drummers, 241 rank and file, wounded.—74th Foot. 13 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file, wounded.—82d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 21 rank and file, wounded.—83d Foot, 2d Batt. 2 lieutenants, 18 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 47 rank and file, wounded.—87th Foot, 2 Batt. 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 52 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 13 serjeants, 164 rank and file, wounded.—88th Foot, 1st. Batt. 23 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 185 rank and file, wounded.—92d Foot, 1st Batt. 4 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file, wounded.—94th Foot. 5 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 51 rank and file, wounded.—95th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 36 rank and file, wounded.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 captain, 8 rank and file, wounded.—95th, 3d Batt. 1 lieutenant, 7 rank and file, killed; 16 rank and file, wounded.—Chasseurs Britanniques. 1 serjeant, 28 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 99 rank and file, wounded.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 1 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 5 rank

and file, wounded.—2d. Light Batt. King's German Legion. 4 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 36 rank and file, wounded.—5th Light Batt. King's German Legion. 1 rank and file, killed; 1 drummer, wounded.—Brunswick Oels, 1 captain, killed; 5 rank and file, wounded.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE.
(Continued from page 32.)

13th, the attack of the enemy on Col. Adam's division was very severe, but the enemy was defeated at every point, and a most gallant charge of the 2d, 27th, led by Col. Adam and Lieut.-Col. Reeves, decided the fate of the day, at that part of the field of battle. The skill, judgment, and gallantry displayed by Major-General Whittingham and division of the Spanish army, rivals, though it cannot surpass the conduct of Colonel Adam and the advance. At every point the enemy was repulsed; at many, at the point of the bayonet. At one point in particular I must mention, where a French grenadier battalion had gained the summit of the hill, but was charged and driven from the heights by a corps under the command of Colonel Cassans.——Major Gen. Whittingham highly applauds, and I know it is not without reason, the conduct of Col. Cassans, Col. Romero, Col. Campbell, Col. Casteras, and Lieut.-Col. Ochoa, who commanded at various points of the hills. To the chief of his Staff, Col. Serano, he likewise expresses himself to be equally obliged on this, as well as many other occasions; and he acknowledges with gratitude the services of Col. Castinelli, of the Staff of the Italian Levy, who was attached to him during the day. These, my Lord, are the officers and corps that I am most anxious to recommend to His Royal Highness's notice and protection, and I earnestly entreat your Lordship will most respectfully, on my part, report their merits to the Prince Regent, and to the Spanish Government. It now only remains for me to acknowledge the co-operation and support I have met with from the several General Officers and Brigadiers, as well as from the various officers in charge of departments attached to this army. To Major-General Donkin, Quarter-Master-General, I am particularly indebted, for the zeal and ability with which he conducts the duties of his extensive department, and the gallantry he displays on every occasion.—Major Kenah, who is at the head of the Adjutant-General's department, affords me every satisfaction. Lieut.-Col. Holcombe, and, under his orders, Major Williamson, conduct the artillery branch of the service in a manner highly creditable. The different brigades of guns, under Captains Lacy, Thomson, and Gilmour (and Garcia, of the Sicilian army), and Lieutenant Patton, of the flying artillery, were extremely useful, and most gallantly served; and the Portuguese artillery supported the reputation their countrymen have acquired. The army is now in march. I proceed to Alcoy in the hope, but not the sanguine hope, that I may be enabled to force the Albayda Pass, and reach the entrenched position of the enemy of San. Felippe, before he can arrive there. I consider this movement as promising greater advantages than a direct pursuit, as the road which he has chosen being very favourable for cavalry, in which arm he is so much superior, I should probably be delayed too long to strike any blow of importance. I beg leave to enclose a return of the killed and wounded of the allied army.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. MURRAY, Lieut.-Gen.

P. S. I have omitted to mention, that in retiring from Biar, two of the mountain guns fell into the hands of the enemy: they were disabled, and Col. Adam very judiciously directed Capt. Arabin, who then commanded the brigade, to fight them to the last, and then to leave them to their fate. Capt. Arabin obeyed his orders, and fought them till it was impossible to get them off, had such been Col. Adam's desire. (Signed) J. M.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing.

Total British loss—2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 65 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 8 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 253 rank and file, wounded; 42 rank and file, missing; 7 horses killed; 3 horses wounded; 1 horse missing.

Total Sicilian loss—1 rank and file, killed; 8 rank and file, wounded.

Total Spanish loss—2 lieutenants, 73 rank and file, killed; 4 lieutenants, 188 rank and file, wounded; 1 horse killed; 7 horses wounded.

General total—4 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 139 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 12 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 449 rank and file, wounded; 42 rank and file, missing; 8 horses killed; 10 horses wounded; 1 horse missing.

(Signed) THOS. KENAH, Major Assist. Adj.-Gen.

Names of the Officers Killed and Wounded.

KILLED—10th Foot, Lieut. Thompson, D. A. Qr. Gen.: Rifle Company, 3d King's German Legion, Lieutenant Hazlebach.—5th Regiment Spanish Grenadiers, Lieutenant Don Juan Suares.—2d Regiment Burgos, Lieutenant Don Jose Pizano.

WOUNDED—Colonel Adam, D. A. G. commanding the advance, slightly.—75th Foot, Lieutenant M'Dougall, Dy. Ass. A. Gen. severely (since dead).—2d Batt. 27th Foot, Lieutenant Duhigg, severely; Lieutenant Jameson, slightly.—Rifle Company, 3d. King's German Legion, Lieutenants Freytag and Appngn, severely.—1st Italian Regiment, Major Faverge, Lieutenant Martinach, Ensign Monti, slightly. —Roll's Rifle Company, Lieutenant Srgepor, slightly.—Calabrese Free Corps, Captain Tavello, Lieutenant Megliacchas, slightly.—1st Regiment of Cordova, Lieutenant Don Franciesco Morales.—Cacadores of Guadalaxa, Lieutenant Don Francesco Caslarieda.—Cacadores of Mallorea, Lieutenant Don Juan del Puerto, Ensign Don Manuel Terrano.

(Signed) THOS. KENAH, A. A. Gen.

The men returned missing were those that fell badly wounded on retiring through the Biar Pass on the 12th instant, and whom it was impossible, from the nature of their wounds, to bear immediately away. Many of them have since been brought in from Biar, whither they were carried by the enemy, and left on its evacuation.

(Signed) GEORGE D'AGUILAR, Mil. Sec.

MANIFESTO

Of the Spanish Regency against the Archbishop of Nicea, the Pope's Nuncio in Spain.

Decree of the Regency, addressed to the Nuncio.

The Regency of the kingdom expected that your Excellency, having regard to the public character of a Legate of his Holiness, with which you are accredited to a nation equally heroic and religious, would have kept within the limits of that character, forbearing to abuse the consideration with which the Spanish Government has continued to acknowledge you in an embassy, the legitimacy of which was rendered very doubtful by the captivity of the Holy Father and of our King Ferdinand the VIIth, as well as from other circumstances. His Highness relied on the strong motives which might and should have regulated your private conduct. But he has now beheld with surprise the steps which your Excellency has taken on the affair of the Inquisition. When, on the 5th of March, you presented a Note to the President and Supreme Council of Regency, that very day, as Archbishop of Nicea, you wrote to the Chapters of Malaga and Granada, and to the Archbishop of Jaen, exhorting them, especially the two first, to delay, and even refuse their acquiescence in the Decrees which his Majesty had issued concerning the establishment of Tribunals for the defence of the faith, instead of the abolished Inquisition, and for the publication, in the parish churches, of a Manifesto of the Cortes. Your Excellency was not contented with writing such letters as might, through the perversion of public opinion, lead to a schism upon that delicate and important subject. Besides this, your Excellency had the boldness to betray that secresy which you had recommended in your note, at the same time that you enjoined it to the Chapters and Bishop, in order that they might look upon you as the author of a scheme which tended to stop the exercise of the temporal authorities, and promised them to transmit intelligence of every circumstance, as it should take place, which might contribute to regulate your combined plans for the future. A conduct so contrary to the law of nations—a conduct by which overstepping the limits of your public character, your Excellency has availed yourself of the immunity which that character enjoys, that you might, as a foreign Prelate, organize the resistance of those individuals who, by reason of their rank, should be true samples of subordination, cannot be looked upon by his Highness with indifference, much less when you represent that conduct as an important and indispensable service due to religion, to the church, and to our Most Holy Father, whose authority and rights, according to the opinion of your Excellency, are wounded by the decrees in question, without their favouring thereby the episcopal dignity. His Highness is horror-struck at the consideration of the fatal consequences which threatened the State, and which naturally must have followed the advice which your Excellency has given, supported as it is by arguments of such an inflammatory nature. But although his office of guardian of the State and defender of religion fully authorized him to order you out of these kingdoms and seize upon your temporalities, his desire of evincing the veneration and respect which the Spanish nation has always had for the sacred person of the Pope, and the fear of now increasing his sorrows, have dissuaded his Highness from resorting to that measure. His Highness has limited himself to command that the disapprobation of your Excellency's conduct be expressly declared; as also, that he expects that your Excellency will keep in future within the limits of your mission, without availing yourself again of the opportunity which your character of foreign prelate affords you to take the same or similar steps; but that all your remonstrances will be made to Government through the medium of the Secretary of State; and your Excel-

lency may be sure, that should you henceforward forget the duties of your charge, his Highness shall find himself in the painful, though absolute necessity, of exercising his full power in the execution of those which he swore to fulfil, when he accepted the high trust committed into his hands.

God preserve, &c.

ANTONIO CANO MANUEL.

Cadiz, April 23.

To his Lordship the Archbishop of Nicea.

The reasons which have compelled me to this resolution, and the incontrovertible truths which, as Protector of the Sacred Laws of the Church, I have pointed out in this Manifesto, make me trust, that the worthy Prelates of the Spanish Church, and their respectable Chapters, will contribute, by means of their authority and sound learning, to the fulfilment of the the good wishes of the Sovereign Congress and my own, in favour of religion and the State.

(Signed) L. DE BOURBON.
Cardinal of Scala, Archbishop of Toledo, President.

Cadiz, April 23, 1813.

NOTES.

1. Most illustrious Sir, my most respected Sir,—The Manifesto of the Cortes, the Decree addressed to the Bishops for reading it on the three first following Sundays during high mass, and several others relating to the abolition of the Inquisition, to which a tribunal is substituted with the title of Protector of the Faith, are on the eve of publication. The Lords Bishops, resident in this town, intend to answer that they dare not take any step upon such an important subject, without consulting their Chapters, and so they will gain time to expose whatever may be deemed fit upon the subject. The Chapter of this Church, *Sede Vacante*, grounded on a petition of their Vicars, and other reasons which shall be expressed in their answer, will refuse to execute the Decrees. I have deemed it my duty to represent in the name of his Holiness, against the Decrees, unless they are previously consented to, or approved by the Pope, or in his defect, by a National Council. I think it necessary to transmit this information to your Illustrious Lordships, trusting that on such an important business you will conform yourselves with the opinion of all the other Prelates, doing thereby a great service to Religion, to the Church, and to our Most Holy Father, whose authority and rights are vulnerated, according to my opinion, and that without favouring the episcopal authority. All this, as your prudence will suggest, requires the greatest secrecy; and with the same I will communicate to you every circumstance as it shall take place, that may contribute to direct our proceedings for the future.——God preserve, &c.——Most Illustrious Sir, &c.

P. Archbishop of NICEA.

To the Most Illustrious Dean and Chapter of the Holy Church of Malaga.—A Copy.

Cadiz, March 5, 1813.

2. Most Serene Lord,—The Nuncio of his Holiness has heard, in the greatest bitterness of his heart, that your Highness is on the eve of circulating and publishing the Manifesto and Decree of the August Congress, in which his Majesty declares the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition to be incompatible with the Political Constitution of the Monarchy, and substitutes another, which may, according to wise and just laws, protect the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, the only true one, which, exclusively of all others, his *Majesty* has so piously sanctioned. No one, even among the native Spaniards, feels more respect than I do towards that August Congress, nor will any one exceed my punctuality in obeying its wise commands. But the subject in question belongs to the Church, and is of the greatest importance, and of a very highly important nature, as one in which Religion is concerned, and from which it may suffer irreparable injury. A tribunal is going to be suppressed or abolished, which was established by the Holy Father in the exercise of his Primacy and supreme authority over the Church, for objects purely spiritual, as the preservation of the Catholic Faith, and the extirpation of heresies; thereby leaving without effect the power which his Holiness had delegated to that tribunal. In such case, and being enjoined to me by the Brief of my Legation to make the greatest possible exertion in all things concerning the Catholic faith, and the Holy Roman Church; as also to do whatever I may find to be in favour of the Church, and for the consolation and edification of the people, and the honour of the Holy See, I should be wanting to all these sacred duties if, with the greatest respect as well as with the Christian liberty of an Apostolic Legate and a Representative of the Pope, I did not state to your Highness that the abolition of the Inquisition may be

extremely injurious to Religion, whilst it actually wounds the rights and Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, who established it as necessary and beneficial to the Church and the faithful. What can henceforward prevent the diminution of that reverence and submission which all Christians owe to the decisions of the Vicar of Christ, the visible head of the Church, when in her very bosom, and during the holy sacrifice of the Mass, they shall be told that a tribunal, established, kept up, and defended for three centuries, under the sanction of the most severe penalties, by the Popes, is, not only useless, but detrimental to Religion itself, and contrary to the wise and just laws of a Catholic kingdom? If his Holiness were free, at the present moment, I should content myself with giving him notice of this event; but as he is most unfortunately kept in the captivity which we so much lament, I find it necessary and indispensable to protest, in his name, against an innovation of such influence in the Church of Spain, and which wounds the rights of the Supreme Pastor of the Universal Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and trust that your Holiness, led by your well known religious feelings, and consummate prudence, will take the most effectual measures in order that the August Congress, who so ardently desires to protect the Religion we profess, may be pleased to suspend the execution and publication of their Decrees, until, at some more happy period, the approbation or consent of the Roman Pontiff may be obtained, or in his default, that of the National Council, whose peculiar province it is to regulate these religious and ecclesiastical matters. None of these considerations can escape his Majesty's wisdom, nor can his great piety take it amiss that I, in the exercise of my ministry, and with all the necessary secrecy and due sense of submission, should, through your medium, lay before his Majesty this most humble petition, so intimately connected with the good of the Universal Church, and especially of the Church of Spain, the happiness of the Monarchy, and even the honour and prosperity of his Majesty, which is the object of my most ardent wishes, as well as of my incessant prayers to heaven. God preserve, &c.

P. Archbishop of NICEA, Nuncio of his Holiness.

Most Serene Lord President and Supreme Council of Regency.—A Copy.

Cadiz, March 5, 1813.

3. Most Illustrious Sir,—Sir, my most esteemed Brother,—I have thought that it became my office to remonstrate to the Regency concerning the Decrees of the August Congress, which are ordered to be circulated and published for the abolition of the Holy Inquisition; and also to give you this information and let you know that the Chapter of this Cathedral, *Sede Vacante*, with the approbation of the Bishops resident in this town, are determined not to put the said Decrees into execution, without the previous and mature consideration which a subject of such weight demands. I leave it to the wisdom of your most Illustrious Lordship to make use, with due secrecy, of this information, and regulate your proceedings according to what you may deem just.——God preserve, &c.——Most Illustrious Sir, &c.

P. Archbishop of NICEA.

To the Most Illustrious Lord Bishop of Jaen.—A Copy.

Cadiz, March 5, 1813.

4. This Letter is similar to that which the Nuncio addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Malaga, under the same date.

DANISH VINDICATION.

His Danish Majesty thought fit to send Count Bernstorff to England, with proposals for the restoration of peace, but the good intentions of the King were wholly disregarded, because there was an agreement before formed between the Courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm, not to enter into any negociation in London; but if negociation were resorted to, to conduct the business in some place under the direct influence of Sweden. Yet whatever situation might be assigned for the treaty, it was signed between these two Powers, as a preliminary article, which must be the precursor to any arrangement, that the kingdom of Norway should be alienated to Sweden, which was precisely the same as to say in express terms, "We have no peace with you;" for it must have been known to these parties that Denmark could never submit to so unjust and humiliating a condition.——Denmark is not at war with Sweden or with Russia; she addresses herself, therefore, not to them, but to that Power with which she has to treat for the re-establishment of peace. London, therefore, or Copenhagen, are the proper places where such a negociation should be under-

taken. But England, in order to conform to her own eccentric views, abandons the independence and dignity of her character, and will rather condescend to use the medium of a third Power, than in a noble and honourable manner accept the offered hand of conciliation from an old friend, whom she herself, by her own aggression, forced to become her enemy.——The Danish Minister, arrived in London, did not feel himself at liberty to accede to that degrading preliminary, and he therefore requested to send a Courier to his Court for further instructions. To this application he received for answer, that he himself could not be permitted to remain; for if he were to continue in London, even as a private individual, it would excite that distrust in the Swedish Court which would be extremely inconvenient, and it was *politely* intimated to him, that a packet was ready to convey him home.——To excuse so injurious and unusual a proceeding, the English Ministry declared in Parliament, that the pretensions of Denmark were so extravagant, so inadmissible, and of so humbling a nature, that negociation was impossible; and they order their Gazette writer to insert five articles in his publication, which they represent to be the propositions of Denmark with regard to the treaty of peace.——In the Danish State Gazette, we assert, that the preliminary article required by England is altogether inadmissible, and that this *ultimatum* demanded, was the cause of our rejection of the overtures for tranquillity. We add further, that the five propositions alleged could not have been made on the part of Denmark, neither verbally, nor in the ordinary diplomatic form, because the preliminary required all subsequent discussion.——Had any discussion taken place, there are three points of difference which would naturally have been submitted to the consideration of England.—1. A guarantee for the integrity of all the component parts of the Danish Monarchy.—2. The surrender of her Colonies.—3. The remuneration for her fleet, and for the loss sustained in the attack upon Zealand. These would have been her demands in the first instance, and she would, more or less, have departed from them, however just in the principle, as circumstances might have rendered expedient. On such occasions, more is always asked than is expected to be obtained; but what regards the 4th and 5th articles, invented for the English Gazette, touching the Hanse Towns, and subsidies to enable Denmark to take possession of them, these, we may with certainty affirm, are only added, in order to irritate the Parliament and the people against Denmark, and to gloss over the unjust attack upon the integrity of this kingdom.——The preceding remarks will sufficiently expose the impolicy and immorality of the conduct of Great Britain.

It was natural to expect that Denmark would propose to take temporary possession of the Hanse Towns during the war, in order to preserve Hamburgh and Lubeck from the sanguinary effects of the collision of the conflicting armies, and also for the security of the Danish provinces in their neighbourhood; but with respect to their being set apart as the prey to violence under the proposed partition, as alleged in the English Gazette, we boldly contradict such a statement, and on the contrary we affirm, that had the offer been made to us to occupy these places, we should have only accepted it under the express condition, that they should be surrendered on the re-establishment of tranquillity.——It has been usual in treaties of peace to restore conquered countries to the original possessors, but it has been reserved for the tortuous policy of the present times to offer the territory of a friendly power, as a bribe for obtaining mercenary advantages. Hitherto it has been considered, that the lands to be alienated, whether acquired by conquest, inheritage, or purchase, should, before the alienation, have become the property of the party by whom they are transferred; but now these pretended distributors of justice imitate the foresters in the comedy, and sell the skin of the bear before they have shot him. But know ye, that the bear whom ye seek to sell, is a noble, free, and dangerous foe, who knows how to defend himself, and to avenge his wrongs upon those who molest him, and he will suffer no fox or beast of prey to interrupt his repose. Denmark, like the arms she bears, is a courageous animal, provided with the battle-axe, and she is prepared to resent the insult offered to her. Do not believe that it is as easy to conquer as it is to barter and divide.——The people of Norway have seen the Heir Apparent of our Throne in an open boat, defying the rage of the ocean, and exposing himself to a vigilant enemy, in order to hasten to their protection, and to conduct them by the path of honour to victory. Such a Prince will know how to resist foreign usurpation. The justice of our cause, the spirit and valour of our subjects, will crown his endeavours with suc-

cess, and will afford grounds for the hope, that the destruction contemplated by our adversaries will fall upon the head of the aggressors.

The English Minister has promised to Parliament, that he will submit to its attention something regarding the demands of Denmark, which respects Great Britain alone, independent of other powers; but in answer to a question by Mr. Ponsonby, touching the late propositions for peace made by Denmark, he said, that he could not return the answer at present, because the allies might suffer by the exposure. Each individual Dane is as anxious to remove this concealment, as any Englishman of the empire, and he is perfectly convinced, that nothing Denmark can propose will interfere either with duty, honour, or morality.——In adverting to the sentiments of Mr. Ponsonby, we must express our surprise at his declaration, that the guarantee given by Britain of the surrender of Norway to Sweden is just, and in coincidence with all the customs of war. When we are in hostility, says he, with any nation, we have the right to conquer it, and to appropriate its territory and provinces, or to permit our allies to do so. Yet he admits, that there are many cases which might render this inexpedient, on account of the extent of its consequences. We meet this proposition, and we assert, that he has overlooked a circumstance in this favourite partition treaty, sufficiently material, and we affirm, that Russia and Sweden are not in alliance with Great Britain for the purposes of war against Denmark. Those two Powers were at peace with Denmark, and a convention was formed at Abo, under the apprehension that we should accede to an alliance with France, and endanger their situation. Had Sweden already commenced the attack upon Norway, then might Mr. Ponsonby have foundation for his argument. Had England conquered Norway, she might in strictness, at the conclusion of peace, have surrendered that kingdom to Sweden, all the contracting parties concurring in the alienation. But to guarantee such an appropriation of an untouched, and unoffending country, will be no subject of applause with the English people, although the Minister may triumph in Parliament by false conjectures, and gross misrepresentations, as was the case in the year 1807, on the occasion of the attack upon Zealand, which every British heart condemns.——What right had Russia to dispose of any portion of Denmark, without the means to conquer or even to molest it, and in a time of profound peace and good understanding at the Court of Copenhagen? At the same period she was flattering our Ambassador she presumed to send a Minister Extraordinary to purchase the friendship of Denmark, or to bribe her to participate in the war against France, with fallacious promises of remuneration in cities, and territories, which Russia did not herself possess, and over which she had no manner of control, under any principle recognised by the law of nations.——Thus happens it, that small States, when they devolve under the power of greater, are exposed to ruin. The former are offered a sacrifice to the mercenary designs of the latter, and by the great and mighty, honour, and truth, justice and morality, are driven from the face of the earth!

Note transmitted by the Swedish Charge d'Affaires at Copenhagen, on the — April, 1813.

The reply which his Excellency the Minister of State M. de Rosencrantz has addressed under date of the 10th April, to his Excellency Count d'Engerstrom, and the verbal explanations given to the Undersigned, equally contrary to the dignity of the King and to the object of the negociations existing between the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, leaving no longer any doubt to his Majesty, that the Cabinet of Copenhagen refuses to acquiesce in the only bases from which the King is determined not to depart, by a result of solemn and the least equivocal treaties contracted with Great Britain and Russia, and will not enter into any negociation tending to execute, even to the satisfaction of Denmark, the stipulations of the said treaties, his Majesty has ordered the undersigned to declare to his Excellency M. de Rosencrantz, in order that it may be laid before his august Sovereign.——That all hope of terminating the existing differences between the two Courts appearing to be at an end, the Chargé d'Affairs of Denmark, at Stockholm, has been requested to quit that capital.——That in consequence of this request, the residence of the undersigned here becoming absolutely useless, under the present circumstances, he has received orders to demand, by the present note, his passports to quit Copenhagen forthwith.——That if the Danish Court wish still to return to more pacific sentiments with respect to Sweden and England, the King will receive with pleasure every overture which

his Excellency M. De Rosencrantz shall address directly to his Excellency Count D'Engerstrom, and which shall be reconcileable with the stipulations of the Treaties between Sweden and her Allies.

(Signed) C. Roschild.

AMERICAN WAR.

London Gazette, July 10.

[Transmitted by Capt. Capel.]

Shannon, Halifax, June 6.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that being close in with Boston Light-House, in his Majesty's ship under my command, on the 1st instant, I had the pleasure of seeing that the United States' frigate Chesapeake (whom we had long been watching) was coming out of the harbour to engage the Shannon; I took a position between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and then hove to for him to join us—the enemy came down in a very handsome manner, having three American ensigns flying; when closing with us, he sent down his royal yards. I kept the Shannon's up, expecting the breeze would die away. At half past five P. M. the enemy hauled up within hail of us on the starboard side, and the battle began, both ships steering full under the topsails; after exchanging between two and three broadsides, the enemy's ship fell on board of us, her mizen channels locking in with our fore-rigging. I went forward to ascertain her position, and observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, I gave orders to prepare for boarding. Our gallant bands appointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective Officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance.——The firing continued at all the gangways, and between the tops, but in two minutes time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British Union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes, from the commencement of the action.——I have to lament the loss of many of my gallant shipmates, but they fell exulting in their conquest.——My brave First Lieutenant, Mr. Watt, was slain in the moment of victory, in the act of hoisting the British colours; his death is a severe loss to the service.——Mr. Aldham, the Purser, who had spiritedly volunteered the charge of a party of small-arm men, was killed at his post on the gangway. My faithful old Clerk, Mr. Dunn, was shot by his side; Mr. Aldham has left a widow to lament his loss. I request the Commander-in-Chief will recommend her to the protection of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.——My veteran boatswain, Mr. Stephens, has lost an arm. He fought under Lord Rodney on the 12th April. I trust his age and services will be duly rewarded.——I am happy to say, that Mr. Samwell, a midshipman of much merit, is the only other officer wounded besides myself, and he not dangerously.——Of my gallant seamen and marines we had twenty-three slain and fifty-six wounded. I subjoin the names of the former. No expressions I can make use of can do justice to the merits of my valiant officers and crew; the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. I recommend them all warmly to the protection of the Commander-in-Chief.——Having received a severe sabre wound at the first onset, whilst charging a party of the enemy who had rallied on their forecastle, I was only capable of giving command till assured our conquest was complete, and then directing Second Lieutenant Wallis to take charge of the Shannon, and secure the prisoners, I left the Third Lieutenant, Mr. Faulkiner (who had headed the main-deck boarders), in charge of the prize. I beg to recommend these Officers most strongly to the Commander-in-Chief's patronage, for the gallantry they displayed during the action, and the skill and judgment they evinced in the anxious duties which afterwards devolved upon them.——To Mr. Etough, the Acting-Master, I am much indebted for the steadiness in which he conned the ship into action. The Lieutenants Johns and Law, of the marines, bravely boarded at the head of their respective divisions.——It is impossible to particularize every brilliant deed performed by my officers and men, but I must mention, when the ship's yard arms were locked together, that Mr. Cosnahan, who commanded in our main-top, finding himself screened from the enemy by the foot of the topsail, laid out at the main-yard arm to fire upon them, and shot three men in that situation. Mr. Smith, who commanded in our fore-top, stormed the ene-

my's fore-top from the fore-yard-arm, and destroyed all the Americans remaining in it. I particularly beg leave to recommend Mr. Etough, the Acting Master, and Messrs. Smith, Leake, Clavering, Raymond, and Littlejohn, Midshipmen. This latter Officer is the son of Captain Littlejohn, who was slain in the Berwick.——The loss of the enemy was about 70 killed, and 100 wounded. Among the former were the four Lieutenants, a Lieutenant of Marines, the Master, and many other Officers. Captain Laurence is since dead of his wounds.——The enemy came into action with a complement of four hundred and forty men; the Shannon having picked up some recaptured seamen, had three hundred and thirty.——The Chesapeake is a fine frigate, and mounts forty-nine guns, eighteens on her main deck, two-and-thirties on her quarter deck and forecastle. Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) P. B. V. Broke.

To Capt. the Hon. T. Bladen Capel, &c. Halifax.

List of Killed on Board His Majesty's Ship Shannon.

G. T. L. Watt, First Lieutenant; G. Aldham, Purser; John Dunn, Captain's Clerk; G. Gilbert, W. Berilles, N. Gilchrist, T. Selby, J. Long, J. Young, J. Wallace, and J. Brown, able seamen; T. Barr, M. Murphy, T. Molloy, T. Jones, and J. O'Conuelly, ordinary seamen; T. Barry, first class, boy.

Marines.

Samuel Millard, corporal; James Jayms, private; Dominique Seder, private; and William Young, private.

Supernumeraries.

William Morrisay; John Moriarty; and Thomas Germain.

(Signed) P. B. V. Broke, Captain.
Alex. Jack, Surgeon.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated the 13th ult.:

Baron de Kaas, Danish Minister of the Interior, dispatched with letters from the King, has been presented to the Emperor.——After the affair of Copenhagen, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Denmark. By that treaty the Emperor guaranteed the integrity of Denmark.——In the year 1811, Sweden made known at Paris the desire she had of uniting Norway to Sweden, and demanded the assistance of France. She was answered, that whatever wish France had to do an agreeable thing to Sweden, a treaty of alliance having been concluded with Denmark, guaranteeing the integrity of that Power, his Majesty could not give his consent to the dismemberment of the territory of his ally.——From this moment Sweden detached herself from France, and entered into negociations with her enemies.——Afterwards the war between France and Russia became imminent. The Swedish Court proposed to make common cause with France, but at the same time renewing its proposition relative to Norway. It was in vain that Sweden represented that from the Norwegian ports a descent upon Scotland was easy; it was in vain that she dwelt upon all the guarantees which the ancient alliance of Sweden gave France of the conduct she would follow towards England. The reply of the Cabinet of the Thuilleries was the same: it had its hands tied by the treaty with Denmark.——From that moment Sweden no longer kept any measures; she contracted an alliance with Russia and England; and the first stipulation of that treaty was, the common engagement of compelling Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden.——The battles of Smolens and of the Moskwa restrained the activity of Sweden; she received some subsidies, made some preparations; but began no hostilities. The events of the winter of 1812 arrived; the French troops evacuated Hamburgh; the situation of Denmark became perilous; at war with England, threatened by Sweden and Russia, France appeared unable to support her. The King of Denmark, with that fidelity which characterizes him, addressed himself to the Emperor, in order to get out of this situation. The Emperor, who wishes that his policy should never be at the expense of his Allies, replied, that Denmark was at liberty to treat with England to save the integrity of her territory, and that his esteem and friendship for the King should receive no diminution from the new connexion which the force of circumstances obliged Denmark to contract. The King expressed his gratitude at this proceeding.——Four ships crews of very excellent sailors had been furnished by Denmark, and manned four ships of our Scheldt fleet. The King of Denmark, during this time, having expressed a desire that these sailors should be restored, the Emperor sent them back to him with the most scrupulous exactness, at the same time expressing to the officers and seamen the satisfaction he felt at their good conduct.——

Events, however, proceeded. The Allies thought that the reveries of Burke were realized. The French empire, in their imaginations, was already effaced from the face of the globe; and this idea must have predominated to a strange degree, when they offered Denmark, as a compensation for Norway, our Departments of the 32d Military Division, and even all Holland, in order to recompose in the North a maritime power, who should act in conjunction with Russia.——The King of Denmark, far from suffering himself to be surprised by those deceitful offers, said to them, "you wish, then, to give me colonies in Europe, and that too, to the detriment of France?"——In the impossibility of making the King of Denmark participate in so foolish an idea, Prince Dolgorucki was sent to Copenhagen to demand that they should make common cause with the Allies, in consequence of which, the Allies would guarantee the integrity of Denmark, and even of Norway. The urgency of circumstances, the imminent dangers which Denmark ran, the distance of the French armies, her own salvation made the policy of Denmark give way. The King consented, in return for the guarantee of his dominions, to cover Hamburgh, and to keep that town sheltered from the French armies during the war. He felt all that was disagreeable to the Emperor in this stipulation; he made all the modifications which it was possible to make in it; and did not even sign it but by giving way to the entreaties of all those by whom he was surrounded, who represented to him the necessity of saving his States; but he was far from thinking it was only a snare that was laid for him. They wished to place him at war with France, and after making him by this measure lose in that circumstance his natural support, they would have broken their word, and obliged him to submit to all the shameful conditions they chose to impose on him.——M. de Bernstorf proceeded to London; he expected to have been eagerly received there, and to have nothing more to do than renew the treaty concluded with Prince Dolgorucki: but what was his astonishment, when the Prince Regent refused to receive the King's letter, and when Lord Castlereagh gave him to understand, there could be no treaty between England and Denmark, unless as a preliminary article, Norway was ceded to Sweden. A few days after, Count Bernstorf received an order to return to Denmark.——At the same moment, a similar language was held to Count Moltke, Envoy from Denmark to the Emperor Alexander. Prince Dolgorucki was disavowed as having exceeded his powers; and during this time the Danes were giving their notification to the French army, and some hostilities took place!!!——We shall in vain open the annals of nations to discover in them policy more immoral. It was at the moment that Denmark found herself thus engaged in a war with France, that the treaty to which she was conforming, was at the same time disavowed at London and in Russia, and that advantage was taken of the embarrassments in which that power was placed, to present her as an *ultimatum* with a treaty which engaged her to acknowledge the cession of Norway!——Under those difficult circumstances the King shewed the greatest confidence in the Emperor; he declared his treaty void; he recalled his troops from Hamburgh; he ordered his army to march with the French army; and, in short, he declared that he still considered himself as allied to France, and that he relied upon the Emperor's magnanimity.——The President de Kaas was sent to the French head-quarters with letters from the King. At the same time, the King dispatched to Norway the hereditary Prince of Denmark, a young Prince of the highest promise, and particularly beloved by the Norwegians. He set out disguised as a sailor; threw himself into a fishing-boat, and arrived in Norway on the 22d of May.——On the 30th May, the French troops entered Hamburgh, and a Danish division, which marched with our troops, entered Lubeck.——Baron de Kaas, while at Altona, experienced another scene of perfidy, equal to the first. The Envoys from the Allies came to his lodgings, and gave him to understand, that they renounced the cession of Norway, and that on condition of Denmark making common cause with the Allies, it should no longer be made a question; they conjured him to delay his departure.——The reply of M. de Kaas was simple:—"I have my orders; I must execute them." They told him the French armies were defeated; that did not move him, he continued his journey.——However, on the 31st of May, an English fleet appeared before Copenhagen; one of the ships of war anchored before the town, and Mr. Thornton presented himself. He stated that the Allies were going to commence hostilities, if, within forty-eight hours, Denmark did not sign a treaty, the principal conditions of which were, to cede

Norway to Sweden, *to* immediately give up, *en depot*, the province of Drontheim, and to furnish 25,000 men to act with the Allies against France, and conquer the indemnities which were to be the portion of Denmark. He at the same time declared, that the overtures made to M. de Kaas, on his journey to Altona, were disavowed, and could only be considered as military suggestions.——The King indignantly refused this insolent summons. Meanwhile, the Prince Royal having arrived in Norway, published the following proclamation.

"Norwegians!—Your King knows and appreciates your immovable fidelity for him and the dynasty of the Kings of Denmark and Norway, who for a number of ages have governed your ancestors. It is the paternal desire of his Majesty to see the indissoluble bonds of paternal love and harmony which unite the two kingdoms still drawn closer. The heart of Frederick VI. is always with you; but the care of all parts of his States refuses him the gratification of seeing himself surrounded by his people of Norway; he, therefore, has sent me in quality of governor of Norway, with full powers to fulfil his orders as if he himself was present. His will shall be my law; the wish of gaining your confidence shall be my guide; your esteem and your love shall be my reward. Should we be threatened by trials still more severe, relying on Divine Providence, we will brave them with intrepid courage, and with your assistance, gallant Norwegians, we will surmount them, for I know that I can depend upon your fidelity towards the King; that you are determined to preserve the integrity of ancient Norway, and that the watchword for us all will be God, the King, and the country.

(Signed) "CHRISTIAN FREDERICK."

The confidence which the King of Denmark had in the Emperor has been entirely justified, and all the bonds between the two nations have been re-established and strengthened.——The French army is in Hamburgh; a Danish division follows its motions to support it. The English, by their policy, obtained only shame and confusion: the wishes of all worthy men accompany the hereditary Prince of Denmark into Norway. What renders the situation of Norway critical, is the want of provisions; but Norway shall remain Danish—the integrity of Denmark is guaranteed by France.——The bombardment of Copenhagen, whilst an English Minister was still with the King; the burning of that capital and the fleet, without a declaration of war, or any previous hostility; appeared to be the most odious scene of modern history; but the crooked policy which leads the English to demand the cession of a province, happy for so many years under the sceptre of the house of Holstein, and the series of intrigues to which they have had recourse to obtain this odious result, will be considered as more immoral and more outrageous than even the burning of Copenhagen. ——In it we observe that policy of which the houses of Timour and of Sicily have been the victims, and which has despoiled them of their dominions. The English are accustomed in India to be never stopped by any idea of justice—they follow this policy in Europe.——It appears, that in all the negociations which the Allies have had with England, the Powers the greatest enemies to France have been disgusted by the excessive pretensions of the English Government.——The bases even of the peace of Luneville are declared by the English to be inadmissible, as too favourable to France. ——Madmen! They are deceived in their latitude, and take Frenchmen for Hindoos.

ARMY OF ARRAGON.

Valencia, June 9.—I have just this moment (four *p. m.*) received a letter from the Governor of Tortosa, dated June 3, three quarters past nine o'clock, of which the following is a copy:—

"Excellent Monseigneur,—The enemy's fleet was yesterday in sight before Tarragona at five o'clock; it consists of about 180 sail: it appears to steer in the direction of Villanova de Sirjis. In this state of things, I have determined to march with 600 infantry and 800 horse into Lower Catalonia, in order to rally the troops of General Decaen, and, if it is possible, endeavour to fight the English. I am, &c.

(Signed) Marshal the Duke of ALBUFERA.

"*To the Minister at War.*"

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

QUEEN OF SICILY.——Amongst the incidents, in this grand drama, the war of Twenty Years already past, that, which the fate of the Queen of Sicily at this time presents, is not the least interesting.——The public has seen, from time to time, the proceedings which our Government has adopted in Sicily. They have seen, that the King of that country *retired* to make room for his son; they have seen that, under English auspices, a new sort of constitution has been formed; they have seen our news-papers filled with revilings against the Queen, and finally, they have seen that she is about to be sent out of the country.——But, before we come to the case of Her Majesty, as depicted in her Letter to Lord William Bentinck, let us look a little at the *revolution*, which has been made in Sicily, under our auspices.——That a revolution in the government of Sicily has been made, there can be no doubt. That is a fact which is notorious. It is also a fact, that it has been made by us: that what has been done, in the way of change, has been done by our authority and power. In justification of this change, our writers allege, that the government of Sicily was very bad indeed; that it was excessively corrupt and oppressive; and, they have frequently added, that, in compassion towards the people, as well as for the sake of annoying the enemy, we ought to seize on the island for ourselves. This last measure is recommended by CAPTAIN PASLEY, whose book has been very much applauded in our public prints.——To talk of *peace*, while principles like these are afloat, is wholly absurd.——But, as to this *revolution* which we have made, it was necessary to the welfare of the people of Sicily, or it was not. If the latter, why did we make, and how are we to justify the act? If the former, with what reason is it, that the hireling writers and the tools of corruption in England cry out against *revolutionists*? With them, to be a revolutionist; to have views towards a revolution; to propose any material change in the government; to talk of a reform of abuses and the cutting up of corruption by the roots; to appear in this character, in England, is, with these hirelings, to be a bad subject, an enemy of the country, and a friend of France; it is to be a Jacobin, a Leveller, a Disorganizer, and a fiend in human shape. Upon what ground can language like this, and sentiments like these, be justified in those who are the eulogists of the revolution which we have occasioned in Sicily? *There*, it seems, a revolution is *a good thing;* there, it seems to be justifiable to set aside a king and put up his son in his place; there, it seems, it is right to change the laws, and to abolish abuses and corruptions; but, to endeavour to effect only the reform of abuses *in England*, is, in the language of these vile hirelings, a crime nearly amounting to that of treason.——To look a little further into this matter; ought we not to be cautious how we set up such terrible outcries against the French for their revolutionizing acts, whether at home, or in foreign states?——We have made a revolution in Sicily, because we found the government so bad, that it ought to be changed. I do not find fault with our Ministers for this act. I know, that the government of Sicily was very bad, and, I think, that, having the power to change it, we did right in changing it. I approve of the act; for, it is the *happiness of the people*, which, in *all cases*, ought to be consulted.——But, while I maintain this, in defence of the acts of our own Government, I cannot join in condemning the revolutions which the French have made, either at home or in other countries.——If we are justified, as I contend we are, in having made a revolution in Sicily, because the government was bad, the people of France had, surely, a right to make a revolution in their own country, if they found their old government bad.——The only question, then, which we have to decide here, is, whether the old government of France *was a bad one*. And, who, in England, will attempt to answer that question in the affirmative? I will not now enter into a description of the various tyrannical acts of the old government of France; but,

will merely appeal to the evidence from our own lips. It is notorious, that, in England, the people of France, under their old government, were considered as the most wretched of slaves: that the speeches of our legislators; that our histories; that our plays: that our songs: that our proverbs and sayings; that all these represented the people of France as worthy of contempt, because they submitted to such a government; a government, which kept them in a state of slavery and starvation, while the nobles and the clergy were rich and fat. Hogarth's picture of *the gates of Calais*, and the song of the *Roast Beef of Old England*, contain the sum and substance of our former accusations against the old government of France, and against the people of that country for submitting to so wicked and tyrannical a government.——Here, then, especially with the present state of Sicily before us, we are reduced to this dilemma: either we were foul and base slanderers of the old government of France and of the people of that country; or, those who have quarrelled with the French for getting rid of that government, are most wicked and detestable men. Either all that we used to say of the old government of France was false and foul; or, we ought to have applauded the destruction of that government, instead of endeavouring to effect its restoration: instead of pouring forth the treasure and the blood of England in the cause of those who had this latter object in view. We ought to have received with open arms those men, who had set about the destruction of that, which we had, for ages, denominated a tyranny which no people ought to support, instead of loading them with every name calculated to excite hatred against them. ——Hogarth, when he painted the "*Gates* "*of Calais*," in which he represents a monk, sinking under his fat, tapping an English sur-loin with his finger, while the hungry, pale, and shirtless people are looking on at a distance; and, when, in another picture, he exhibited a monk feeling the edge of the *axe*, and seeing that the *rack* was in order to break human beings upon, while, in the back-ground, soldiers with their bayonets, under the command of the nobles, are forcing men on board the French ships of war; Hogarth, when he was thus employed, had little thought, that the time was not distant, when the people of France would rise against their government and destroy it; and, what would he have said to any one, who should have looked over his shoulder, and said: "stop, friend: take "care what you do; for the day is at hand, "when England will make war upon those "who shall destroy this government, and "when the people of England will call "them *monsters*, while they *receive these* "*very Monks and Nobles with open arms*, "*and even pay them stipends out of English* "*taxes?*" What would Hogarth have said to a friend, who should have thus counselled him?——But (and now we come to the war-horse of the Anti-jacobins), it was not, say they, that the French made a revolution *at home* that we found fault with them. What we did not like: what alarmed us; and what finally led us into the war, was, that they began to carry their revolutionizing doctrine *into other countries;* and, that they even proclaimed by a *decree*, that they would *assist people of other countries in making revolutions.*——Now, this is a very material point; and, though at the end of a Twenty Years' war, worth our best attention.——The decree here spoken of, and so loudly complained of at the time by us, had these two important qualifications; to wit: 1st, that the people to be assisted should be living under a despotic government; and 2d, that, even then, the assistance should first be *asked for* by a decided *majority of the people;* and, it was, further, expressly declared to our Government, in the most solemn manner, that the Government of France, so far from having England in view, in that decree, wished most anxiously to form a friendly connexion with her Government.——However, be this as it may, I think our conduct in Sicily should make us look back to the outset of the war; and, at any rate, should make us very cautious in condemning the revolutionary acts of France in *other countries.* We will suppose, for argument's sake, that the French revolutionists did not mean to regulate their acts according to the qualifications in their decree; that they meant to overset, or change, every old government, *which they looked upon as bad.* And was this going beyond the principle upon which we have acted in Sicily? We have changed the government there: and for *what reason?* Because we found it to be *a bad* government; because we found it to abound in corruptions; to be oppressive on the people; to be, in short, a government which we thought too bad to suffer to remain as it was. Thus, then, I think, it will be perceived, that, at the end of a Twenty Years' war, begun to resist the principle of the French revolutionary decree, our present Ministers have not thought

it either unwise or unjust to act upon a principle not, at most, very different from it.——In justification of the changing of the government in Sicily, we say, that the government was oppressive; that it abounded with corruptions; and that a great majority of the people desired the change that we have made. A very satisfactory justification to the mind of all just and humane men; but, not a better justification than was at hand for the memorable French revolutionary decree; for, it offered assistance only in cases, where the people were notoriously oppressed, and where a decided majority of them demanded assistance.——The French, acting upon *their* principle, have revolutionized many countries. Holland, Switzerland, the States of Italy, &c. We shall be told, perhaps, that these revolutions were not justifiable; that the governments were *not bad*, like that of Sicily, and that, therefore, they ought not to have been changed.——But, whatever may be said, in this way, of other old governments, it will hardly be said, that the old government of *Naples* was a good one, since we have found that of Sicily, under the very same king and queen, so very bad. *Here*, at the least, we ought to be cautious how we load with reproaches those who have made a revolution.——We, indeed, entered Sicily as the *allies* of the king: we entered it with the avowed purpose of defending our *ally* and his rights; we, as *friends*, even paid that ally a subsidy. The French entered Naples in open, and avowed, and actual hostility against the king, our ally. They *conquered* the kingdom of Naples by arms.——The cases are, therefore, widely different in this respect; but, whether that difference is in our favour, or against us, I must leave the reader to judge.——The French, in some cases, have been said, and, I believe, truly, to have entered foreign states as the *friends* and *allies* of the sovereign, and, having got possession of them, to have made revolutions in the governments; and, in some cases, to have kept the countries for themselves, and actually to have made them part of the empire of France.——We certainly entered Sicily as the *friends* and *allies* of the sovereign, and we have made a revolution there; but, we have not, as yet, seized upon the country and attached it to our own dominions. This last step, however, has been strongly recommended by Captain Pasley, whose recommendation has been loudly applauded in the London prints, without bringing down on the heads of the authors any public censure.——Now, the inference from all this is, that we ought to be very cautious how we inveigh with so much bitterness against those acts of the French which produce changes in the governments of other states, and how we give the odious name of *usurper* to every one who rules instead of the old rulers of such countries.——These events furnish, too, a most useful lesson to those, who were ready to rush into a war against *principles*; for, here we are, at the end of a Twenty Years' war against "*revolutionary principles*," actually engaged making a revolution ourselves, in a foreign government, in the state of our *friend* and *ally!*——Let us now come to the particular case of the *Queen of Sicily*, as stated in her Letter to Lord William Bentinck, our Commander in Chief in the island. This Letter has appeared in all the London prints in the following words:

"LORD BENTINCK,—Notwithstanding "the present extraordinary and irregular "proceeding of your Court, to force me, "the Queen of the Two Sicilies, by birth "Archduchess of Austria, to abandon, "after a union of 45 years, the King my "spouse, and my family, *to retire into my* "*native country*, under the specious but "false pretexts—sometimes of my pretended correspondence with the common "enemy (an atrocious calumny! of which "I defy any one to bring the slightest valid "proof), and sometimes the violent propensity I betrayed, as it is said, to create "obstacles to the project of the English "Government, *to change the Constitution* "*under which Sicily has existed so many* "*ages;* notwithstanding I am very far "from acknowledging the authority of the "British Government, of which God has "rendered me quite independent by birth, "I do not feel less the necessity of submitting to the order it prescribes; since this "submission appears the only means of "preserving the interest of my family, to "which having devoted myself, during "the whole of my toilsome career, I do not "hesitate to make this last sacrifice, though "it may, perhaps, cost me my life.——I "declare, then, to you, my Lord, and "through you to your Court, that, to this "consideration only, and not to any other, "I yield; and I am ready to set out towards the end of this present month, to "return to the dominions of the Emperor "of Austria, my august kinsman and nephew.——I must decline going to Sardinia, as I do not choose to be separated

"from every branch of my family, and as, "at my time of life, the separation must "be expected to be final, I wish likewise "to avoid dying in a foreign land.——I "wish that, in making the arrangements "for my return to my native country, the "voyage may be rendered as short and as "little toilsome as possible: my age, and "my health, destroyed by twenty years of "pains, of chagrins, and of persecutions of "every kind, do not leave me even the "hope of terminating this journey.——In "submitting to *this act of violence*, as I "cannot, nor ought not to forget what is "due to my birth and rank, I demand, I "claim the previous execution of the following conditions, and I am persuaded, "my Lord, that you will both consent and "hasten the fulfilment of them.—1. That "an arrangement shall be made to secure "to my creditors the payment of their demands, not being willing to quit Sicily "and fail in so sacred a duty. I demand, "also, that measures shall be taken for the "restitution of my diamonds, which are "deposited in the Bank of Palermo.—2d. "That there shall be delivered to me, as "soon as possible, a sum equal to the expenses of a journey so long and so remote, as I shall be compelled to undertake, with a retinue befitting the rank in "which Providence has placed me.—3. "That there shall be secured to me a sum "sufficient to sustain this rank in the country to which I shall retire, and that it "shall be paid every six months in advance.—4. That permission to depart "shall be granted to every person whom I "may be willing to attach to my service, "and to that of my son Leopold, who accompanies his unfortunate mother; and "that those who receive pay from me, or "pensions from the Sicilian Government, "shall receive an assurance that they shall "be transmitted wherever I may reside.— "5. Lastly, that there shall be placed at "my disposition, a frigate belonging to the "King, a corvette, and the necessary transports, on board which my retinue and my "equipage may be embarked: and I request to have the appointment of the "Captain of the frigate, for my particular "tranquillity, being in great dread of travelling by sea.——I have reason to believe, my Lord, that you will find nothing "but what is reasonable and convenient in "my demands, the execution of which is "indispensable to a journey as long as it is "toilsome, and to which your Government "compels me. Your instructions, according to my information from England, are "to make use of your influence over the "Sicilian Government, to dispose it to "make all necessary and convenient arrangements which may be required. If "you have hitherto demonstrated extreme "perseverance and firmness *in obliging me "to make a sacrifice of my existence*, I have "reason to hope, my Lord, that without "you depart from the orders of your Court, "you will maintain the same character, in "order to ensure the last days of a Princess, "the victim of all kinds of misfortunes, "and to whom your Government, and the "English nation itself, will, one day or "other, tender the justice that she merits. "——I transmit you this letter by the "hands of Gen. Macfarlane, to whom I "owe infinite gratitude and thanks for the "delicate manner in which he has borne "himself towards me, and which makes "me desirous of continuing to receive "through him, any farther explanations of "this painful affair.——I beg you will "offer my compliments to Lady Bentinck, "whose feeling heart, I am persuaded, "participates and deplores my unmerited "sufferings.

"*April*, 1813."

From this letter we learn, then, that the Queen of Sicily is to be banished from her husband's dominions. She says, that this act of force is about to be perpetrated partly under *false pretexts*, and *atrocious calumnies;* but, we will, if you please, take it for granted, that this is not true, and she really has corresponded with, and favoured the designs of, the "common enemy;" that is to say, France. If this charge against Her Majesty be true, which we will suppose to be the case, how are we to account for a line of conduct, apparently so unnatural? She has always been esteemed a clever woman, and, being such, she could scarcely have failed to perceive *her own interests;* and, it follows, of course, that she must have thought, that she would have been better off in the hands of the French than in those of the English. The woman was, doubtless, in error in so thinking; but, this shows, at any rate, that there are even persons belonging to Royal Families that prefer the French to the English; for, if any one deny this, then he must say, that this charge against her Sicilian Majesty is false and calumnious, and that, as far as relates to this point, she will suffer innocently. But, we are not to deny it. We take the charge to be true; and, then, we have an instance,

quite complete, of a Queen preferring the French to us, and a Queen too, of the House of Austria.——This being the case, why are we to believe, that the Princes of the Rhenish Confederation, or any other of the Royal allies of France, *hate the French?* Why are we to believe, that their connexion with France is constrained, and that they sigh, day and night, for an opportunity to break off that connexion?——This charge against the Queen of Sicily should make us hesitate in adopting, with regard to other crowned-heads, an opinion disadvantageous to our enemy, who, be it observed, will not be the party to suffer from our error.——As to the *degree of punishment* inflicted on the Queen, it is certainly less severe than that inflicted on the late Queen of France; but, I believe, that *banishment* stands next on the list after that of *Death*.——What was the crime, then, or, rather, what were the crimes, imputed to the Queen of France? They were very numerous, but, amongst them were found those of *corresponding with the open enemies of France, and endeavouring to aid their views.*——The Queen of Sicily says, that part of the accusation against her, is, that she created obstacles to the project of the British government *to change the constitution under which Sicily had existed so many ages.*——It is certain that the Queen of France created every obstacle in her power *to the change made in the constitution of France.*——The *charges* against these two Queens seem, thus far, to be similar; and, therefore, we shall have the merit of having been *more lenient*, than the French revolutionists were. They inflicted *death:* we stop at *banishment;* but, still there is *punishment of a Queen* in both cases; the difference is merely in the *degree.*——Besides, in the case of the Queen of France, there was *a trial* of some sort, at least, before punishment; and, we are, as to the degree, to consider what is, at the age of the Queen of Sicily, the difference between *death*, and banishment from her family and a throne.——Mind, I do not say, nor do I pretend to think, that, under certain circumstances, it may not be just and necessary *to banish a Queen;* nor do I doubt at all, that the Queen of Sicily *deserves* to be banished from Sicily and from her family for life; but, I must take leave to observe, that, if we admit the thing to be right in this case, we ought to have taken time to consider, before we made the death of the Queen of France a ground for treating the French revolutionists as savages and cannibals. We, doubtless, were, in so doing, misled by our humanity, and by our attachment to Royal personages, and could not possibly foresee, or imagine, that the time would arrive, even before the termination of the war, when *justice* and *necessity* would call upon *us* to inflict upon the sacred person of a Queen a punishment next in degree to that of death.——If, when Mr. Burke was ranting and raving and roaring and foaming about MARIE ANTOINETTE, and blubbering over the departure of that age, when a thousand swords would have flown from their scabbards to avenge an insult offered by the people of France to that Queen; if, during that raging fit, some one had come and tucked him by the sleeve, and said: "softly, softly, Edmund! Not so boisterous in pursuit of your pension; for, my good fellow, before this very war, which you are now kindling up, is ended, this government of England will cause to be *banished* from her country and her family, a Queen; aye, and the sister too, of this very Queen of France." If honest Edmund had been thus accosted, what would he have said; and especially if he had been told in addition, that the person employed by the government to put the banishment in force, would be a son of the Duke of Portland, who, at that time was coming over to his old political enemies in order to aid them in a war against the revolutionists of France?——There is one circumstance which constitutes a great difference between the cases of the Queens of France and Sicily; namely, that the former was accused with holding a correspondence with foreign powers, and inviting them to attack France, and with causing a famine, and kindling a civil war in the Realm. While the latter is accused of holding correspondence with the *common enemy;* that is to say, the enemy of Sicily and of England also. I shall suppose, that the people of Sicily concur with our government in the justice and necessity of thus punishing their Queen; but, it ought always to be borne in mind, that the Queen of France was punished for crimes (real or invented) against France alone; and not for crimes against France partly, and partly against a Foreign power. ——If we admit that it be right for our government, with the concurrence of the people of Sicily, to banish the Queen of Sicily, and that, too, without the form of a trial, it is not easy, I imagine, to shew, that the people of France had not a right to punish their Queen upon a similar charge,

supposing her to be guilty of that charge. Yet the writers in England failed not to call *murderers* those who put to death the Queen of France. We should, therefore, be very cautious how we give way to the use of such language, even towards our bitterest enemies.——It will be said by John Bowles, and the Times, and the Courier, that the Queen of France was perfectly innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and that the Queen of Sicily is guilty of all those which are laid to her charge now. If we were to put John upon his *proof* of either of these assertions, he would be very much puzzled to produce it. I, for my part, know nothing of the guilt or of the innocence of either of these Queens, and I know that it is impossible, or next to impossible, that any contemporary writer should be better informed upon the subject than myself. The truth is, that we know nothing of the matter, as far as relates to the guilt or innocence of either of these personages. All that we know is, that one of them was punished with death, and that the other, if the above letter be authentic, has been, or is to be, banished. If we acknowledge, as I do, the right of our government, in concurrence with the people of Sicily, to punish the Queen of Sicily for crimes against the country; how can I deny that the government of France, with the concurrence of the people of France, had a right to punish the Queen of France for crimes against that country?——The conclusion I aim at in these observations is this, that the transactions in Sicily, if truly represented in our public prints, clearly shew, that we ought to be very cautious how we give way to invectives against any people that may find it necessary to inflict punishment on the members of their Royal Family. The wisdom, the rectitude, the moderation, the benignity, the purity, so notorious in our own Royal Family, ought not to mislead our judgment in other cases. Judging from them, we were too ready, perhaps, to condemn as savages and murderers the people of France, not thinking it possible, from the specimen before us, that any Royal personage could merit punishment of any sort, much less the punishment of death; but, since we have now found out, that there is one Queen in Europe, the consort of our ally, and the sister, too, of the late Queen of France, who does really deserve banishment, the next punishment in degree to that of death, I think we ought to be more charitable in judging of the conduct of our neighbours, and not treat them as savages and murderers, especially, as all the world will agree that that is not the way to reclaim them, to assuage their animosity towards us, or to hasten the period of a sincere and lasting peace, which alone can lighten our burdens and revivify our perishing commerce.——To the language of the Times news-paper, and to that of other daily, weekly, and monthly publications, we owe, in a great measure, the continuance of this expensive, this bloody, this demoralizing war: Like Satan they seem to be bent upon the destruction of the human race; and really it would appear that they mourned upon every occasion affording a glimpse of hope of returning peace. But I trust that the nation will, at last, come to its senses, and will perceive that a much longer continuance of the war, if it can be prevented by fair and safe terms of peace, is to be justified upon no principle hitherto received as good and sound amongst men.——As to the fate of the Queen of Sicily, it is a matter of perfect indifference to me. I only hope that, in the hours of her banishment, she will look back to the time when she and Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson were in the Bay of Naples in the year 1799. If I wish her any thing in addition to this, it is, that she may have with her a copy of the elegant and eloquent letters of MISS WILLIAMS, and that, in a character visible to the dimmest eyes, the name of ELEONORA FONSECA may be kept constantly in her view every day to the last of her life.——I cannot refrain, before I conclude this article, from referring the reader to a pamphlet published by Mr. Hatchard in Piccadilly, entitled CAPT. FOOTE'S VINDICATION. I also beg leave to refer him to MR. BELSHAM'S HISTORY OF GEORGE THE THIRD. In those works he will see the bloody account of the Bay of Naples. And when he has read Captain Foote's pamphlet through, I am sure he will agree with me in feeling great joy, that so humane, so honourable, and so incorruptible a man should now be the Port Admiral at Portsmouth; and will not think it a small merit on the part of the Lords of the Admiralty, that they should have chosen such a man for such a post.——I never saw Mr. Foote but once, and then, I must say, that I did not much like him. This only shews that I was out in my judgment; for the contents of his pamphlet, which I have since read, and a great part of which consists of authentic

documents, *proves* him to have been, that which we always wish to see in men of his profession, and which we so seldom meet with in men of any profession, namely, a man in whose lips *truth* was not to be suppressed by the dread of poverty or the hope of riches and honours.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 21st July, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

ARMY OF ARRAGON.

Extract of a Letter from Marshal the Duke of Albufera, to the Minister at War.

(Continued from page 96.)

" *Tortosa, June* 21, 6 *a. m.*

" Monseigneur le Duke,—I informed your Excellency of the embarkation of the Anglo Sicilian army at Alicant, of its departure from that place on the 31st May, and of its rapid arrival on the 2d June under Tarragona. The army landed during the night, hastened to invest Fort St. Philippe at the Coll de Balaguer, and the enclosure without a fosse, which at present constitutes the defence of Tarragona, the forts and extensive fortifications having been razed. A fire from several batteries began on the 3d, during five days Balaguer held out, made an honourable resistance, and killed or wounded of the enemy more than 300 men.——On the morning of the 7th, the explosion of a powder magazine caused the surrender of Fort St. Philippe. The enemy, by a fire kept up from the sea and land, attacked Tarragona. At the departure of the Anglo-Sicilian Army, the Duke del Parque had arrived from Caroline to replace General Murray in his camp at Castella. Elio, with the 2d Spanish corps, was close upon our posts.——As soon as I was informed that the enemy had sailed from Alicant, I made dispositions upon the coast of Valencia to receive prompt information, whilst I charged General Decaen to collect troops to fall upon the English. He eagerly executed that disposition, and on the first information detached from Gironne Beurmann's brigade upon Barcelona, where he arrived the 10th of June. On the 2d of June I had dispatched from before the Xucar Musnen's division, and the brigades of Pannitur and Agremont; they proceeded by forced marches towards Tortosa. I learned at ten leagues from Valencia that the fort of Balaguer had capitulated; I lost the only cannon road by which I could act, but it was of importance to stop the enemy's success, and on the 10th, I proceeded to Tortosa. The head of my column overthrew the English dragoons near Perells; on the 11th my troops arrived: I pushed forward on the 12th upon the Tarragona road; and not being able to act on the high road, I determined to seek a bye-road across impracticable mountains in order to announce my arrival to the brave garrison of Tarragona, which refused all summonses, and defended itself with high valour. In short, on the 12th I lighted fires on the tops of the mountains, and advancing on the 13th beyond the village of Valledellos, my troops could see and be seen from Tarragona.——In the mean time General Maurice Mathieu set out from Barcelona, and pushed forward to Arbos. The resistance of the place, and the march of columns from Barcelona and Valencia frightened the enemy, and obliged him to precipitately raise the siege and re-embark the greater part of his troops, abandoning under the place 27 pieces of artillery and an immense number of bombs, bullets, &c. all of which have been conveyed into Tarragona. The convoy of 180 sail left the port of Sallau, and came to anchor under Balaguer; this mass of vessels presented a fine spectacle.——On the 14th, I advanced my troops to reconnoitre the fort; some battalions defended the approaches to it, and the fleet fired a more hot than murderous fire upon us. Upon Valledellos the English dragoons were roughly handled by the Westphalian light horse, and the 5th light infantry obliged five English battalions to fall back under Hospitalet and the fire of the English ships.——On the 15th and 16th there were slight skirmishes, and the report of 25 deserters proved to me that the enemy, either covered by the fort of Balaguer, or embarked, were placed out of reach of any attempt on the part of a land army.——Whilst I was acting in Catalonia, I had left General Harispe with the 2d and 3d division before the Xucar; on leaving him I directed he should draw in his advanced posts and establish himself in works prepared for some time behind the river. The movement was being executed with precision, when on the 11th, General Elio, with a numerous cavalry, attempted to press upon our rear-guard. General Miselop,

who commanded, turned, and at the head of a squadron of the 4th hussars, vigorously charged the enemy, killed or wounded 50 men, and brought back 60 horses and as many prisoners. The Irish Colonel, Oroman, was of the number. On the 13th, in the morning, a double attack was made on the points of Alberique and Alara, early in the morning. General Harispe sustained in a great part of the day the enemy's demonstrations; a brisk cannonade took place, but the enemy refused to engage. The Duke del Parque, with the divisions of the Prince D'Anglona and of the English Roche, attacked in two columns General Herbert, before Careaxente, who did not hesitate to march against the enemy at the head of a squadron of the 4th regiment of hussars, and the whole of the 14th and 16th of the line; he reached and broke the enemy in the streets and gardens of Careaxente, more than 400 Spaniards were killed or wounded, 700 soldiers and 30 officers made prisoners, the colours of the Carmona regiment taken, and the enemy put completely to rout. From that time up to the 18th, the enemy had undertaken nothing serious against the troops of Valencia.——The expeditionary fleet continues at anchor off Balaguer, keeping some battalions near Hospitalet, and under the fort. My troops being acting in deserts, I decided upon bringing them towards Ampolla, upon the Tarragona road, to procure them water, of which we had been deprived for two days. I have been informed that Gen. M. Mathieu, informed of the raising of the siege of Tarragona, had advanced to that town and to Reus. I, however, persisted in prolonging my stay in Catalonia, in order to unravel the enemy's projects, when yesterday I learned that the English had resolved to blow up the fort of Balaguer; this resolution, which entirely entered into my projects, proves to me that the enemy will not renew his attack upon Tarragona, nor seriously act in Catalonia, which sufficiently informs me of what remains to be done.——Thus, M. le Duc, the first operations of the English upon a line of 80 leagues, has been confined to the taking of a fort and a garrison of 83 soldiers, commanded by a Lientenant, whilst they have lost in killed, wounded, prisoners, or deserters upon the Xucar, or at Tarragona, above 1,600 men and a flag; whilst they have raised the siege, and abandoned 27 pieces of cannon before a dismantled place without fosses, but defended by a small but very valiant garrison."

From the Same to the Same.

Valencia, June 25.

M. Le Duc,—By my report of the 21st I informed your Excellency of the precipitate raising the siege of Tarragona by the English, and their re-embarkation; the necessity of following the movements of the fleet has forced me to sacrifice the pleasure I should have had in congratulating the Governor Bartolette, and his brave garrison, upon his fine and vigorous defence. By going to Tarragona I should have lost six days, whilst, as soon as I received a report from General Mathieu, from Reuss, and two letters from General Bartolette, I only thought of returning to Valencia to prevent the English from anticipating me. ——The loss of the English at Tarragona has been immense; thirty pieces of heavy caliber, mortars, fire-ships, bombs, magazine of rum, salt meat, &c. have been delivered to the flames: but the enemy suffered still more considerable losses on the night between the 20th and 21st; signals, firing of cannon, announced that the immense convoy had decided to quit the coast of Catalonia. At day-break ten large vessels were seen off the mouth of the Ebro; eighteen brigs or large ships had grounded upon the sands at the mouth of the river. Your Excellency will be able to judge of it by the Reports of the Chef des Gardes de la Sante, which I have the honour to enclose.——As soon as I was informed of it. I ordered assistance to be given to those vessels; but the great difficulty in arriving prevented their reaching them. Several ships detached from the grand convoy have returned; they succeeded in saving the greater part of the troops and transports; it appears the enemy lost but five ships, which in general were abandoned.——As soon as I was informed the enemy had sailed for the coast of Valencia, I put Musneer's division and Agremont's brigade in march. By an effort worthy of praise, they marched fifteen leagues a-day, ambitious of anticipating the enemy's fleet at every point. All the declarations of the Captains whose vessels grounded, state, that the enemy was to have disembarked at Castellan de la Plana, to have separated me from the forces which I had left upon the Xucar; the astonishing rapidity of the march of our troops, and the violence of the winds, have not allowed the enemy to execute his projects; he remained three hours in sight of Castellan on the 22d, and on the same day I arrived there with 4,000 men, 800 horse, and six pieces of light

artillery. The fleet, beaten by contrary winds, appeared before the Gras de Valence, a frigate was detached to take possession of the small privateer, the Determinee; she was close in shore, and grounded before Murviedro. Gen. Bonille proceeded with two companies of grenadiers and two pieces of cannon to her assistance; a lively musketry fire took place, the enemy launched several boats filled with troops, they attempted to repulse our people, but were so well received, that they retired with considerable loss.——[The remainder of the dispatch states that the efforts of the English to again kindle the war in Catalonia have failed.]——I am, &c. (Signed) The Duke of Albufera.

Imperial Decree.

Head-quarters, at Dresden, June 18, 1813.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Confederation of Switzerland, &c.——We have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

Title I.—*Formation of a List of Absentees.*

Art. I. There shall be formed a List of Absentees in the 32d Military Division.

Art. II. This List shall comprehend—

1. All the individuals, who, exercising public functions, shall have absented themselves from the country, at the moment of the re-entry of the French army.——2. The Senators of Hamburgh and Lubeck who shall have resumed their functions after the evacuation of the French army.——3. All proprietors who shall have absented themselves since the 1st of March, and shall not have returned within 15 days after the publication of the present decree.——4. All the individuals who may have accepted the rank of Officer in the levies for the enemy;—all the individuals who served in the Hanseatic Legion, or took part in the magistracies created by the enemy.——5. All the individuals known to have formed part of the armed assemblages, and to have excited the people to revolt.——6. All the individuals known to be in the service of England, whether civil or military;—all those known to be in the service of Russia, and of Prussia, whether civil or military. ——7. In fine, all the individuals who shall have left their homes since the 1st of March of this year, and who shall not have returned within 15 days after the publication of the present Decree.

Art. III. The list of all such individuals shall be formed without delay, under the orders of the Prince of Eckmuhl, by department, district, canton, and municipality. For this purpose, a Commission shall be appointed by the Prefects in every district and town. The lists shall be renewed every fortnight, and shall be transmitted to the Minister of General Police, and to the Director-General of Domains and Registration.

Title II.—*Of the Effects of Absence.*

Art. IV. Sequestration shall be immediately placed on the property, moveable and real, of all the individuals entered on the list of absentees in the 32d military division. Our Board of Domains and Registration shall immediately take possession of the same, and a statement of the value of all the property thus seized shall be transmitted to the Director-General.

Art. V. While any individual is on the List of Absentees, he can no longer perform any civil act. The debts which are due to them, the property which they shall inherit, shall be sequestrated and collected to the benefit of our domain. The produce of the said property shall be paid in to the registration chest.

Art. VI. Individuals having been once entered on the list of absentees, and their property in possession of the Board of Domains, the erasure of their names from the said list, and the removal of the sequestration from their property, can no longer take place but in consequence of a decree from us.

Art. VII. Our Ministers of Finance, of Treasure, of War, and of Police are charged with the execution of this Decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, and communicated to the Major-General, to the Director of the Administration of the Army, and to the Prince of Eckmuhl.

(Signed) Napoleon.

By the Emperor,

The Minister Secretary of State, Count Daru.

SPANISH WAR.

London Gazette, July 13.

Admiralty Office, July 13.—Copy of a Letter from Captain Adam, of His Majesty's ship the Invincible, transmitted by Rear-Admiral Hallowell to J. W. Croker, Esq.

His Majesty's ship Invincible, off the Coll de Balaguer, June 8, 1813.

Sir,—In pursuance of your directions to take the ships and vessels, named in the margin, [Thames, Volcano, Strombolo, Brûne, and eight gun-boats], under my

orders, and co-operate with Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost in the siege of the fort of the Coll de Balaguer, I have the honour to inform you, that the troops were landed about noon of the 3d instant, and the Lieutenant Colonel immediately invested the fort, the riflemen of De Roll's regiment, and other light troops, being pushed close up to the walls.——The fort is situated in a most difficult pass, through which the high road from Tortosa to Tarragona winds, and it is absolutely the key of the only road for cannon into this province from the westward, without going round by Lerida. It is armed with 12 pieces of ordnance, including two ten-inch mortars, and two howitzers; and the surrounding heights are so difficult of access, that it has been a work of the greatest labour to establish the necessary batteries before it.——Two six-pounder field-pieces and a howitzer were landed on the evening of the 3d instant, dragged up, and placed on the ridge of a steep and rugged mountain, to the S. E. of the fort; two 12-pounders were added to the former by noon of the next day. The whole remained under the command of Lieutenant Corbyn, First of the Invincible, having under his orders a detachment of midshipmen and seamen from this ship, and a most excellent fire was kept up from them, which considerably damaged the defences of the fort, and checked its fire upon our working parties.——In the mean time three Spanish 24-pounders were landed, and two more guns, of the same caliber, from this ship, to be got up by the high road to the foot of a very steep height, on the crest of which the breaching-battery was to be constructed, at about 300 yards from the eastern face of the fort.——In the afternoon of the 4th instant the fort was summoned to surrender, and the Commandant answered, that he should defend the place committed to his charge.——During the night of the 4th, every exertion was used to bring the guns up the hill, and to complete the breaching-battery; but, as it could not be completed by day-light, the men were withdrawn.——The seamen and marines were landed early in the afternoon of the 5th, and carried up the stores for the battery, under a brisk fire of shot and shells from the fort.——The three Spanish 24-pounders, notwithstanding their immense size and weight, were conveyed up the side of the hill, over the most difficult and rugged ground, by the united exertions of the soldiers, seamen, and marines, under the immediate direction of Captain Carroll, of the Volcano. The two eight-inch mortars were brought as far along the road as was practicable before dark, and the iron 24-pounders were conveyed to the foot of the hill as soon as it was dark.——The work of the battery advanced rapidly, although it was necessary to fill all the sand-bags at the bottom of the hill, and I was in confident expectation that the battery would open soon after day light; but by ten o'clock the rain fell in torrents, attended by the most violent thunder and lightning I almost ever witnessed.——The quantity of ammunition which had been brought up for the battery laying in exposed situations, made it the more awful, and the enemy kept up an incessant fire of shells and grape-shot.——In defiance of all these obstacles two of the guns were got high enough up to mount on the platforms, but all our exertion was unequal to place them there, owing to the violence of the rain, and the excessive difficulty of working in the extreme darkness of the night. From the same reason, too, the mortars could not be brought forward, and after a night of the most excessive labour, we had the mortification of being again obliged to retire, the officers and men being quite worn out.——The weather continued very bad until the afternoon of the 6th instant, when a party was landed, and the mortars were got forward; before day-light the seamen and marines were on the pile, and all the guns were placed on the battery ready for mounting. The two mortars opened soon after day-light, and the shells were thrown with great precision, by Lieutenant James, of the Royal Marine Artillery, landed from the Strombolo, who worked the mortars with his party; and the fire from Lieut. Corbyn's battery was resumed with excellent effect. This united force made very considerable impression on the fort; an expense-magazine was blown up, and the enemy's fire was very much slackened.——At seven o'clock, just before the breaching battery was ready to open, a white flag was shewn from the fort; Capt. Stoddart, of the Strombolo, and Capt. Zelmpfenning, were immediately sent to the fort, and the latter returned in a few minutes with an offer from the Commandant, to surrender the fort and garrison upon conditions of marching out with the honours of war; the officers and men preserving their private property.——This was immediately acceded to by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost and myself: the fort was taken possession of by the advance of the troops. The garri-

son marched out, grounded their arms on the glacis, and were immediately embarked.——I have great satisfaction in stating, that during this service, which has so much depended upon the united exertions of the army and navy, the most perfect cordiality has existed among all ranks; and I have met, in Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, all that openness of communication and confidence which an acquaintance with the character of this excellent officer gave me reason to expect.

In an operation where the laborious exertions of the Captains, Officers, seamen, and marines, under my orders, have been most conspicuous, I hope I shall be excused for having gone so much into detail; but it is my duty, and a most agreeable one to bring under your view the praiseworthy conduct of all ranks and descriptions. I must particularly draw your attention to the zeal and activity displayed by that valuable Officer, Captain Carroll, of the Volcano; his conduct was the admiration of every body, and he was ably supported by Lieutenant Pidgely, of the Invincible, and the other officers, seamen, and marines under his direction. From the explosion of a shell near him, the night before, Captain Carroll was obliged to suspend his services until the morning of the 7th (but I am happy to state he has perfectly recovered); and Captain Stoddart, of the Strombolo, succeeded him in the direction of getting up the guns, &c. for the breaching battery, and deserves every credit for his active services. I am also much obliged to Capt. Badcock, of the Brune, for the assistance he afforded me. ——I cannot conclude this letter, without calling to your notice the indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Corbyn, both in getting the guns up to the battery he commanded, and the excellent fire he kept from them afterwards; and I feel highly gratified in noticing the conduct of so old and excellent an Officer, with whose value I am well acquainted from a service of many years together.——I have the honour to enclose a list of the killed and wounded of the crews of the ships under my orders, which, considering the fire upon us for so many hours, is unaccountably small.—— The troops under Colonel Prevost's command have had an Officer and four men killed, and 39 wounded, in which are included an Officer and seven soldiers of the Spanish regiment of Palma.——I have enclosed you a list of the garrison of the fort, consisting of two lieutenants, a surgeon, and garde-magazin, 16 Italian artillerymen, and 83 non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 11th French regiment of the line, of whom 2 were killed and 11 wounded.——I likewise enclose returns of the ordnance, &c. found in the fort.—— During the siege of the fort, the gun-boats were stationed in Ampolla Bay, to observe the road from Tortosa, as we had constant reports of the enemy being in motion from that quarter.——I have the honour to be, &c. CHARLES ADAM, Captain.

A Return of Killed and Wounded, belonging to His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Orders of Capt. Adam, of His Majesty's Ship Invincible, at the Attack on Fort St. Philippe, in the Coll de Balaguer, between the 3d and 7th June, 1813.

KILLED.—Volcano. J. Gasson, gunner of royal marine artillery.

WOUNDED.—Volcano. J. Hunter and J. Fairhead, ordinary seamen, severely.

Invincible. T. Bouchier, private of royal marines, severely; W. Somerville, landman, severely.

Thames. W. Hunt and W. Price, privates of royal marines, severely.

Strombolo. None killed or wounded.

Brune. None killed or wounded.

(Signed) CHARLES ADAM, Captain.

Return of the French Prisoners taken at Fort St. Philippe, June 7.

Camp, near Fort St. Philippe, June 8, 1813.

11th French Regiment Infantry of the Line. 2 Lieutenants, 2 Staff, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 77 rank and file.

French Artillery. 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file.

Total.—2 Lieutenants, 2 Staff, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 92 rank and file.

Thirteen of the above rank and file were wounded, and two since dead.

(Signed) C. KNOBENFELDS, Major of Brigade.

[Here follows a Return of the cannon and ammunition taken in the Castle, which consisted chiefly of 12 mounted brass cannon, 6 dismounted iron guns, 2,200 lbs. of gunpowder, and 92,000 rounds of ball-cartridge.]

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, July 19.—Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received at Earl Bathurst's office, addressed to his Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington.

Ostiz, July 3, 1813.—General Clausel having retired towards Logrono, after finding our troops at Vittoria on the 22d of June, and having ascertained the result of the action of the 21st, still remained in the neighbourhood of Logrono on the 24th, and till late on the 25th, and had not marched for Tudela, as I had been informed, when I wrote my dispatch of the 24th ultimo; I conceived, therefore, that there was some prospect of intercepting his retreat; and after sending the light troops

towards Roncevalles, in pursuit of the army under Joseph Buonaparté, I moved the light, 4th, 3d, and 7th divisions, and Colonel Grant's and Major-General Ponsonby's brigades of cavalry, towards Tudela, and the 5th and 6th divisions, and the household and General D'Urban's cavalry, from Vittoria and Salvatierra, towards Logrono, in hopes that I should be able to intercept General Clausel.——He, however, made some extraordinary forced marches, followed by General Mina with his own cavalry and the regiment of Spanish cavalry under the command of Don Julian Sanchez, and arrived at Tudela on the evening of the 27th. He there crossed the Ebro, but the Alcalde having informed him that we were upon the road, he immediately recrossed, and marched towards Saragossa, where, I understand from General Mina, he has since arrived.——General Mina is still following the enemy, and he has taken from him two pieces of cannon and some stores in Tudela, and three hundred prisoners. Lieut.-Gen. Clinton has also taken possession of five guns, which the enemy left at Logrono.——In the meantime the troops under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. Hill have kept the blockade of Pampeluna, and have moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, the enemy having entirely retired into France on that side.——I enclose the report which I have received from Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham, of his actions with the enemy on the 24th and 25th of June, which appear to have been more serious than I had imagined, when I addressed your Lordship on the 26th ult.——General Foy had with him the garrison of Bilboa and those of Mondragon and Tolosa, besides his division of the Army of Portugal, and his force was considerable. It gives me great satisfaction to see that the Spanish and Portuguese troops mentioned by Sir T. Graham, have conducted themselves so well.——The Lieutenant-General has continued to push on the enemy by the high road, and has dislodged them from all the strong positions which they had taken; and yesterday a brigade of the army of Gallicia, under the command of General Castanos, attacked and drove the enemy across the Bidassoa, by the bridge of Irun. The enemy still maintained a post in a strong stone blockhouse, which served as a head to the bridge, and some troops in some loopholed houses on the right of the Bidassoa; but General Giron having sent for some Spanish artillery, and Captain Dubourdieu's brigade of nine-pounders, having been sent to their support, the fire of these guns obliged the enemy to evacuate, and they blew up the blockhouse, and burnt the bridge.——Sir Thomas Graham reports, that in all these affairs the Spanish troops have conducted themselves remarkably well.——The garrison of Passages, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, surrendered on the 30th, to the troops under Colonel Longa.——The enemy, on seeing some of our ships off Deba, evacuated the town and fort of Guetaria on the 1st instant; and the garrison went, by sea, to St. Sebastian. This place is blockaded by land by a detachment of Spanish troops.——They have likewise evacuated Castro, and the garrison have gone by sea to Santona.——In my former reports, I have made your Lordship acquainted with the progress of the army of reserve of Andalusia, under Gen. the Conde del Abisbal, to join the army, and he arrived at Burgos on the 25th and 26th inst.——When the enemy retired across the Ebro, previous to the battle of Vittoria, they left a garrison of about seven hundred men in the castle of Pancorbo, by which they commanded and rendered it impossible for us to use the great communication from Vittoria to Burgos; I therefore requested the Conde del Abisbal, on his march to Miranda, to make himself master of the town and lower works, and to blockade the place as closely as he could. I have not received the report of his first operations; but, I understand, he carried the town and lower fort by assault on the 28th; and I have now the pleasure to enclose his report of the final success of this operation, and the copy of the capitulation, by which the garrison have surrendered.——The decision and dispatch with which this place has been subdued, are highly creditable to the Conde del Abisbal, and the officers and troops under his command.——I am concerned to inform your Lordship, that Lieutenant-General Sir J. Murray raised the siege of Tarrago, I cannot say on what day, and embarked his troops. A great proportion of the artillery and stores were left in the batteries. It appears that Marshal Suchet, with a considerable body of troops, had moved from Valencia by Tortosa, and General Maurice Mathieu, with another corps, from the neighbourhood of Barcelona, for the purpose of impeding Sir J. Murray's operations, which he did not think himself sufficiently strong to continue.——I have not yet received from Sir J. Murray the detailed

account of these transactions: Lieut.-Gen. Lord Wm. Bentinck, however, who had joined and had taken the command of the army at the Coll de Balaguer, on the 17th, had brought it back to Alicant, where he arrived himself on the 23d, and was proceeding to carry into execution my instructions.——When Marshal Suchet marched into Catalonia, the Duque del Parque had advanced, and established his head-quarters at San Felipe de Xativa, and his troops on the Xucar, where he still was on the 24th.

Tolosa, June 26, 1813.

My Lord,—It was so late on the 23d when I received the order to march by the Puerto St. Adrian on Villa Franca, and the weather and the road were so extremely bad, that but a small part of the column could get over the mountain that day; and it was not till late on the 24th that I could move from Segura on Villa Franca, with Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, the light battalions of the King's German legion, and the two Portuguese brigades; the rest of the troops not being yet come up.——The rear of the enemy's column was then just passing on the great road from Villa Real to Villa Franca, and he occupied, in considerable force, some very strong ground on the right of the great road, and of the river Orio, in front of the village of Olaverria, and about a mile and a half from Villa Franca.——Major-Gen. Bradford's brigade marched by Olaverria, and was employed to dislodge the enemy on the right, while the remainder of the troops advanced by the Chaussée, defended by the enemy's tirailleurs on the heights, and a strong body at the village of Veasayn.——As the enemy reinforced the troops on his left, it became necessary to push on by the Chaussée, which was done by the light battalion, under Colonel Halkett, assisted and flanked by some companies of Major-General Pack's Portuguese brigade, and this service was performed, in the most gallant style, by these brave troops, who drove the enemy from the village of Veasayn.——The enemy having troops ready, posted on the succession of strong heights on each side of the deep valley, at the bottom of which the road runs, a considerable time became necessary to turn his flanks, during which he evacuated Villa Franca, without further dispute.——The Portuguese brigades on the right and left of the valley, pushed on their advance to Yehasurido; and the troops assembled at Villa Franca. Here, likewise, the head of Gen. Giron's corps, and all Colonel Longa's, arrived in the course of the evening.——The next morning (the 25th) the enemy evacuated Celequia; and, as he had taken up a very strong position between that and Tolosa, covering the Pampeluna road, the Spanish corps of Colonel Longa was marched by Alzo towards Lizarga, to turn his left, while Lieutenant-General Mendizabel was requested to dispatch some battalions from Aspeytia to turn his right, appuyed on a high mountain, with an inaccessible ravine in front.——The enemy was driven from the summit of an important hill, lying between the Pampeluna and Vittoria roads, by a very skilful attack of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, with two companies of the grenadiers of the 1st regiment, and three of the 4th cacadores, belonging to General Pack's brigade.——The conduct of Lieutenant Queires, and of Ensign Vasconcelles, of the 4th cacadores, was distinguished on this occasion. The latter officer lost an eye by a musket shot.——This hill was immediately occupied by Major-General Bradford's brigade, supported by the three line battalions of the King's German legion.——The rest of the day was chiefly spent in skirmishing with the enemy's tirailleurs, to give time for the Spanish corps arriving at their destination.——A general attack began between six and seven in the evening. Two guns of Capt. Ramsay's troop, and two nine-pounders of Captain Dubourdieu's, under an escort of Captain Childer's troop of the 16th light dragoons, and of the advance of Colonel Halkett's light battalions, were brought rapidly forward on the Chaussée, and fired with effect against several formed bodies of the enemy in the plain near the town; while the column, consisting of the German light battalions, the brigade of Guards, and the Spanish division of General Giron's, continued to advance by the Chaussée.——Two Spanish battalions, and one Portuguese, forming a separate column on the left of the Chaussée, passed quickly on the left on the town.——General Bradford and the line battalions of the Germans driving in the enemy on their front, by the Pampeluna road, and Colonel Longa from the side of the mountains still more on the right, turning and forcing, from very strong positions, all the posted bodies of the enemy on the right of the town.——Still the enemy held possession of the town, which was much more capable of defence than had been represented.——The Vittoria gate

was barricadoed, and also the Pampeluna gate on the bridge; and both were flanked by convents and other large buildings occupied by the enemy, and the town was no where open. A nine-pounder was therefore brought up under cover of the fire of the light battalion, close to the gate, which was thus burst open.——It was now dark, and it was not possible to distinguish the troops of the different nations engaged, which gave the enemy, now flying from every point, an opportunity of escaping with much less loss than he must have suffered had we had daylight.——The conduct of all the troops concerned in this attack was highly creditable; that of the line battalions on the Pampeluna road, and of the light battalions at the Vittoria gate, was such as was to be expected from these distinguished corps, and the column of the left did equal honour to the Spanish and Portuguese arms.——Col. Longa's corps, after a repetition of long and severe marches, undertook and executed, with the greatest spirit, the fatiguing duty of this day, and behaved in the most gallant manner. The battalions sent from Arpeyton by Lieut.-General Mendizabel, repulsed, with great steadiness, an attack of the enemy, and afterwards pursued him down from the mountains, taking a good many prisoners.——I have not yet got the return, but I believe above two hundred prisoners were taken by the two Spanish corps, and many wounded men were left here. The enemy's loss in killed, too, must have been considerable.——This place has, besides the defences at the gates, new towers to flank the exterior wall, and a strong wood blockhouse in the square, which shews the importance the enemy attached to its occupation.——It would be unjust to the troops employed in this assault, not to mention their exemplary conduct when in possession; there was no excess committed. The German Legion and Col. Longa's corps passed on, and formed immediately beyond the town.——I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded of the British and Portuguese in these two days, which, considering the nature of the service, could not have been expected to be less than considerable.——The Spaniards lost several officers killed and wounded yesterday, but I have not had any return of them.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Graham, Lieut.-Gen.

The Marquis of Wellington, &c. &c. &c.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Allied Army under the Command of his Excellency General the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy on the 24th and 25th of June, 1813.

24th June, 1813.

1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 5 rank and file killed; 2 Lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 30 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—2d Ditto. 2 rank and file killed; 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 2 drummers, 12 rank and file, wounded.

Portuguese Loss—1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file, wounded.

25th June, 1813.

1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 6 rank and file, wounded.—2d Ditto. 5 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 23 rank and file, wounded.—5th Ditto. 3 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 1 serjeant, 25 rank and file, wounded.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 5 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 2 drummers, 24 rank and file, wounded.

Portuguese Loss—1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 2 serjeants, 22 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 7 Ensigns, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 131 rank and file, wounded; 1 Ensign, 43 rank and file, missing.

General Total Loss on the 24th and 25th of June.

Total British—21 rank and file killed; 1 Major, 5 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 4 drummers, 120 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

Total Portuguese—1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 serjeants, 33 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 7 Ensigns, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 152 rank and file, wounded; 1 Ensign, 43 rank and file, missing.

Grand Total—1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 serjeants, 54 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 7 Ensigns, 12 serjeants, 6 drummers, 272 rank and file, wounded; 1 Ensign, 44 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) E. Pakenham, Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers, killed, wounded, and missing.

24th June, 1813.

1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Lieutenant Wahrendorff, slightly; Lieutenant Wolrabe, severely.—2d Ditto. Major H. Prince Reuss, severely; Lieutenant Kessler, slightly.

25th June, 1813.

1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. Lieutenant Boyd, slightly.—2 Ditto. Captains Langrehr and Beuerman, and Lieutenant Holle, severely.—5th Ditto. Captain Baemeister, severely.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Captain Cropp, severely (since dead); Captain Wyneckens, slightly; Lieutenant Fincke, severely; Lieutenant Heise, slightly; Lieutenant Heugel, severely (arm amputated).

Portuguese Officers killed.

25th June, 1813.

24th Reg. Line. Lieutenant Joao Baptista Reimao, Ensign Luis Jeronimo.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

24th June.

13th Reg. Line. Captain Benjamin Jones, severely.

25th June.

13th Reg. Line. Lieutenant-Colonel Don Joaquim de Camera, severely; Ensign Diego Ignacio de Souza, slightly.—24th Reg. Line. Captain Antonio Xavier da Rocha, slightly; Lieutenant

Luis de Azeredo, severely; Ensign Jose Maria, severely; Ensign Joao Baptista, slightly; Ensigns Joaquim Herculano and Jose Manoel, slightly.—4th Cacadores. Ensigns Vasconelles and Telhes, severely.—5th Cacadores. Captain Don Francisco Da Sylva, severely.

Portuguese Officers missing.

13th Reg. Line. Ensign Jose Pais.

Santa Marta de Cubo, July 1, 1813.

Sir,—On the 29th of June last, I had the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the General in Chief of the National Armies, that the Cacadores and grenadiers of the first brigade of the first division of this army had assaulted and taken the fort of Santa Marta de Pancorbo. I have now the satisfaction of acquainting you, that at eight o'clock this morning, the castle of Santa Engracia, or principal fort of Pancorbo, surrendered by capitulation. The garrison consisted of 650 men; they had provisions for several days, no very great quantity of water, and that not of a good quality. There were found in the castle 25 pieces of cannon, of a caliber from 16 to four pounds, many gun carriages, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition for a regular defence. The garrison surrendered under the enclosed articles of capitulation, and will march tomorrow morning for Burgos.——From the 28th, the day on which the fort of Santa Marta was taken, I had posted the sharpshooters in the vicinity of the walls of the fort, and, by blockading it most vigorously, I cut off all communication with the spring from which they provided themselves with water. The different detachments employed upon this service, performed their duty with a steadiness and valour deserving every praise; and the enemy could no longer procure their water without imminent risk. Taking advantage of this circumstance, I ordered several numerous detachments to establish themselves as near the wall as possible, and out of the range of the enemy's guns. A quantity of ladders, and other necessary implements were procured for attacking the castle, but being anxious to adopt every necessary step for economizing the lives of my men, I hinted a second time to the Governor to surrender, which he consented to accede to, under condition of being carried back to France with his garrison: but he yielded at last, upon my refusing to admit this condition, and threatening to take the place by storm. The successful result of this business is not a little owing to the intelligence and judgment which my Aid-de-Camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Juze Maria Reyna, displayed during the course of his conferences with the Governor. The result of the Lieutenant-Colonel's negociation has proved of no little advantage to us.——During the space of twenty-four hours, a battery for six pieces had been constructed on the summit of the hill, by the indefatigable exertions of the sappers of the army (and several peasants), under the direction of the Commandant General of the engineers, Marshal de Campo Don Manuel Japino, and six pieces of cannon, which had been collected by the Colonel, Major-General of the artillery, Don Matias Ferraz, were got upon the hill with the greatest activity, under the direction of the Colonel, who was ably assisted by the Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, Don Joze Jarabia, and the Serjeant-Major, Don Bartolomo Gutierrez, and other subaltern officers. Eight hours after the battery was commenced, the guns began to open upon the enemy, and besides causing him considerable loss, impressed him with sufficient respect for us.——I cannot but call the attention of the General in Chief of the national armies to the valour and activity displayed upon this occasion by Brigadier-General Don Joze Latorre, commanding the 1st brigade of infantry; by the Chief of the Staff of the Army, Colonel Don Miguel Desmaysieres, who scarcely took one moment's rest during the siege, which lasted three days; and to the good conduct of the Officers of the Staff who were placed under his orders, and that of the Commander and Officers of the infantry and cavalry which composed the besieging corps.——I must also notice the meritorious conduct of my Aids-de-Camp Lieutenant-Colonels Don Jozé de Ruiz, Don Jozé Maria Reyna, Don Victor Vinader, and Lieutenant Don Benito Diaz, and of my Military Secretary Don Jozé Serfate and Salagar, who carried my orders, on repeated occasions, to the very walls of the enemy's fort, heedless of the latter's fire. The enemy kept up a brisk fire from his guns, &c. but the loss which he occasioned us has been very inconsiderable. The enemy's surrendering the place created great regret among the troops, who had consented to take it by assault, and they only console themselves with the hope of their being more places to conquer. I have put a small garrison into the fort of Pancorbo, and shall supply it immediately with provisions and water; but I shall not make any addition to the works, without knowing first the intentions of the General in

Chief relative to the demolition or preservation of this place.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) El Conde de Abisbal.

To Don Louis Wimpffen, &c. &c.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) Wimpffen.

[Then follow the Articles of Capitulation entered into between Lieut.-Col. de Reyna, on the part of our Allies, and Lieut. Don Alexander de Ceva, on that of the French, for the fort of Pancorbo, in which the garrison was made prisoners of war, and allowed the honours of war.]

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis of Wellington, dated Ostiz, July 3, 1813.

I have reported, in my dispatch of this day, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray, had raised the siege of Tarragona, and had embarked, leaving behind him a portion of his artillery. On this transaction, I do not feel myself sufficiently informed to be able to write more.—I enclose copies of the letters which I have received relating to Tarragona.

[A letter from Sir John Murray to the Marquis of Wellington, dated Camp before Tarragona, imparts only, that he had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost's brigade to attack the Fort of St. Philippe, with the mention of its capture.]

Fort San Philippe, Coll de Balaguer, June 7, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that in obedience to your orders, I proceeded on the 2d inst. with the brigade under my command, consisting of the 2d battalion 67th regiment, and Roll Dillon's regiment, to which was added a detachment of the Royal Artillery, with two field-pieces, under the command of Captain Arabin, and Roll's Rifle Company, to attack the Castle of San Philippe, in the Coll de Balaguer.——Captain Adam, of His Majesty's ship Invincible, joined off Salon, for the purpose of co-operating with the troops under my command.——We landed on the 3d instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, about one mile to the eastward of the entrance to the Pass from Tarragona. I was then joined by the Spanish regiments of Barcelona and Palma, under the command of Don Jose Carles.——I immediately directed Roll's Rifles, the Light Company of the 67th, and Roll's Light Company, under the command of Capt. Muller, of Roll's, to invest the Fort as closely as possible, which he did so completely by two o'clock, that the enemy could not show himself before his parapet.——One six-pounder was brought up the Sierra del Tasal, a very steep mountain, within seven hundred yards of the Fort to annoy the enemy with Shrapnell shells.——The Engineer Officers not having arrived with the intrenching tools till very late, nothing further could be undertaken that evening.——The Fort of San Philippe is situated upon the eastern extremity of an insulated village, in the centre of the Coll de Balaguer, commanding completely the great road through the pass. It is a square Fort, with some bastions, but commanded on two sides by almost inaccessible mountains.——On the 4th, two 12-pounders and one howitzer, under the command of Lieut. Corbyn, of His Majesty's ship Invincible, and manned by the crew of that ship, were likewise brought up to the Tasal. This battery continued to play upon the Fort the whole day, in order to attract the attention of the enemy, whilst Captain Chyne, of the Royal Engineers, was tracing out the ground for the breaching batteries, within three hundred yards of the place, and the troops busied in filling the sand-bags. At night, the whole of the seamen and troops were employed, the former in bringing up five 24-pounders, shot, powder, &c. for the battery, whilst the troops constructed the work. The ground being very unfavourable, the whole could not be completed before break of day.——The embrasures were therefore filled up, and the work deferred till the following evening, when Captain Adam and myself sent a summons to the Commanding Officer, offering the most favourable terms; but they were rejected. On the 5th the batteries continued a heavy fire upon the fort. In the evening the working parties and seamen went down early to the battery.——The enemy having perceived the filing down, kept a heavy and galling fire of shells, round and grape shot, during

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GENERAL ENCLOSURE BILL.——During the present session of Parliament, a Bill has passed the House of Commons, for an enclosure, upon certain conditions, of *all* the Waste, or Unenclosed, Lands in the kingdom.——As the law stands at present, no enclosure and distribution of Wastes can take place without an *Act of Parliament*, to obtain which is very expensive.——This expense has been, certainly, a great hinderance to enclosures, where the wastes have belonged to divers parties; and, therefore, the friends to new enclosures have wished for *one general Act*, to enable the parties concerned to enclose and to make distribution of their wastes, by application to the Justices of the Peace in their Quarter Sessions.——A Bill to this effect passed the House of Commons in the early part of the session just now closed; but, this Bill has been put aside by the *Lords*.——The subject is one, in which the public naturally take great interest, and, for that reason, I am about to submit my sentiments upon it; a further inducement to which is a letter, which I have received from a very respectable gentleman, and which, because it expresses the opinions of many persons, and, I believe, of a large majority of the nation, I shall here insert, and then offer my observations to the author of it, and, through him, to the public.——I should further observe, by way of preface, that the Bill, rejected by the Lords, provided for the assent of a certain number of the owners of wastes and common fields; that the agreement of this certain number was to be *binding upon the rest*; that it rested with the Justices to appoint Commissioners, and to do all that is now done, in cases of enclosure, by the Legislature.——It is not of the *details* of the Bill, but of its principle as to *effect on agriculture*, that I am about to speak; but, I cannot omit this occasion of expressing my astonishment, that any man, who has any regard for the safety of property, should have thought of throwing so large a portion of the landed property of the kingdom down at the mercy of Justices of the Peace, who, be they ever so upright, must be, as a body, unfit to be intrusted with such enormous powers as this Bill would have given them.——It would be making the Justices of the Peace in each county *legislators* for the county in a matter of the greatest importance to the principal part of its land owners. When it is considered, that Justices of the Peace are all appointed at the sole will and pleasure of the Crown; that the people have nothing to do in the selection of them; that no qualification will enable them to act as Justices without an express commission from the Crown; and that, of course, persons not approved of by the advisers of the Crown, are not likely to be made Justices of the Peace: when it is further considered, that the Justices themselves must naturally be owners of wastes in the county as well as other people, and, of course, would frequently have had, if this Bill had passed, to legislate for themselves as well as for their neighbours: when these things are considered, and when we reflect on the caballing and conflict of interests that must inevitably take place in these several provincial legislatures, we ought to think ourselves very lucky in having escaped the establishment of them.——Only consider, for a moment, what a pretty tenure a man would have of his property, when his title would be founded on the orders of Justices, drawn up and recorded by country Attorneys, who, without any disparagement of either their integrity or their qualifications for their profession, must, in general, be wholly unfit for the discharge of functions so important.——On this ground alone, therefore, I rejoice that the Bill has been rejected by the Lords.——But, it is the principle of the Bill, as affecting the agriculture of the country, that I now propose to discuss, after having inserted the letter of my respectable correspondent, which is as follows:

"MR. COBBETT,—It is no flattery to "say, that so versatile and original is your "genius, that as there are few subjects on "which you at times have not treated, so "there are none on which, by your clear "statement and close reasoning, you have

" not afforded information, and in many " have produced conviction.—Entertaining " this opinion, it is not extraordinary that " I should wish to turn your attention to the " general Enclosure Act, which was the last " sessions passed by the Commons' House " of Parliament, but rejected by the Lords. " Should you inquire of me what occasion- " ed this rejection, I cannot help stating it " as my belief, that the principal cause " was, the loss certain Clerks and certain " Public Officers would have sustained by " its enactment, in the cessation of the enor- " mous and unreasonable fees due to them " upon the passing of every private Bill. " Thus these fees are, in fact, a bar to im- " provement, and keep up the price of " corn, in as much as they prevent the " ready extension of agriculture. Now, " if they *had* their weight in producing the " rejection of this Bill, it does strike me " to have been most impolitic and most un- " just. Impolitic, considering the millions " we annually pay to foreign countries for our " deficit in the production of corn, propor- " tioned to our consumption; considering " the employment which would, on passing " such a Bill, have arisen to multitudes, " who, in the manufacturing districts, on " every check to trade, are without it; and " considering the demand it would have " created for capital, to be engaged in do- " mestic investment. Unjust, in as much " as it thus places the easy support of mul- " titudes—the ready employment of the " industrious—and the home expenditure of " millions, in competition with the interest " of Clerks in Office and men in place. " Though some of the provisions in this " proposed Act might, perhaps, with rea- " son, have been objected to by Lords " Eldon, Ellenborough, and Redesdale; " yet, surely, their sagacity might have " suggested alterations and amendments, " rather than ridicule and sweeping oppo- " sition, to overturn the whole.——I re- " member, when the West Indian Mer- " chants offered to save our corn by substi- " tuting their sugars at the distilleries, all " the agriculturists, noble, gentle, and sim- " ple, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Somer- " ville, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Coke, Mr. " Curwen, and Mr. Arthur Young, Secre- " tary to the Board, one and all, privately " and publicly, by their own exertions, " and backed by county meetings, fright- " ened, as it were, in a mass, declared " that barley would become a drug; the " course of crops be quite impossible; and " agriculture be ruined. But where are " these patriots now? Has a prospect of " plenty, has a fear of glutted markets, " panic-struck them? Are they mute " from apprehension? or why are they for " a moment careless of the fate of a Bill, " by which that very agriculture, in the " pursuit of which they pride themselves " so much, would be so greatly and so be- " neficially extended?——Now, Sir, if you " can arouse the spirit of justice; if you " can excite the enthusiasm of patriotism; " if you can make the public sensible of " their own interest, in preference to the " interest of a few; I exhort you as a Bri- " ton; I call on you as a farmer; I entreat " you as a man, to exert yourself, to be the " friend of the hungry poor, in a cause " where you will also be the friend of the " industrious, and of the enterprising rich. " ——With great respect, allow me to sub- " scribe myself, RUSTICUS."

This appeal of my correspondent I am perfectly ready to answer, under one or all of the appellations which he is pleased to bestow on me. I am at all times ready to take the side of the public interest, when opposed to the interests of a few individuals in office; but, whether I view this matter as a Briton, as a farmer, as a man, as a friend of the hungry poor, or of the indus- trious, and of the enterprising rich: in whichever of these capacities I view this matter, I cannot bring myself to believe, that any act of parliament, or any other measure, tending to produce a general en- closure of the waste lands, would be a be- nefit to the country.——I do not say that the expenses in passing particular enclosure Bills might not be with justice reduced; and I think that fees on the passing of bills is not the proper way of paying the officers belonging to the houses of parliament. It is certain, that those officers ought to be very highly paid, seeing that the business which they have to transact is of such very great importance; but I would wish to see them relieved from all anxiety about the amount of their incomes, and, at any rate, would not suffer to exist amongst them any thing like a scramble for fees.——But this has nothing to do with the utility of enclo- sures. My correspondent, *Rusticus*, like all those who have written on the same side of the subject, is of opinion, that the more new enclosures take place, the greater will be the quantity of corn produced in the country, and that that quantity, too, will be greater than it is now in proportion to the number of the people.——Here are two propositions, the one relating to the *positive*

quantity of corn, and the other, to the *relative* quantity of corn.——Let us dismiss the latter first, because the former is that which is most generally believed to be true.——It is a principle in nature, and will admit of no more doubt than will the fact of the sun's giving light, that the number of mouths, in any country, which has for ages been inhabited, will always bear an exact proportion to the quantity of food to be got at in that country. If England were to produce ten times as much food as it now produces, the consequence would be, that there would be ten times as many mouths as there are now, to consume it.——Do we not constantly see, that upon every farm all the cattle food is annually consumed? Do we not see that every farmer proportions the number of his stock to the quantity of his food? Do we not see, that in years when cattle food is abundant, there is more of preservation of stock and less of slaughter.——In this case, indeed, causes and effects are more immediately within the power of man, and are of shorter duration; but in the cases of nations, do we not see, that in China, Japan, and several other countries, where the whole earth groans under its produce of two or three crops in a year, that, so far from there being a superabundance of food, the inhabitants have much less to eat than in any of the countries of Europe.——Populousness follows close upon the heels of the production of food; all is eaten; nothing is left, though not a single inch of the ground be suffered to remain unproductive.——It, therefore, appears very clear to me, that an increase of the positive quantity of food raised in England would not have a tendency to augment the quantity which would fall to the lot of each individual poor person; that it would not tend at all to lessen the sufferings of the poor, whose increasing miseries are, in my opinion, to be ascribed to causes wholly different from that of a want of sufficient produce in the country.——To illustrate this, what need we more than the fact, that the poor man has just as much food when corn is dear as when it is cheap, his wages, or his additional parish allowance, being proportioned to the price of the loaf? When first I came to Botley, the common wages of a day-labourer was twelve shillings a week: it is now fifteen shillings a week; and thus his wages must go on augmenting with the price of the loaf.——Thus, I think, it appears pretty clear, that if enclosures of wastes were to add to the positive quantity of food raised in England, they could not add to its quantity, relatively considered with the number of mouths; and that, of course, they could have no tendency to better the lot of the poor.——Now, then, in returning to the first proposition, namely, that a general enclosure of the waste lands, that is to say, all lands not now in cultivation, would add to the positive quantity of food in England, this is a proposition, from which I wholly dissent.——*Rusticus* will please to observe, that I do not mean to deny, that there are particular spots, so situated with regard to surrounding circumstances, and also with regard to the nature of the soil itself, that the enclosure of them may be very beneficial, not only to the owners themselves, but to the public also. Hounslow heath, for instance, and other spots in the neighbourhood of great towns, and of an increasing population. But these are trifling exceptions. What I mean to contend is this; that, *in general*, new enclosures could not possibly add to the positive quantity of food raised in the country.——There seems to be an opinion prevailing among some persons, that the quantity of corn, for we will now speak of corn only, must ever be in proportion to the quantity of land in cultivation.——How any one can seriously entertain such an opinion is very surprising, seeing that it is so notorious, that one acre of land, well cultivated, will produce an infinitely larger crop than an acre of land badly cultivated, though both of them be in the very same field, and of precisely the same natural quality.—— This notion, therefore, is erroneous. It is a fact, not to be doubted, that produce will be proportioned to the sort of cultivation as well as to the quantity of the land.——It is also a fact very notorious, that the waste lands in general are the worst lands in the country.——Those who think, that an augmentation of the quantity of corn is a *necessary* consequence of new enclosures, seem never to have reflected, that new enclosures will not, any more than the old enclosures, produce corn *without cultivation*, that is to say, *without labour being bestowed upon them.*——They seem to think, that these new enclosures would cultivate themselves, and that manure would drop down upon them from the clouds. Those who have had experience of them, know, I believe, to their cost, that waste lands are not thus distinguished from other lands; and that they require pretty nearly the current price of the old lands to be laid out upon them, acre for acre, before they will produce any thing

at all.——WHENCE, then, let me ask *Rusticus*, are the labour and manure to come to put these waste lands into a productive state?——WHENCE; from what part of this kingdom are this labour and this manure to come? I beg *Rusticus* to attend to this question. I wish to know from him, what is the source from which he would draw the labour and the manure necessary to bring these new lands into a productive state.——It is very easy, in riding across commons, and forests, and downs, to exclaim: "What a pity that all "this land should lie uncultivated, while "so many poor creatures are in want of "bread!" This is very easy, requiring nothing more than a slight exertion of the lungs, unloaded with any particle of thought. But to show how the cultivation of these lands would add to the quantity of bread, demands much greater powers of argument than I have ever met with in any person who took that side of the subject. ——Rusticus will observe, that I am always speaking of wastes *in general*, and not of wastes, in the neighbourhood of which, local circumstances present artificial aid. These particular and partial instances, have nothing to do with the general question.——I return, therefore, to the charge, and again ask him, from *what source* he would draw the means of putting the wastes of the kingdom into a state to make them produce corn? These means consist of *labour and manure*, or rather, they consist simply of labour, for every one must perceive, that manure itself is the consequence of labour.——Whence, then, is the labour to come to dig ditches, to make banks and fences round waste lands, to make roads through them, to pare and burn, and plough, and drag, and harrow, and cart chalk, and lime, and marl, and clay, and dung, and, at last, to sow these waste lands? WHENCE, I, once more, ask, is this labour to come?——He will allow, I suppose, that the labourers in England are all employed now. He must allow this, or else he will have to find out a reason why the lands already enclosed are not better cultivated than they are. Let him travel through the country, and he will see the fields smoking from the fire of *couch grass*. Out of ten fields he will not see above two that are sown with wheat, that most valuable of all corn crops. Let him look closely at the land where even that wheat is, and he will see that the weeds and the couch grass are, in general, enjoying, at least, one half of the benefit of the last year's dung and tillage.——There are some few exceptions to this, but this is the general state of the lands in England. ——Let Rusticus ask the farmer why he suffers his land to get into such a foul state, and why he has not five fields of wheat in place of two. The farmer will tell him, that all his capital, all his labour, and all his manure, are employed upon the farm, and that he gets as much out of it as he is able, and keeps it as clean as he is able. ——Would it not be a pretty proposition to make to such a man, to enclose an additional piece of ground, and add it to this farm? It is very likely, that greediness might make him grasp at the proposition, nothing appearing to be more natural to the taste of man than the love of extent of landed possessions. But, does Rusticus really believe, that by adding a piece of waste land to this man's farm (worse of course in its nature than that which he already has enclosed); does Rusticus really believe, that such an addition to the extent of the farm, would make an augmentation in this man's crops?——To enclose the piece of waste, even before he begins his process of cultivation, this farmer must take from his present farm a considerable portion of the labour which he now there employs; and, before he can make the piece of waste produce him any thing at all, he must take from his present farm a great deal more of the labour that he now employs upon it. If he does this, his present fields must have less labour than they now have; must be still fuller of weeds and couch grass than they now are; must be still poorer; and, of course, must produce less than they now produce, and that, too, observe, in a proportion exceeding the produce of the new enclosure, because on the new enclosed land there are fencing and other labours to be performed, which are not necessary upon the land already enclosed, to say nothing about the nature of the soil being worse in the new enclosure than in the old, which, however, in general must necessarily be the case. ——Thus, then, we see, that this augmentation of extent of culture, could not produce an augmentation of corn, in this instance.——Perhaps Rusticus will say, that this farmer might get more labourers, more horses, more implements than he now has, and might thus avoid robbing his old farm to bring into tillage the new enclosure. But WHERE, my good friend, is he to find them? Are not all the labourers, all the horses, all the wheel-wrights, all the

blacksmiths, and all the collar-makers employed now? And if they are not all employed now, why, I ask again, are not the present enclosed lands better cultivated than they are? But, it is a monstrous proposition, to assert that they are not all employed. This being the case, then, WHERE is this farmer (supposing him to have more capital than he employs) to find these additional labourers, horses, and implements? It is obvious, that he can find them no where but upon other people's farms, and if he draws them thence, he must, of course, cause a diminution of the crops upon those farms; and then how is the general quantity of corn to be augmented by this new enclosure?——Besides, we are talking of a general enclosure, and then we are to suppose, of course, that all the other farmers are enclosing as well as this one; so that the labourers, the horses, and the implements, to bring these new enclosures into a bearing state, must come from abroad, or from the clouds, or it is impossible that new enclosures can make any addition to the positive quantity of corn grown in the country.——If, indeed, the enclosed lands were now cultivated in the best possible manner; that is to say, if they were now made to produce as much food as it is possible to make them produce, then there might be some reason in supposing, that there was in the country labour to spare for the cultivation of new lands; but while we see, all over the country, the contrary of this; while we see nearly one half of the land which is already enclosed, lying in an unproductive state, or producing corn but once in two or three years, and then in very scanty quantity; while we see these enclosed lands in general overrun with weeds and couch grass, and stifled with hedge-rows, many of which are a pole or two in breadth, and which in general serve no useful purpose, while they are a harbour for mice, moles, rabbits, and destructive birds; while we have this spectacle before our eyes over the far greater part of the kingdom, can any man in his senses believe that there are labourers, horses, and implements to spare for the enclosure and cultivation of *worse* lands than those which are already enclosed?——Let me not be told, that these hedge-rows, weeds, couch-grass, and scanty crops, arise out of the slovenliness and obstinacy of the farmers; for though they may be, in general, slovenly and obstinate, they take pretty good care to have their penny-worth for their penny. Few of them let either men or horses eat at their expense without working for it. In short, all the labour that there is in the kingdom is employed upon the lands already enclosed, and it necessarily follows, that, as those lands are not made to produce so much as they might be made to produce, there is not, as yet, any labour to spare for the cultivation of *worse* lands, and for making a fence round them into the bargain.——Perhaps I shall be told, that by an improvement in the mode of cultivating the lands, more produce might be raised from the same quantity of labour that is now employed. I accede to this proposition. I believe that even with the present quantity of labour, distributed judiciously, and applied industriously, with great care and skill, upon true principles, all the enclosed lands in England might be made like a garden; that the weeds and the couch (or FIORIN) grass might be nearly extirpated; and that the crops might be trebled. But we are talking of enclosures in the present state of agriculture; we are not talking of enclosures under a state of agriculture like that of China; a specimen of which may be seen at this moment on a piece of ground, which was recently *waste*, on the side of the turnpike road, between Esher and Kingston in Surrey, where, on a bed of as sour a clay as I ever saw, MR. BRADDICK will, in my opinion, have, at least, forty bushels of wheat upon three-quarters of an acre of ground, the *seed* being somewhat less than *two quarts*, or, half a Winchester gallon; we are not talking of new enclosures under a state of agriculture like this, the effect of an ingenious mind attentively applied to the object; I am not talking of new enclosures under a state of agriculture like this, but under a state of agriculture such as that now existing in England, and this is the way, of course, in which we must talk upon the subject.——Those who are so eager for new enclosures always seem to argue as if the *waste land*, in its present state, *produced nothing at all*. But is this the fact? Can any one point me out a single inch of it which does not produce something, and the produce of which is not made use of? It goes to the feeding of sheep, of cows, of cattle of all descriptions; and what is of great consequence in my view of the matter, it helps to rear, in health and vigour, numerous families of the children of labourers, which children, were it not for these wastes, must be crammed into the stinking suburbs of towns, amidst filth of all sorts, and congregating together in the

practice of every species of idleness and vice. A family reared by the side of a common or a forest is as clearly distinguishable from a family bred in the pestiferous stench of the dark alleys of a town, as one of the plants of Mr. Braddick's wheat is distinguishable from the feeble-stemmed, single eared, stunted stuff that makes shift to rear its head above the cockle, and poppies, and couch-grass, in nine-tenths of the broad cast fields in the kingdom.——This is with me a consideration of great importance. In the beggarly stinking houses of towns, the labourers' children cannot have health. If they have not health, that greatest of all blessings, they must be miserable in themselves and a burden to the parish. It has been observed, that when bred on the side of commons and forests, they are more saucy and more daring. There may be some inconvenience in this perhaps; but, for my part, give me the saucy daring fellow in preference to the poor, crawling, feeble wretch, who is not saucy, only, perhaps, because he feels that he has not the power to maintain himself. I am not in love with saucy servants any more than other people. But I know how to tackle them. A poor, feeble, heartless, humble, crawling creature I can do nothing with; and of this description I have observed are almost all those who are bred up, under a gossiping mother, in the stinking holes, called houses, in country towns, or large villages.——If this scheme of a general enclosure were to take place, (the scheme is a mad one, and physically impracticable): the whole race of those whom we in Hampshire call foresters, would be extirpated in a few years; and my sons, I dare say, would live to see the day when there would be scarcely a man to be found capable of wielding a felling axe. Rusticus appeals to me, as a farmer. If he had known all, he might have appealed to me in a character still more closely connected with the subject; that is to say, as a person entitled, in case of a general enclosure, to, perhaps, fifty, sixty, or a hundred acres of waste land, and that, as it happens, very good land too. But, though I make no use of this waste, and it is very likely that I never shall, I will never give my consent to the enclosure of it, or any part of it, except for the purposes of the labourers. All around this great tract of land, which is called waste, the borders are studded with cottages of various dimensions and forms, but the more beautiful for this diversity. The greater part of these are encroachments, as they are called; but the Bishop of Winchester, who is the Lord of the Manors, has never had a very harsh Steward, and the tenants have had too much compassion to attempt to pull down and lay open any of these numerous dwellings. For my part, rather than see them destroyed and their inhabitants driven into towns, I would freely resign all the claim that I have either to the land or to the herbage. These wastes, as they are called, are the blessing and the ornament of this part of the kingdom; and, I dare say, that they are the same in every other part of the kingdom where they are to be found.——These are my reasons for being glad that the general Enclosure Bill has failed; and, until I see them satisfactorily confuted, I shall, of course, retain my present opinion upon the subject.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 28th July, 1813.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *July* 22.

The SPEAKER, who held in his hand the Vote of Credit Bill, addressed the Prince Regent, and delivered the following Speech:

"May it please your Royal Highness,—We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, have closed the supplies for the service of the present year; and reflecting upon the various transactions which have come before us, we look back with satisfaction upon those which concern our domestic policy, entertaining also a confident hope in the prosperous issue of those great events which must regulate the settlement of our foreign relations.——Under the pressure of great burdens at home, and the still continuing necessity for great exertions, a plan has been devised and executed, which by a judicious and skilful arrangement of our finances, will for a considerable period postpone, or greatly mitigate, the demands for new taxation, and at the same time materially accelerate the final extinction of the National Debt.——Our reviving Commerce also looks forward to those new fields of enterprize which are opening in the East; and after long and laborious discussions, we presume to hope, that (in conformity with the injunctions delivered to us by your Royal Highness at the commencement of the present session) such prudent and adequate arrangements have been made for the future Government of the British posses-

sions in India, as will combine the greatest advantages of Commerce and Revenue, and provide also for the lasting prosperity and happiness of that vast and populous portion of the British Empire.——But, Sir, these are not the only objects to which our attention has been called: other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the Throne, the Parliament, and the Government of this country, are made fundamentally Protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorized to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this Realm; willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to Religious Toleration. With respect to the Established Church, following the munificent example of the last Parliament, we have continued the same annual grant for improving the value of its smaller benefices; and we have at the same time endeavoured to provide more effectually for the general discharge of those sacred duties of a Church Establishment, which, by forming the moral and religious character of a brave and intelligent people, have, under the blessing of God, laid the deep foundations of British greatness.——Sir, by your Royal Highness's commands we have also turned our views to the state of our Foreign Relations. In the North, we rejoice to see, by the Treaties laid before us, that a strong barrier is erected against the inordinate ambition of France, and we presume to hope, that the time may now be arriving which shall set bounds to her remorseless spirit of conquest.——In our contest with America it must be always remembered, that we have not been the aggressors. Slow to take up arms against those who should have been naturally our friends by the original ties of kindred—a common language—and (as might have been hoped), by a joint zeal in the cause of national liberty, we must now, nevertheless, put forth our whole strength, and maintain, with our ancient superiority, upon the ocean, those maritime rights which we have resolved never to surrender.——But, Sir, whatever doubts may cloud the rest of our views and hopes, it is to the Peninsula that we look with sentiments of unquestionable delight and triumph; there the world has seen two gallant and independent nations rescued from the mortal grasp of fraud and tyranny, by British Councils and British Valour; and within the space of five short years from the dawn of our successes at Roleia and Vimiera, the same illustrious Commander has received the tribute of our admiration and gratitude for the brilliant passage of the Douro, the hard fought battle of Talavera, the day of Busaco, the deliverance of Portugal, the Mural Crowns won at Cuidad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the splendid victory of Salamanca, and the decisive overthrow of the armies of France in their total rout at Vittoria; deeds which have made all Europe ring with his renown, and have covered the British name with a blaze of unrivalled glory.——Sir, that the cause of this country and of the world may not at such a crisis suffer from any want of zeal on our part to strengthen the hands of His Majesty's Government, we have furnished our supplies with a large and liberal aid, to enable your Royal Highness to take all such measures as the emergencies of public affairs may require, for disappointing or defeating the enterprises and designs of the enemy.——The Bill which I have to present to your Royal Highness for this purpose, is intituled, "An Act for enabling His Majesty "to raise the sum of five millions for the "service of Great Britain, and for apply-"ing the sum of 200,000*l.* for the service "of Ireland." To which Bill His Majesty's faithful Commons, with all humility, entreat His Majesty's Royal assent."

His Royal Highness then delivered, in an impressive manner, the following Speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I cannot release you from your attendance in Parliament without repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of His Majesty's lamented indisposition.——The attention which you have paid to the public interests in the course of this Session demands my warmest acknowledgments.——The splendid and signal success which has attended the commencement of the campaign in the Peninsula, the consummate skill and ability displayed by Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington in the progress of those operations which have led to the great and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria, and the valour and intrepidity by which His Majesty's forces and those of his Allies have been distinguished, are as highly gratifying to my feelings as they have been to those of the whole nation. Whilst these operations have added new lustre to the British arms, they afford the best prospect of the deliverance of the Peninsula from the tyranny and oppression of France, and they furnish the most decisive proof of the wisdom of that policy which has in-

duced you, under every vicissitude of fortune, to persevere in the support of this glorious contest.——The entire failure of the French Ruler in his designs against the Russian Empire, and the destruction of the French Army employed on that service, were followed by the advance of the Russian Forces, since joined by those of Prussia, to the banks of the Elbe; and though upon the renewal of the contest the Allied Armies have found themselves obliged to retreat before the superior numbers collected by the enemy, their conduct during a series of severe and sanguinary conflicts has nobly upheld their military character, and commanded the admiration of Europe.——I have great satisfaction in acquainting you, that there exists between me and the Courts of St. Petersburgh, Berlin, and Stockholm, the most cordial union and concert; and I trust I shall be enabled, by the Aids which you have so liberally afforded, to render this union effectual for the accomplishment of the great purpose for which it has been established. ——I regret the continuance of the War with the United States of America.—— My desire to re-establish between the two Countries those friendly relations, so important to their mutual interests, continues unabated; but I cannot consent to purchase the restoration of Peace by any sacrifice of the Maritime Rights of the British Empire.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons, —I thank you for the liberal provision you have made for the services of the present year.——It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect that, by the regulations you have adopted for the redemption of the National Debt, you have established a system which will not retard its ultimate liquidation, whilst at the same time it provides for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with the least practicable addition to the public burdens.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I entirely approve of the arrangements which you have made for the Government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of the British Commerce in that part of the world. They appear to have been wisely framed, with a view to the circumstances which have occurred since this subject was last under the consideration of Parliament. By these arrangements you have preserved in its essential parts that system of Government which experience has proved to be not less calculated to provide for the happiness of the Inhabitants of India, than to promote the interests of Great Britain; and you have judiciously extended to the subjects of the United Kingdom in general, a participation in the Commerce of Countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, which will, I doubt not, have the effect of augmenting the resources of India, and of increasing and improving the Trade and Navigation of His Majesty's Dominions. ——The tried and affectionate loyalty of His Majesty's people, the constancy which they have displayed during this long and arduous War, and the patience with which they have sustained the burdens necessarily imposed upon them, have made an indelible impression on my mind. Such continued and persevering exertions, under so severe a pressure, afford the strongest proof of their attachment to that Constitution which it is the first object of my life to maintain.——In the success which has recently attended His Majesty's Arms, I acknowledge with devout gratitude the hand of Divine Providence. The use I desire to make of these, and of all other advantages, is to promote and secure the welfare of His Majesty's People; and I cannot more decidedly evince this disposition, than by employing the powerful means you have placed in my hands, in such a manner as may be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and thereby to facilitate the attainment, in conjunction with my Allies, of a secure and honourable Peace."

Then the Lord Chancellor, by the Prince Regent's Command, said:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is the Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, that this Parliament be prorogued to Monday the Twenty-third day of August next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday the Twenty-third day of August next."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

(Continued from page 128.)

the whole of the night, which occasioned some loss.——Unfortunately, about ten o'clock, a most violent storm of thunder and lightning commenced, which impeded the works greatly, and as the seamen and troops were quite exhausted, we found it

expedient again to delay bringing the guns upon the platform, and to keep the embrasures masked. In the evening a battery of two eight-inch mortars (commanded by an Officer of the Marine Artillery, belonging to the Strombolo bomb) was placed upon the road, within a few hundred yards of the castle, under the breaching battery, as was likewise one of two four-pounders upon the heights to the right, where the riflemen were stationed. At day-break these three batteries opened to protect the working party at the breaching battery, and kept up a tremendous fire, until six o'clock, when that of the castle having completely ceased, their expense magazines upon the batteries being blown up by the shells from the mortars. The white flag was hoisted upon the castle; Captain Zehufenning and Captain Stoddart, of the Royal Navy, were sent in, and returned in about five minutes, with an offer of surrender, upon conditions of marching out and grounding their arms upon the glacis, and of being permitted to carry their personal baggage with them.——As Marshal Suchet's approach was hourly expected, Captain Adam and myself judged it right to grant them the terms required, as we should, by that means, get the fort in a good state of defence.——The advance of the division immediately took possession of the Castle.——I have the honour to enclose you a return * of the ordnance, ammunition, provisions, and stores, found in the place, as likewise a return of the prisoners taken.——I now come to the pleasing task of calling your notice to the admirable conduct of the whole of the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and soldiers, I have had the honour to command.——Their labour and exertion has been severe, but I should be wanting in my duty did I not particularize Captain Chyne and Lieutenant Gipps, of the Royal Engineers, Captain Arabin, of the Royal Artillery, and Captain Muller, of the advance.——The success of this expedition may, in a great manner, be attributed to the zealous and indefatigable exertions of Captain Adam, and the Officers and seamen of the Royal Navy.——I beg likewise to particularize Captain Carroll, of His Majesty's ship Volcano, and Lieutenant Corbyn, of the Invincible.——I impute our loss being so trifling to the tremendous and well-directed fire kept up by the latter from his battery I have the honour to enclose you a return of the killed and wounded since our disembarkation.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. PREVOST, Lt.-Col.
Commanding 2d Brigade 1st Division.
(A true Copy.)
(Signed) CHAS. MILNER, A. M. S.

* Published in Gazette, 13th July.

Return of Provisions taken in Fort St. Philippe, June 7, 1813.

Camp, near Fort St. Philippe, June 8, 1813.

160 bags of fine biscuit, 30 baskets of ditto, 25 casks of ditto, 100 loaves of soft bread, 50 bags of flour, 2 bags of rice, 2 bags of callavances, 2 bags of salt, 15 casks of salt beef, 5 small casks of oil, 12 pieces of bacon, 1 pipe of vinegar, 8 pipes of wine, 1 quarter of a pipe of spirits.

(Signed) A MOHR, Lieutenant-Colonel,
commanding the detachment.
(A true Copy.) (Signed) C. MILNER, A. M. S.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Allied Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, 67th Regiment, at the taking of Fort St. Philippe, from the 3d to the 7th June, 1813.

Camp under Fort St. Philippe, June 8, 1813.

27th Reg. 2d Batt. 1 rank and file wounded.—De Roll's Rifle Company. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.—67th Reg. 2d Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 8 rank and file wounded.—Roll Dillon's Batt. 1 Lieutenant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 drummer, 17 rank and file, wounded.—Portuguese Artillery. 1 rank and file wounded.—Spanish Reg. of Palma. 7 rank and file wounded.

Total—1 Lieutenant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 37 rank and file, wounded.

Names of Officers killed.

Roll Dillon's Batt. Lieutenant Delatre, of Dillon's Regiment.

The Spanish Officer returned wounded, since dead.

(Signed) CHARLES KRONENFELDT,
Major of Brigade.
(A true Copy.) CHARLES MILNER, A. M. S.

His Majesty's Ship Malta, June 14, 1813.

My Lord,—Admiral Hallowell has just decided on sending a ship to Alicant, and I have merely time to state to your Lordship, and I do so with great regret, that I have been under necessity of raising the siege of Tarragona, and embarking the army under my command. In my private letter of the 7th instant, I mentioned to your Lordship, the reports of the assemblage of the French forces at Barcelona, and that Marshal Suchet was likewise in march from Valencia, and stated it as my opinion, that should these reports be confirmed, the object your Lordship had in view could not be accomplished. Unfortunately these rumours proved true, and reluctantly I resolved on raising the siege and embarking the army, as the only means of avoiding a general action, which must have been fought under every disadvantage.

I cannot at this moment refer to dates, but it is sufficient for the present to state, that the French force at Barcelona was never rated to me at less than eight thousand, and that previous to their march it would amount to ten thousand, with fourteen pieces of artillery. I have, however, no account that it ever exceeded eight, and that is the number on which my calculation was formed.—This force, upon the evening of the 9th, or morning of the 10th, marched out from Barcelona, and entered Villa Franca, at four o'clock, in the evening of the 11th, from whence it was reported to me to march at twelve o'clock at night for Vendrells, distant only eighteen or twenty miles from Tarragona, by the great road, and a few miles further by another road, by which cannon can easily pass. On the 9th or 10th, the arrival of Marshal Suchet at Valencia was made known to me; his exact force was never perfectly ascertained, but from the intelligence received from Valencia, he marched from thence with nine thousand men, and certainly in the rear of that place had the power of drawing great reinforcements to his army.——To these corps must be added, a body of 1,000 men, which had previously arrived at Tortosa, and another corps, independent of the garrison of two thousand five hundred men, who had arrived at Lerida. These corps, which I am sure I do not exaggerate, amount to twenty thousand five hundred men, with which, in four or five days, Marshal Suchet could attack the Allied Army, if he thought proper, or avoid an action if he wished still more to reinforce his army. Your Lordship, on the other hand, will observe, that I could scarcely bring into the field twelve thousand men, and that the army of Catalonia was stated to me at eight thousand five hundred, making twenty thousand five hundred, of which two British and two Spanish divisions were at the Coll de Balaguer, and could not be withdrawn, and I could not leave less than two thousand five hundred to cover the artillery and stores, and to contain the garrison of Tarragona. The two corps, at the least, would amount to upwards of four thousand five hundred men, leaving me sixteen thousand men to meet the best French troops in Spain, amounting to upwards of twenty thousand.——I am sure there is nobody more willing to give full credit to the gallantry of the Spanish troops than I am, but your Lordship well knows that they are unable to move; and I could not therefore depend upon the execution of any order which necessarily obliged them to make a movement: and of troops of this description, I had about thirteen thousand men; unless, therefore, I could place them in position, which, as the French had the option of fighting when and where they pleased, it was impossible I could place any reliance upon them. My British and German troops amount only to four thousand five hundred. Perhaps your Lordship may be of opinion, that, under these circumstances, I ought to have risked an action, had no other unfavourable objections existed; but when your Lordship is informed, that I had no possibility of retreat, if unsuccessful, that there would have been no hopes of embarkation if followed, and that the army must have been unavoidably lost, if beat, I venture to hope that your Lordship will think, however much it is to be regretted, that I have adopted the only means of maintaining, entire, or indeed of saving an army on which so much depends. I feel the greater confidence in this hope, on reverting to the 13th paragraph of your Lordship's general instructions for the conduct of the campaign.——I am fully aware that there are many circumstances which may require further information, and upon all parts I shall be happy to give every explanation in my power. Your Lordship perhaps may be of opinion, that the place should have been taken; but as it was far too strong to storm, I believe it not only to have been impossible, but that we should not have taken it in eight or ten days: my only regret is, that I continued the siege so long, induced by the hopes of the reinforcements I expected. I continued it to the last moment, and fortunately the weather proving favourable, the troops were embarked without molestation. On this favourable circumstance I could not depend for another day, and therefore, having taking my part, I immediately put it in execution, and I regret to say, that I was, in consequence, obliged to leave the guns in the most advanced batteries. Had I remained another day, they might have been brought off, but this risk I would not run, when the existence of the army was at stake, not only from unfavourable weather, but from the appearance of an enemy, in whose presence I could not have embarked perhaps at all, certainly not without suffering a great loss, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage.——I have only further at this time to add, should blame

be attached to the failure of the expedition, no share of it can fall on Admiral Hallowell, who conducted the naval branch of it. From that distinguished Officer I have met with every assistance and co-operation in his power; and I think it only justice to him to state, that it was his opinion that the cannon in the batteries might have been saved by remaining till the night, and that they then could have been brought off. This, however, was a risk I did not wish to run for so trifling an object, and preferred losing them to the chance of the embarkation being opposed, and of an eventual much more serious loss.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Murray, Lieut.-Gen.
To the Marquis of Wellington,
K. G. &c. &c. &c.

AMERICAN WAR.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
Sunday, July 25.

Colonial Department.
Downing Street, July 24, 1813.

Captain M'Donal, Aid-de Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, arrived this day with Dispatches, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following are Copies and Extracts:—

Head-quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, May 18, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship a Copy of a Dispatch which I have received from Major-General Sir Roger Sheaffe, containing the particulars of an attack made by the land forces, and the flotilla of the enemy, upon York, in Upper Canada, on the 27th ult. —— The enemy left York on the 8th inst. and proceeded to Niagara, where I understand they landed, on the American side of the Lake, one thousand two hundred men, under General Dearborn, for the purpose of strengthening their army on that line, and probably with a view to make a further attempt on Fort Erie or Fort George. The flotilla afterwards returned to Sackett's Harbour, where I find, from a flag of truce, which came over the day before yesterday, they remained on the 14th. —— From the information I have received from an officer of the Lake Marine, taken at York, and sent over in the flag of truce, I find the enemy's force at Sackett's Harbour amounts to near five thousand men, and they were making preparations for another expedition, but to what point the attack was to be directed, I have not been able to ascertain.——I have the honour to be, &c. George Prevost.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Kingston, May 5, 1813.

Sir,—I did myself the honour of writing to your Excellency, on my route from York, to communicate the mortifying intelligence that the enemy had obtained possession of that place on the 27th of April.——I shall now give your Excellency a further detail of that event.——In the evening of the 26th, information was received that many vessels had been seen to the eastward. Very early the next morning they were discovered lying-to, not far from the harbour. After some time had elapsed they made sail, and to the number of sixteen, of various descriptions, anchored off the shore, some distance to the westward.—Boats full of troops were immediately seen assembling near the Commodore's ship, under cover of whose fire, and that of other vessels, and aided by the wind, they soon effected a landing, in spite of a spirited opposition from Major Givens and about 40 Indians. A company of Glengarry light infantry, which had been ordered to support them, was, by some mistake (not in the smallest degree imputable to its Commander), led in another direction, and came late into action. The other troops, consisting of two companies of the 8th or King's regiment, and about a company of the Royal Newfoundland regiment, with some militia, encountered the enemy in a thick wood.——Captain M'Neal, of the King's regiment, was killed while gallantly leading his company, which suffered severely. The troops at length fell back; they rallied several times, but could not maintain the contest against the greatly superior and increasing numbers of the enemy. They retired under cover of our batteries, which were engaged with some of the enemy's vessels that had moved higher to the harbour.——By some unfortunate accident the magazine at the western battery blew up, and killed and wounded a considerable number of men, and crippled the battery.—— It became too evident that our numbers and means of defence were inadequate to the task of maintaining possession of York against the vast superiority of force brought against it. The troops were withdrawn towards the town, and were finally ordered to retreat on the road

to Kingston; the powder magazine was blown up, and the new ship, and the naval stores destroyed. Lieutenant-Colonel Chervett and Major Allan, of the militia, residents in the town, were instructed to treat with the American Commanders for terms: a statement of those agreed on with Major-General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey, is transmitted to your Excellency, with returns of the killed and wounded, &c. The accounts of the number of the enemy vary from one thousand eight hundred and ninety, to three thousand. We had about six hundred, including militia and dock-yard men: the quality of these troops was of so superior a description, and their general disposition so good, that under less unfavourable circumstances, I should have felt confident of success, in spite of the disparity of numbers.—As it was, the contest which commenced between six and seven o'clock, was maintained nearly eight hours.——When we had proceeded some miles from York, we met the light company of the King's regiment, on its route for Fort George; it retired with us, and covered the retreat, which was effected without molestation from the enemy. ——I have the honour to be, &c.

R. H. SHEAFFE, Major-Gen.

His Excellency Sir George Prevost, &c.

Return of Killed, Wounded, Prisoners, and Missing, of the Troops engaged at York, under the Command of Sir Roger Hall Sheaffe, on the 27th ult.

Kingston, May 10, 1813.

Royal Artillery. 3 gunners killed, 1 driver wounded and prisoner; 1 bombardier, 3 gunners, prisoners; 1 gunner missing.—8th or King's Regiment. 1 Captain, 1 Serjeant-Major, 3 serjeants, 40 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 21 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 25 rank and file, wounded and prisoners; 2 rank and file prisoners; 1 rank and file missing.—Newfoundland Regiment. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 10 rank and file, killed; 1 drummer, 6 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, wounded and prisoners; 2 rank and file prisoners; 2 rank and file missing. —Glengarry Light Infantry. 2 rank and file killed; 1 Ensign, 3 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—49th Regiment. 3 rank and file wounded and prisoners; 2 rank and file prisoners (these two men were in the hospital at the time of the action).

Total—1 Captain, 1 Serjeant-Major, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 52 rank and file, 3 gunners, killed; 1 Ensign, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 30 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file, 1 driver, wounded and prisoners; 6 rank and file, 1 bombardier, 3 gunners, prisoners; 6 rank and file, 1 gunner, missing.

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.

KILLED—8th or King's Regiment. Captain Neal M'Neal.—Volunteer D. M'Lean, Clerk of the House of Assembly.

WOUNDED—Royal Newfoundland Regiment. Lieutenant D. Koven, prisoner.—Glengarry Light Infantry. Ensign Robins slightly.—General Staff. Captain Loring, 104th Regiment, slightly.—Incorporated Militia. Captain Jarvis. —Volunteer —— Hartney, Barrack-Master.

(Signed) RICHARD LEONARD,
Acting Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.
EDWARD BAYNES,
Adjutant-General, North America.

Terms of the Capitulation entered into on the 27th of April, 1813, for the Surrender of the Town of York, in Upper Canada, to the Army and Navy of the United States, under the Command of Major-General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey.

That the troops, regular and Militia, at this post, and the naval officers and seamen, shall be surrendered prisoners of war; the troops, regular and militia, to ground their arms immediately on the parade, and the naval officers and seamen be immediately surrendered on the parade. ——That all public stores, naval and military, shall be immediately given up to the Commanding Officers of the army and navy of the United States.——That all private property shall be guaranteed to the citizens of the town of York.——That the papers belonging to the Civil Officers shall be retained by them.——That such Surgeons as may be procured to attend the wounded of the British regular and Canadian militia, shall not be considered as prisoners of war.——That one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, thirteen Captains, nine Lieutenants, eleven Ensigns, one quarter-master, and one Deputy-Adjutant General of the militia, viz.——Lieutenant-Colonel Chervett; Major Wm. Allan; Captains John Wilson, John Button, Peter Robinson, John Arnold, James Fenwick, James Mustard, Duncan Cameron, David Thomson, John Robinson, Samuel Ridout, Thomas Hamilton, John Burn, William Jarvie; Lieutenants John Shultz, George Mustard, Barnet Vanderburg, Robert Stanton, George Ridout, William Jarvis, Edward M'Mahon, John Wilson, Ely Playter; Ensigns Andrew Thomson, Ared Smalley, Donald M'Arthur, William Smith, Andrew Mercer, James Chervett, George Kuck, Edward Thomson, Charles Denison, George Denison; D'Arcy Boulton; Quarter-Master Charles Baynes; nineteen serjeants; four corporals; two hundred and four rank and file; of the Field Train department, William Dunbar; of

the Provincial Army one Captain, one Lieutenant, two midshipmen, one clerk, viz.——Captain Francis Gauvreau; Lieutenant Green; John Ridout, John Beaupre, Midshipmen; James Longsden, Clerk; one boatswain; fifteen naval artificers; of His Majesty's regular troops, one Lieutenant, viz. Lieutenant De Koven; one Serjeant-Major; and of the royal Artillery, one bombardier, and three gunners, shall be surrendered prisoners of war, and accounted for in the exchange of prisoners between the United States and Great Britain.

Extract of a Letter from Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Prevost, dated Head-quarters, Kingston, June 1, 1813.

Although, as your Lordship will perceive by the report of Col. Baynes, which I have the honour herewith to transmit, the expedition has not been attended with the complete success which was expected from it, I have great satisfaction in informing your Lordship, that the courage and patience of the small band of troops employed on this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar hardship and privation, have been exceeded only by their intrepid conduct in the field, forcing a passage at the point of the bayonet, through a thickly wooded country, affording constant shelter and strong positions to the enemy; but not a single spot of cleared ground favourable to the operations of disciplined soldiers.

Kingston, May 30.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to your Excellency, that, in conformity to an arranged plan of operations with Commodore Sir James Yeo, the fleet of boats assembled astern of his ship at ten o'clock on the night of the 28th instant, with the troops placed under my command, and led by a gunboat, under the direction of Capt. Mulcaster, R. N. proceeded towards Sackett's Harbour, in the order prescribed to the troops, in case the detachment was obliged to march in column, viz. the grenadier company, 100th, with one section of the Royal Scots, two companies of the 8th, or King's, four of the 104th, two of the Canadian Voltigeurs, to two six-pounders, with their gunners, and a company of Glengarry light infantry, were embarked on board a light schooner, which was proposed to be towed, under the direction of officers of the navy, so as to ensure the guns being landed in time, to support the advance of the troops. Although the night was dark, with rain, the boats assembled in the vicinity of Sackett's harbour, by one o'clock, in compact and regular order, and in this position it was intended to remain, until the day broke, in the hope of effecting a landing before the enemy could be prepared to line the woods with troops, which surround the coast: but unfortunately a strong current drifted the boats considerably, while the darkness of the night, and ignorance of the coast, prevented them from recovering the proper station, until the day dawned, when the whole pulled for the point of debarkation. ——It was my intention to have landed in the Cove formed by the Horse Island, but, on approaching it, we discovered that the enemy were fully prepared, by a very heavy fire of musketry from the surrounding woods, which were filled with infantry, supported with a field piece. I directed the boats to pull round to the other side of the island, where a landing was effected in good order and with little loss, although executed in the face of the corps formed with a field piece in the wood, and under the enfilade of a heavy gun of the enemy's principal battery. The advance was led by the grenadiers of the 100th regiment with undaunted gallantry, which no obstacle could arrest: a narrow causeway, in many places under water, not more than four feet wide, and about four hundred paces in length, which connected the island with the main land, was occupied by the enemy in great force with a six-pounder. It was forced and carried in the most spirited manner, and the gun taken before a second discharge could be made from it; a tumbril, with a few rounds of ammunition was found, but unfortunately the artillery men were still behind, the schooner not having been able to get up in time, and the troops were exposed to so heavy and galling a fire from a numerous but almost invisible foe, as to render it impossible to halt for the artillery to come up. At this spot two paths led in opposite directions round the hill. I directed Colonel Young, of the King's regiment, with half of the detachment, to penetrate by the left, and Major Drummond of the 104th, to force the path by the right, which proved to be more open, and was less occupied by the enemy. On the left the wood was very thick, and was most obstinately maintained by the enemy.——The gun-boats which had covered our landing afforded material aid, by firing into the woods; but the American soldier, secure behind a tree,

was only to be dislodged by the bayonet. The spirited advance of a section produced the flight of hundreds—from this observation all firing was directed to cease, and the detachment being formed in as regular order as the nature of the ground would admit, pushed forward through the wood upon the enemy, who, although greatly superior in numbers, and supported by field-pieces, and a heavy fire from their fort, fled with precipitation to their block house and fort, abandoning one of their guns.—The division under Colonel Young was joined in the charge by that under Major Drummond, which was executed with such spirit and promptness, that many of the enemy fell in their enclosed barracks, which were set on fire by our troops;—at this point the further energies of the troops became unavailing. Their blockhouse and stockaded battery could not be carried by assault, nor reduced by field-pieces, had we been provided with them: the fire of the gun-boats proved inefficient to attain that end—light and adverse winds continued, and our larger vessels were still far off. The enemy turned the heavy ordnance of the battery to the interior defence of his post. He had set fire to the storehouses in the vicinity of the fort.——Seeing no object within our reach to attain, that could compensate for the loss we were momentarily sustaining from the heavy fire of the enemy's cannon, I directed the troops to take up the position on the crest of the hill we had charged from. From this position we were ordered to re-embark, which was performed at our leisure, and in perfect order, the enemy not presuming to show a single soldier without the limits of his fortress. Your Excellency having been a witness of the zeal and ardent courage of every soldier in the field, it is unnecessary in me to assure your Excellency that but one sentiment animated every breast, that of discharging to the utmost of their power their duty to their King and country:—But one sentiment of regret and mortification prevailed, on being obliged to quit a beaten enemy, whom a small band of British soldiers had driven before them for three hours, through a country abounding in strong positions of defence, but not offering a single spot of cleared ground favourable for the operations of disciplined troops, without having fully accomplished the duty we were ordered to perform.——The two divisions of the detachments were ably commanded by Colonel Young, of the King's, and Major Drummond, of the 104th. The detachment of the King's, under Major Evans, nobly sustained the high and established character of that distinguished corps; and Captain Burke availed himself of the ample field afforded him in leading the advance, to display the intrepidity of British grenadiers. The detachment of the 104th regiment, under Major Moodie, Captain M'Pherson's company of Glengarry Light Infantry, and two companies of Canadian Voltigeurs, commanded by Major Hamot, all of them levies of the British provinces of North America, evinced more striking proofs of their loyalty, steadiness, and courage. The detachment of the Royal Newfoundland regiment behaved with great gallantry.——Your Excellency will lament the loss of that active and intelligent Officer, Captain Gray, Acting Deputy Quarter-Master-General, who fell close to the enemy's work, while reconnoitring it, in the hope to discover some opening to favour an assault.——Commodore Sir James Yeo conducted the fleet of boats in the attack, and accompanying the advance of the troops, directed the co-operation of the gun-boats.——I feel most grateful for your Excellency's kind consideration, in allowing your Aids-de-Camp Majors Coore and Fulton, to accompany me in the field; and to these officers for the able assistance they afforded me.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Edward Baynes.
Col. Glengarry Light Infantry,
Commanding.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) Noah Freer, Mil. Sec.

To his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir G. Prevost, Bart. &c.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in an Attack on Sackett's Harbour, on the 29th May, 1813.

General Staff. 1 killed.

Royal Artillery. 2 gunners wounded.—Royal Scots. 2 rank and file killed, 1 rank and file wounded and missing; 4 rank and file wounded.—8th or King's Reg. 5 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 1 ensign, 7 rank and file wounded and missing; 1 major, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 60 rank and file, wounded.—100th Reg. 1 sergeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 3 rank and file wounded and missing; 1 drummer, 19 rank and file, wounded.—104th Reg. 2 serjeants, 20 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded and missing; 2 Majors, 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 57 rank and file, wounded.—Royal Newfoundland Reg. 4 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded and missing; 13 rank and file wounded.—Glengarry Light Infantry. 6 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 17 rank and file, wounded.—Canadian Voltigeurs. 2 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

Total—1 General Staff, 3 serjeants, 44 rank and file, killed; 3 Majors, 3 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 7 serjeants, 2 drummers, 172 rank and file, 2 gunners, wounded; 2 Captains, 1 Ensign, 13 rank and file, wounded and missing.

—*Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.*

KILLED—Captain A. Gray, Acting Deputy Quarter-Master-General.

WOUNDED—8th or King's Reg. Major Evans, slightly; Captain Blackmore, dangerously; Captain Tythe, severely; Lieutenant Nuttall, since dead; Lieutenant Lowry; Ensign Greig, prisoner.—104th Reg. Majors Drummond and Moodie, slightly; Captain Leonard, severely; Captain Shore, slightly; Lieutenants Ramford, Moore, and Delancey.—Glengarry Light Infantry. Captain M'Pherson, severely; Ensign Mathewson, slightly.

(Signed) EDW. BAYNES, Adj.-General, North America.

Kingston, Upper Canada, June 7, 1813.

My Lord,—I have great satisfaction in reporting to your Lordship the result of a gallant affair which took place between the armed vessels of the enemy and our gun-boats, supported by detachments from the garrison of Isle Au Noix, on the 3d instant, in the neighbourhood of that post, which terminated in the capture of the vessels Eagle and Growler, each mounting 11 guns, with four officers and 45 men. This feat was performed under the direction of Major Taylor, of the 100th regiment, who held the temporary command at Isle Au Noix during the absence, on duty, of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, and the detachments were composed of the Royal Artillery and 100th regiment.——The following officers are reported to me as having distinguished themselves, viz. Capt. Gordon, of the artillery; Lieut. Williams, Ensigns Dawson, Gibbon, and Humphries, of the 100th regiment; and Lieut. Lowe, of the marine. -----In the contest, which was maintained for three hours and a half, we had three men wounded; the enemy lost one man killed and eight wounded.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. PREVOST.

Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Isle Au Noix, June 3, 1813.

Sir,—In the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, I have the honour to acquaint you, that one of the enemy's armed vessels was discerned from the garrison at half past four o'clock this morning, when I judged it expedient to order the three gun-boats under weigh; and before they reached the point above the garrison, another vessel appeared in sight, when the gun-boats commenced firing. Observing the vessels to be near enough the shore for musketry, I ordered the crew of two batteaux and row-boats (which I took with me from the garrison to act according to circumstances) to land on each side the river, and take a position to rake the vessels. The firing was briskly kept up on both sides (the enemy with small arms and grape-shot occasionally). Near the close of the action an express came off to me in a canoe, with intelligence, that more armed vessels were approaching, and about three thousand men from the enemy's lines, by land. On this information, I returned to put the garrison in the best order for their reception, leaving directions with the gun-boats and parties not to suffer their retreat to be cut off from it; and before I reached the garrison the enemy's vessels struck their colours, after a well contested action of three hours and a half. They proved to be the United States armed vessels Growler and Eagle, burden from ninety to one hundred tons, and carrying eleven guns each, between them, twelve, eighteen, and sixteen-pounder carronades; completely equipped under the orders of the senior officer of the Growler, Capt. Sidney Smith, with a complement of fifty men each. They had one man killed and eight wounded; we had only three men wounded, one of them severely, from the enemy's grape-shot of the parties on shore. The alacrity of the garrison on this occasion calls forth my warmest approbation; Ensigns Dawson, Gibbons, and Humphries, and Acting Quarter-Master Pilkington, and Crews, of the 100th (Prince Regent's) regiment; and Lieutenant Low, of the marine department, with three gunners of the artillery to each boat, behaved with the greatest gallantry; and I am particularly indebted to Captain Gordon, of the royal artillery, and Lieutenant Williams, with the parties of the 100th regiment on shore, who materially contributed to the surrender of the enemy. The Growler is arrived at the garrison in good order, and apparently a fine vessel, and the boats are employed in getting off the Eagle, which was run aground to prevent her sinking. I have hopes she will be saved, but in the meantime have had her dismantled, her guns and stores brought to the garrison. Ensign Dawson, of the 100th regiment, a most intelligent officer, will have the honour of delivering you this.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE TAYLOR, Maj. 100th Reg.

(True copy)

(Signed) N. FREER, Mil. Sec.

Maj.-Gen. Stevin, commanding at Chambly.

Kingston, June 14, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed report from Colonel Proctor, which, owing to the temporary possession of York by the enemy, has only just reached me by a circuitous route. I sincerely congratulate your Lordship on this additional proof of the steady discipline and valour of His Majesty's forces on the Detroit frontier, and which have enabled them, under the judicious arrangements of their distinguished leader, so successfully to repel the attack of the enemy. By the last accounts received from Colonel Proctor, dated the 4th instant, he was still at Sandwich, waiting for the reinforcements, which, had it not been for the late events on the Niagara frontier, would have long ago reached him. I have reason to think they are now on their way to him, and when arrived, he will probably be enabled again to advance against Major-General Harrison, who remains strengthening himself in his position at Fort Meigs, where he is watched by a large body of Indians.——I have the honour, &c.

George Prevost.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Sandwich, May 14, 1813.

Sir,—From the circumstances of the war, I have judged it expedient to make a direct report to your Excellency of the operations and present state of this district.——In the expectation of being able to reach the enemy, who had taken post near the foot of the Rapids of the Miami, before the reinforcement and supplies could arrive, for which only he waited to commence active operations against us, I determined to attack him without delay, and with every means in my power; but, from the necessary preparations, and some untoward circumstances, it was not within my power to reach him within three weeks of the period I had proposed, and at which he might have been captured or destroyed.——From the incessant and heavy rains we experienced, and during which our batteries were constructed, it was not until the morning of the 1st instant, the fifth day after our arrival at the mouth of the river, twelve miles from the enemy, that our batteries could be opened.——The enemy, who occupied several acres of commanding ground, strongly defended by block-houses, and the batteries well furnished with ordnance, had, during our approach, so completely intrenched and covered himself, as to render unavailing every effort of our artillery, though well served, and in batteries most judiciously placed and constructed, under the able direction of Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers, of whose ability and unwearied zeal, shewn particularly on this occasion, I cannot speak too highly.—Though the attack has not answered fully the purpose intended, I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency of the fortunate result of an attack of the enemy, aided by a sally of most of their garrison, made on the morning of the 5th instant, by a reinforcement which descended the river, a considerable distance in a very short time, consisting of two corps, Dudley's and Roswell's, amounting to one thousand three hundred men, under the command of Brigadier-General Green Clay. The attack was very sudden, and on both sides of the river. The enemy were for a few minutes in possession of our batteries, and took some prisoners. After a severe contest, though not of long continuance, the enemy gave way, and, except the body of those who sallied from the fort, must have been mostly killed or taken.——In this decisive affair, the officers and men of the 41st regiment, who charged and routed the enemy near the batteries, well maintained the long-established reputation of the corps. Where all deserve praise, it is difficult to distinguish. Capt. Muir, an old officer, who had seen much service, had the good fortune to be in the immediate command of these brave men. Besides my obligations to Capt. Chambers, for his unwearied exertions preparatory to, and on the expedition, as Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, I have to notice his gallant conduct in attacking the enemy near the batteries at the point of the bayonet; a service in which he was well supported by Lieutenants Bullock and Clements, of the 41st, and Lieutenant Le Breton, of the Royal Newfoundland regiment. The courage and activity displayed through the whole scene of action by the Indian Chiefs and warriors, contributed largely to our success. I have not

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.——It appears, from the recent official accounts, that the Americans are in a fair way of becoming masters of Upper Canada, in spite of all the skill and all the valour which our little army has opposed to them. But, the military events of the war are trifling, compared with a transaction, just announced to us through the channel of the news-papers. ——We are told that the American General, Dearborn, has committed to close custody twenty-seven British subjects, in order to retaliate upon them in the severest manner, in case we, on our side, should punish *naturalized citizens of America*, taken in arms by us.——The article, containing this intelligence, I copy, as follows, from the Courier news-paper, of the 31st July last. ——"New York Papers to the 20th ult. "have been received in Dublin, and one "of the Dublin Papers, in announcing "their arrival, says—"Their contents are "extremely important, but they are too "voluminous for insertion in this day's "publication. It appears that General "Dearborn had carried into immediate "effect the orders of the Secretary of War, "under the act which empowered the President to have recourse to a system of retaliation, in case the *naturalized* citizens "of America should be subjected, when "made prisoners, to the laws of a State "which had exiled them, or which they "had voluntarily abandoned for ever. "General Dearborn had committed, in "pursuance of those orders, *twenty-seven* "*British subjects* to close custody, on whom "it was provisionally determined to inflict "the severest retaliation!——Those papers likewise contain the official account "of the capture of Fort George. They "also communicate some official intelligence respecting the attack made on the "American army, on the 6th of June, by "Gen. Vincent. They say, that the American advanced-guard had been surprised, "and that after a severe conflict, during "which their artillery had been taken and "retaken several times, they retired to the "main body at Fort George."——Important, indeed, are their contents, if the "orders of the American Secretary of War "have been carried into effect in the manner they are said to have been. The "American Government here avow their "determination to abide no longer by the "public law of nations, and claim the "power of dissolving the allegiance which "a subject owes to the Government of his "native country. By the chicane of naturalizing our countrymen, Mr. Madison "converts them at once into American citizens, over whom, it seems, we have no "longer any rights, nor they any duties "towards us. They may take up arms "against us, and if we make them prisoners, we are to inflict no punishment on "them! They have aimed a blow, they "have attempted the life of their mother "country, and the Parricides are to have "perfect impunity! A more impudent, "monstrous, unnatural principle, never "was attempted to be set up. But does "Mr. Madison think we shall submit to it? "We said last Saturday, and we repeat it "to-day, that, "if Mr. Madison dare to "retaliate by taking away the life of one "English prisoner, in revenge for a British "subject, fully proved to be such, being "taken in the act of voluntarily bearing "arms against this country, America puts "herself out of the protection of the law "of nations, and must be treated as an "outlaw. An army and navy acting "against her will then be absolved from "all obligation to respect the usages and "laws of war. Hostilities may be carried "on against her in any mode, until she is "brought to a better sense of her conduct, "and by returning to the observance of the "laws of nations, puts herself again within their protection. This is no time for "half measures, and the question is not "whether we shall revenge the excesses of "sudden passion upon our enemy; but "whether we shall support public law, "against a systematic attempt to steal "away our countrymen, and to arm them "against us."——This subject is one of very deep interest to both countries; and

it ought to be treated with the greatest caution and candour.——Let us, upon an occasion so interesting to humanity, endeavour to banish from our breasts all those passions which are hostile to truth and justice.——This is an endeavour, which, at any rate, I am resolved to make. Holding in abhorrence the traitor to his country on the one hand, and equally so every attempt to overstrain the severe law of treason on the other hand, I will not imitate this hireling scribe, in using language calculated to produce unassuagable irritation on both sides, and, eventually, the shedding of much innocent blood.——I know very well that the law of nations; that is to say, the general usage of nations, and the principles laid down by those who have written on the subject, fully sanction the opinion, that allegiance is *unalienable;* that is to say, that every man continues, to the day of his death, a subject of the state wherein he was born; and, that, of course, any act of his, in open hostility, and especially of arms-bearing against his native state, if it be a voluntary act on his part, is an act coming under the description of *treason.*——This doctrine, generally speaking, is founded in nature, as well as in law; for it appears not more unnatural for a son to raise the instrument of death against his mother, than for a citizen to bear a sword against the state wherein he has first drawn his breath.——I would, therefore, never consent to the recognition of any right on the part of Englishmen to transfer their allegiance at pleasure to any other state. But, in the particular and singular case before us, there appears to me to be very powerful reasons for abstaining from the enforcement of the law against men born in this country, who may be made prisoners of war during this contest of the American States.——These persons, it will be observed, have been *naturalized* in America, and, of course, must have resided there many years; because the laws of America do not permit them to be naturalized, until after a residence of, at least, five years.——In the next place, they are persons who have not had the premeditated act of treason in view; for, they cannot have gone to America for the purpose of entering into the American army, and to fight against England. Divers causes have led to their emigration thither. Some have gone as a sort of voluntary *exiles;* they have banished themselves, in order to avoid the punishment with which the laws in this country menace them, on account of certain *political acts,* which those laws denominate crimes. Others have fled thither, without being accused of any crime here, in order to enjoy what they deemed their rights as men, not being able to enjoy those rights, as they thought them, in their native country. But, the great mass of emigrants from the British Islands to the American States have encountered all the inconveniencies of a change of country, as well as all the well-known dangers of the seas, for the sole purpose of making their lot in this world better than it was before.——This has been the motive of almost the whole of the emigrants from every country in Europe to the American States; a motive wholly foreign from that of committing treason, or any act of hostility to their native country.——The situation, therefore, of all these emigrants, is very different indeed from that of a man, who, for the express purpose, should go abroad, and take up arms against his country. Many and many instances are upon record, however, of very famous men having done even this, without being accounted traitors. A very memorable one may be cited in *Prince Eugene,* the companion of the Duke of Marlborough in his wars against France. Prince Eugene was a subject of the King of France, and, it is related, too, that he entered into the service of Austria, in revenge for some affront, or neglect, that he had experienced from his sovereign. Yet, I have never heard, that Prince Eugene was considered as a traitor.——It is very notorious, that in all the European armies, there are men of all the States upon the continent; that the army of Prussia, in particular, was made up of men of all nations. Our army, at this time, has in it Germans, Dutchmen, Italians, and Frenchmen. But, do we consider these men as traitors to the several countries in which they were born? Yet, be it observed, that they are not persons who are *naturalized* in England, and it is very well known, that they did not come to our country for the purposes of carrying on trade, or of cultivating the lands; but, generally, for the purpose of entering into our military service, at the very time that we were engaged in a war against those who exercised the sovereignty in their respective states.——In such a situation of things, it appears to me, that we, above all the nations that I know any thing of, ought to be cautious (and I trust our Government will be very cautious), in rigidly enforcing the law of treason, on the ground of *unalienable allegiance.*——There is no way

of judging safer than that of making the case of an adversary *our own.*——Let us suppose, then, that, during the war in the North of Europe, in which war the King of Westphalia is an ally of the Emperor Napoleon; let us suppose, that a corps of the *German Legion*, who are principally Hanoverians, and whom, I am extremely happy to hear, have been shipped off to be employed in that war; let us suppose that a corps of this celebrated legion were to be made prisoners in a battle against the King of Westphalia; will the reader say, that the King of Westphalia, though now the sovereign of Hanover, would do right in considering these persons as *traitors*, and subjecting them to the punishment which our law provides for traitors; namely, that of being hanged for some time, cut down before they are dead, having their bowels ripped out while they are yet alive, then having their heads chopped off, and their bodies cut each into four quarters, to be placed at the disposal of the King? Will the reader say, that the King of Westphalia would do right if he acted thus towards a corps of the German Legion?——It will be said, I know, that the King of Westphalia is an *usurper*, and that the persons in the German Legion *owe him no allegiance.*——Let us see a little, however, how this matter stands.——The King of Westphalia does not claim the sovereignty of Hanover in virtue of any right of *hereditary succession;* but, he claims it in right of *conquest;* a right upon which we claim the sovereignty over the thirty millions of people who are said to inhabit the kingdom of Java.——It is very easy for us to call Jerome, Joachim, and even Napoleon himself, usurpers. We do this in the heat of our animosity against them; but, as we are here talking of an appeal to *the law of nations*, we should consider, that that law, makes the right of conquest, as applicable to the duty of allegiance, perfectly equal with the right of hereditary succession. It is, indeed, notorious, that, from the moment any portion of territory is conquered, it immediately becomes subject to the will of the conqueror, and that all the people belonging to it owe him allegiance, the sovereignty of the territory being transferred, to all intents and purposes, along with the territory itself. ——Upon this ground it is that we, when we make a conquest of any island or province, issue proclamations, reminding the people, that they now owe allegiance to our King; we command them, in his name, to obey all the orders and edicts which our Generals may chuse to put forth; and, in case of their conspiring with the enemy, or taking up arms against us, we threaten them with the punishment due to traitors.——To say that Jerome is an *usurper* in Hanover may be very well in the way of talk; but, when Mr. Peltier said the same thing of Buonaparté, Lord Ellenborough, on the trial of the former, for a libel against the latter, observed to the jury, that Buonaparté was the sovereign of France *in fact*, and that with the question of *how he became so*, we had nothing to do.——This is also the language of the law of nations. Cromwel, for instance, was an usurper in England; but, he was in fact at the head of the sovereignty of England; and any Englishman found in a foreign army, fighting against an English army at that time, would, doubtless, have been taken to be a traitor.——It may, perhaps, be said, that, though Jerome be actually in possession of the sovereignty of Hanover, *he* was not the conqueror of it, and that the territory has never been ceded to him by its former sovereign. It may be further said, that we have never made peace since that conquest took place, and that a struggle is still going on for the possession of that country. Whence it may be concluded, perhaps, that he is deficient in that sort of right of sovereignty, which would justify him in considering the soldiers of the German Legion as traitors.——But, unfortunately for this argument, *our own conduct*, upon a recent occasion, gives to it a most complete answer.——The King of Sweden did not conquer the island of *Guadaloupe;* it was conquered by us; we have given it to the King of Sweden; while a war is yet going on between us and France, for the possession of that island, amongst other objects.——Will any one say that the people of Guadaloupe *do not owe allegiance to the King of Sweden?* I believe that no one will attempt to say this; and, then, I should be glad to hear how any one will make out a clear and satisfactory distinction between the case of the natives of Guadaloupe, and the natives of Hanover.——There are some persons, perhaps, who may think that the latter do not stand in the same predicament as the former, because, they were out of Hanover before Jerome was made sovereign of it. I am not quite certain as to the fact; but, if it were so, it would not, it seems to me, make any alteration in the case; for, if a number of the natives of Guadaloupe, were to be found in arms

in an expedition against that island, they would, of course, be considered as traitors against the Swedish government, though absent from the island, at the time of its conquest by us. This is indeed, an absolutely necessary consequence of the doctrine of *unalienable allegiance;* for how can allegiance be *unalienable*, unless it travels downwards with the *actual sovereignty;* unless it descends to the successors in the sovereignty, be those successors who they may. Allegiance can in no other way be unalienable; for the sovereign may die, his family may become extinct; the laws may introduce a new race of sovereigns. Numerous are the instances of this sort; how, then, can we pretend that allegiance is unalienable, unless we maintain that it is inseparable from the actual sovereignty of the soil?——These observations, which, in this comparative view of the matter, might be carried much further, are quite sufficient, I think, to make every reasonable man hesitate before he joins with the editor of the Courier, in asserting, that if America attempts retaliation, in the way above-mentioned, an army and navy acting against her, will be *absolved from all obligation to respect the usages and laws of war.* Such a man will, at any rate, see the danger of all attempts to justify the hasty shedding of blood on either side.——I have before alluded to the peculiarity of this case. Writers upon the law of nations have never had before their eyes the spectacle of a country serving as a place of refuge for the distressed of all the other nations in the world. If the states of America had been before them, there might have been found some modifications in their doctrine of allegiance.——The states of America were colonies of England; the people speak the same language; great numbers of them are closely connected by blood. The quarrel, in its indigested state, appears to the mind of the mass of the people in both countries, as a sort of *family quarrel.*——A mechanic, or labourer, born in England, and finding himself in America, has entered into no reflections as to any transfer of allegiance. He takes part with the country in which he is, with no thoughts about committing treason, any more than the inhabitants of the villages of Botley and Bishop's Waltham think about treason in their battles about roads.——It is very different indeed, where Englishmen join Frenchmen, or where Frenchmen join Englishmen, against their native countries respectively. ——The editor of the Courier speaks of British subjects in the American army having *attempted the life* of their mother country, and calls them "parricides." He does not consider that the far greater part of these soldiers might have been mere *children,* when they left this country. I have seen hundreds of children (I might say thousands) land in America with their emigrant parents; and, if either of these were to be found in arms in the American army fighting against us, would he have him hanged, his quivering bowels torn out, his head chopped off, and his body hacked into quarters, for the offence? Unjust and merciless as hireling scribes generally are, I hardly suppose that the man would go this length. Yet this length he must go, if, in the present case, he justifies our acting *upon the abstract doctrine of unalienable allegiance.*——It should be considered, too, that *our own laws* make exceptions as to allegiance. An American may become a British subject by *marrying an English-woman.* From the time that he so marries, the law gives him a claim to all the rights enjoyed by Englishmen; and, the same law imposes upon him all the *duties* of an Englishman. This law, of which no gentleman can be ignorant, has been not long ago acted upon by our government, as I understand, in this way. An American was impressed into our fleet. He was claimed by the agent of the American government, as an American, and his discharge demanded accordingly. The answer was, that he was a British subject, having married an English-woman; and the demand of his discharge was refused accordingly.——The law, I believe, is, in this respect, the same in America; and, indeed, those who have been acquainted with the American women, will, I imagine, see no reason why this species of petticoat naturalization should not be going on there as well as here. Indeed, the law is the same in France as to this matter; upon the principle, I suppose, that, as all good husbands suffer themselves to be ruled by their wives, and as the women are, for the far greater part, most loyal subjects, and most immovably attached to the existing order of things, be it what it may, a foreigner, when he marries a native, may be fairly looked upon as having become bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of the government itself.——Whatever be the *reason* of this amusing exception to the general doctrine, it is very certain that it gives a furious blow to the doctrine itself;

for here we see, that we ourselves contend, that allegiance *is*, in this case, *alienable;* and how are our generals in Canada to tell, whether the British subjects, of whom they make prisoners, have, or have not, married American women?——So that, before we rush on hastily to the conclusion, which this impudent scribe would have us adopt; before we give our assent to the hanging and cutting up of carcasses, upon the ground of the doctrine of unalienable allegiance; before we give our unqualified approbation to the sentiment that America is become an *out-law*, and that ropes, and ripping-knives, and axes, and gibbets ought to make part of our weapons in a war against her; before we suffer ourselves to be thus steeped in the blood, which this man seems so anxious to see shed, you see, reader, there are good reasons for us to hesitate and reflect.——This savage man, who really seems to have dipped his pen in blood, has, in all human probability, never heard of that law of our own, which subjoins the rights and duties of allegiance to the act of marrying a native woman; and, perhaps, if he had, he would not have cared much about the hanging and quartering of native Americans, married to English-women, and taken in arms in *either* service; for, you will observe, reader, that the comfort of such a man's situation is, that he is a traitor, if found in arms on *either* side. If we catch him fighting against us, we hang him and cut him up, because he is the king's subject, from *having married an English-woman.* If the Americans catch him fighting against them, they put him to death (for, I believe they stop there), because he is a *native* of America. So that, at this rate, he, who marries a foreigner, must take good care, that he go not to the wars.——This hanging and quartering editor would, to all appearance, care but little about the fate of *Americans*, who should fall in this way; but, I beg leave to remind him, that there are some *British subjects*, who have had the indiscretion *to marry American women.* Aye, and what is more, some of these are *officers*, and of no mean rank and estimation, in our *navy* and *army!* At this moment a great number does not occur to me; but, there are *Admiral Knight*, *Sir Alexander Cochrane*, and *Sir Thomas Hardy*, who, unfortunately (according to this man's notion) for them, have married American women. To be sure, one may rather pity than blame them; for to go to America without a wife, and to come away unmarried, argues that a man is not made of flesh and blood. Now, will the reader say, that, if either of these gallant officers, to whom, if I had time for inquiry and recollection, I could, I doubt not, add a couple of score; will the reader say, that if either of them were made prisoner by the Americans, these latter would have a right to consider him as a *traitor?* Yet, if this doctrine of unalienable allegiance, as applied to the American soldiers, be to be received without any modification, why should not these officers, in such case, be considered as traitors, and treated as such?——Again, as to *children*, is there not another great exception to this law of unalienable allegiance? A son, born in a foreign country, of English parents, is an *English subject.** And I beg the reader to observe that the *rights* and the *duties* of allegiance are *inseparable.* Such a son, though born in America, according to this doctrine of unalienable allegiance, is liable to be hanged and cut to pieces, if found in the army of his native country, fighting against us. And, on the other hand, if found in our army, fighting against America, is liable to be hanged as a traitor to her. How many hundreds, how many thousands, how many hundreds of thousands, of men and boys, are in this precise

* There is a curious distinction made by our law with regard to the children, born abroad, the parents being subjects of the king. It relates to the capability of holding places of profit or trust, or of pensions, under the crown. If the parents be either *Scotch* or *Irish*; or if either father or mother be *Scotch* or *Irish*, none of their children can ever, according to law, hold any such place or pension; but, if the parents be *English*, then the children may hold such places or pensions. I have often thought of availing myself of this law, and of going and routing out of their offices and pensions, all the Scotch and Irish, coming under this description, of which I will engage there are many scores. The truth is, however, that there are foreigners, real aliens, who enjoy such situations, and while this is the case, it would be hard to drive out the children of Scotch and Irish parents, though they happen to have been born out of the realm. It would be curious to know why this distinction was made by the law; and I should not be at all surprised, if it was the work of some person in power, at the time, who happened to have relations so situated as to be likely to derive benefit from it. However, such *is* the law. That I know very well; and I do not promise, that I will not, one of these days, when I get a little leisure, after the harvest is all in, go and thrust out these illegal intruders, of whom I have not the least doubt that I shall find a pretty swarm; for, I have observed, that these gentlemen of equivocal allegiance are very remarkable for their enterprising spirit, where there is any chance of getting at the public money.

predicament! I could name hundreds that I myself personally know, nay, (and surely it is enough to make me speak feelingly!) the very youth, who, from my dictation, is putting this identical article upon the paper, would, if he were made prisoner, in fighting against the Americans, be liable to be considered a traitor to the country in which he was born, and to expiate his crime on a gibbet!——Verily, then, we shall do well to pause and reflect before we give in to these savage and bloody notions, the offspring, not of patriotic feeling, not of zeal for the honour of the country; but of low, base, disappointed malice, coupled with a hatred of every human being that is in the pursuit or the enjoyment of freedom.——I do not know what is the real state of the facts; I do not know what number of naturalized American citizens, natives of this country, we may have taken in arms; nor do I know, that our generals have expressed an intention of considering them as traitors; but, if they have taken any such persons, and have expressed any such intention, the arguments which I have offered, are, I think, quite sufficient to induce our ministers to make those generals *hold their hand.*——I by no means approve of that loose way of thinking, with regard to the duties of a subject or a citizen, which would dissolve all the ties of allegiance, and justify men, at their mere will and pleasure, to join the enemies of their country and make war against her: I approve of no such wild notions, which must, in the end, lead to the most miserable of consequences, eradicating from the mind of man, every sentiment connected with the love of country; but, in this particular case, this case, of which the history of the world presents us no precedent, and under all the circumstances, some of which I have mentioned above, of the organization of our own army, I am decidedly of opinion, that to attempt to act towards persons taken in the American army, rigidly upon the doctrine of unalienable allegiance, would be a step of which we should, in a short time, most sorely repent.——All the world must see, at the first blush of the question, that the Englishmen taken in the American army, stand upon a very different footing from Englishmen who should be taken in a French army. It is not a question that waits for reasoning—it is one that rushes at once to the heart, which tells every man, that these persons, though we may lament that they are there, are not deliberate traitors.——The far greater part of them must, according to all probability, be of nearly the same description, as to education and situation in life, and also as to degree of information, as the soldiers of our own army; and I put it to the reader's candour to say, whether, if any of the men (I mean the common soldiers) who have so gallantly fought for their country in Spain, had been in America, they would have thought it *treason* to enter the American service; especially after residing many years in that country, having formed entirely new connexions, and, perhaps, hardly recollecting the place where they were born in England, Scotland, or Ireland? To apply the maxims of the law of treason, grounded on the doctrine of unalienable allegiance, to men so circumstanced, is, I am very sure, to stretch it farther than the common sense of mankind will approve of; and, therefore, I cannot refrain from again expressing an anxious wish, that our ministers will interpose their authority to put a stop to any further prosecution of any such attempt. ——It is not impossible, though I don't think it very likely, that some few of those persons, who have gone from this country, or, who may be said to have *fled* from this country, on account of their *political opinions*, may have been taken in arms against their native country. On *their* part, there would be no excuse on the score of *want of information*, but, surely, after having so frequently been told by the hirelings of the day, that it would be a good thing if they would leave England; after hearing, for years, amongst the loyal elect, the toast of, "*Old England; and those who don't like it, let them leave it;*" after hearing a member of parliament, in his place, exclaim, "Those who do not like the country, *damn them*, let them leave it;" after having so long heard themselves thus abused, and thus bidden to go out of the country, surely, even these men must be very much surprised, at least, to find themselves accused of a failure in their *duties of allegiance.*—There appears to me, too, to be a good deal of *impolicy* in making all this fuss about *traitors found in the American army* or navy. If the facts be true, to the extent in which they have been stated in the newspapers, and which I really do not believe, it seems to me that there is no great wisdom discovered in the divulging of them. I think, that if I were a minister, I should do every thing in my power to keep such facts from being promulgated; for, after all, what can possibly be gained by it?

If twenty or thirty of the men thus taken were put to death, and if no retaliation were to take place (as I hope it would not) what should we gain? We might prevent some few British-born subjects from entering the American service; but America has quite men enough without them, and men, too, upon whom she can as safely rely. And we should only blazon through the whole world the melancholy fact, that, *for some reason or other*, there were Englishmen ready to take up arms against their country, and in that cause, not only to encounter all the dangers inseparable from war, but, in addition thereto, the risk of being hanged, ripped up, and chopped to pieces! And, would this be a desirable thing? Would it be to our honour to cause this fact to be known in every town, in every village, in every house, in every hovel, throughout the civilized world? Say, for mere argument's sake, that this terrible act would be consonant with strict justice; say, for argument sake, that all the reasons which I have urged against it, and which, in abler hands, might have been urged with much greater force and effect; say, that all these reasons are totally devoid of weight; still, tell me where is the *policy* of thus astounding the world into the knowledge of a circumstance, so little calculated to impress mankind with a favourable opinion of our character? If it be urged that the evil is of such a magnitude as to call for the contemplated act, even at the risk of national character, to what a lamentable state must we have arrived! But I contend, that, be the magnitude of the evil what it may, it is impolitic to adopt the measure to which the ministers are encouraged by this malignant and savage writer; for, it is easy to perceive, I think, that such a measure must give rise to a conviction in the mind of every British subject in America, that, the only way to ensure his safety against the claims of England, is to effect the total destruction of that power by which alone those claims can possibly be enforced.

PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING.—I copy the following article from the Courier newspaper of the 2d inst.——" The fol-" lowing Form of Prayer and Thanksgiv-" ing for the repeated successes obtained " over the French army in Spain by the " Allied Forces, and especially for the " signal victory of the 21st of June, was " read yesterday in all churches and chapels, " both at morning and evening service :— " " O Lord God of Hosts, who chiefly " " declarest thy Almighty power, by " " protecting the oppressed, and smiting " " to the ground the proud oppressor, " " and who, in the defence of injured " " nations, teachest thy servants to war, " " and girdest them with strength for " " battle, we yield thee praise and " " thanksgiving for the continued suc-" " cesses in Spain, with which Thou hast " " been pleased to crown the conduct of " " our General, and the valour of our " " soldiers: but more especially for the " " signal and decisive victory which, un-" " der the same Commander, Thou hast " " recently vouchsafed to the Allied Ar-" " mies in the battle of Vittoria. Con-" " tinue, we pray thee, thy blessing " " upon the counsels of our General; " " maintain and support the courage and " " strength of the allied armies; sanctify " " the cause in which they are united; " " and as it hath pleased Thee to put " " back, with confusion of face, the " " proud invader of Spain and Portugal, " " let the allied armies and allied king-" " doms prostrate themselves with one " " consent before Thee, and acknowledge " " with humility of heart the victory to " " be Thine. These prayers and thanks-" " givings we humbly offer to thy Divine " " Majesty, in the name and through the " " mediation of our Lord and Saviour " " Jesus Christ.—Amen." "——I do not know whether this be really authentic, and I therefore give it as an article that I have found in the newspapers.——The sentiment, or rather the principal sentiment which it contains, is this: That God *chiefly* (that is to say, I suppose, in most cases) gives the victory to those who are fighting against oppressors.——There is one of our church-prayers, which, addressing itself to God, begins thus,—— " Almighty God, the giver of ALL vic-" tory." Now, there seems here, in this new prayer, to be a little modification of the prayer of the church; for in the new prayer, God is said *chiefly* to show his power by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor. ——This is not, indeed, a contradiction of the sentiment used in the church-prayer, because the latter, in saying that God is the giver of *all* victory, does not imply any denial of the fact, that victory, in *most cases*, is on the side of those who are fighting for the oppressed.——I take it, therefore, for granted, that God is the giver of all victory; and, in this sentiment, His

Royal Highness the Prince Regent seems to concur, when he says, in his last speech to the Parliament, that, in the recent successes, he acknowledges with devout gratitude, the hand of *Divine Providence*. And when he says, in his letter to Lord Wellington, that he knows no language in the world which is worthy of being employed to express the praise due to the conduct of that Lord; that it is beyond all human praise, and that he feels that he has nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up his prayers........I stop here to notice a small grammatical error, which, in the fervency of the moment, appears to have escaped attention. The rules of grammar would have required His Royal Highness to say, that he had nothing left to DO but devoutly to offer up his prayers, &c. and not, that he had nothing else to SAY. While I am about it, I may as well notice another little error of the same kind towards the bottom of the same letter, where His Royal Highness states his WISHES, in the plural number.* If the reader looks at the last sentence of the letter, he will clearly perceive that there is but *one wish*, though many things are wished for. ——I mention these trifles, in order to shew, that accuracy, on such occasions, ought not to be neglected; but, perhaps, the advisers of His Royal Highness knowing of no language in the world worthy of expressing their Royal Master's feelings upon this occasion, thought it right to treat our own poor mother tongue without any sort of ceremony.......But to return to our subject; these prayers agree that God is the giver of victory, and that he chiefly gives it to those who are fighting against oppressors.——Now, I could have wished, that those who composed the last prayer had gone a little further, and assigned some cause for the numerous, signal, and most terrible victories of our enemy. It will not, I am sure, be denied, that he has gained more victories than we have, and that he has smitten to the ground an infinitely greater number of human beings, than we have, and indeed, than all the armies in Europe put together have, since he began his career as a General. My fear, therefore, is, that there may be some persons who may possibly confound his victories with ours, and suppose that he also has been fighting, in most cases, for the protection of the oppressed. He and the generals under him have frequently been made the instruments of putting back invaders with confusion of face. I will not take up the time of the reader with an enumeration of the long list of invaders which he and his generals have put back, and that, too, with *most terrible confusion of face*. The fact is too notorious to be dwelt upon in detail; and, therefore, I could have wished, for the insertion of some passage in this prayer and thanksgiving, calculated to make people *see clearly the distinction between our victories and the victories of Napoleon*, lest they should be apt to believe that God was on his side, and approved of his conduct, which men of information must know to be utterly impossible, seeing that he has so long been the scourge of the human race.——This appears to me to have been the more necessary, as we daily read in our newspapers of prayers and thanksgiving in the churches of France for *victories gained by him!* Yes, he has the impudence to pretend that the Almighty sets him on, and gives him success, and his prostituted knaves of priests, with a crowd of canting wretches at their heels, have the base hypocrisy to inculcate the same sentiments from their pulpits, with their hands clasped together, and their eyes turned up towards the clouds!——This being the case, and accounts of these scandalous mockeries being frequently published in our own newspapers, I could have wished, I say, for the introduction of some sentence, shewing the difference between victories gained by different armies. It can easily be conceived, that Napoleon is merely permitted by Divine Providence to gain victories for the purpose of scourging a wicked world; just as the devil is permitted to perform all his various functions. Napoleon may be looked upon in somewhat the same light as the devil; and we are no more to arraign the

* Carlton House, July 3, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left *to say*, but *devoutly to offer* up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a General. You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the Staff of a French Marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British Army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole Universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent *wishes* of, my dear Lord, your very sincere and faithful friend, "G. P. R.

"The Marquis of Wellington."

justice and wisdom of Providence for permitting the former to triumph, than we are to arraign them on account of the permission of the latter. For reasons inscrutable to us, the devil is suffered to be continually roaming up and down, tempting poor weak mortals to their everlasting destruction; tempting them to do such things as shall subject them to be kept alive amidst flames of fire for millions and millions of ages; or, in the emphatical and beautiful language of the Scripture, he is suffered to go up and down, like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. This being the case, as we know it is, and being consistent with the justice and wisdom of Divine Providence, which we have no right to call in question, is it not reasonable to suppose that Napoleon is suffered to gain victories upon somewhat the same principle, or, perhaps, (for who can tell) for the purpose of bringing nations into a state of humility; to humble them into a sense of their own weakness; to make them flee to heaven for protection; to make them, in short, penitent and godly, and thus to take them out of the power of Satan?——This, it appears to me, is the light in which we must necessarily, in a religious view of the matter, look upon Napoleon. That we ought to regard him as a sort of an auxiliary to Satan in his intention and actions, and, at the same time, as an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence for the chastening of the offending nations of Europe.——In this way, I am quite satisfied, every Englishman who reflects upon the subject, must see the thing; but, the misfortune is, that there are many who do not reflect; and, therefore, I could have wished that something had been introduced (if it had only been in the way of parenthesis) calculated to give rise to that train of reflection into which I have here been led, and which I fervently hope may, in some small degree, contribute towards a general right way of thinking upon this subject.

W. COBBETT.

Botley, Aug. 4, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Sunday, July 25.

(Continued from page 160.)

been able to ascertain the amount of prisoners in possession of the Indians. I have sent off, agreeable to agreement, nearly five hundred prisoners to the river Huron, near Sandusky.——I have proposed an exchange, which is referred to the American Government.——I could not ascertain the amount of the enemy's loss in killed, from the extent of the scene of action, and mostly in the woods. I conceive his loss in killed and prisoners to have been between one thousand and twelve hundred men. These unfortunate people were not volunteers, and complete Kentucky's quota. If the enemy had been permitted to receive his reinforcements and supplies undisturbed, I should have had, at this critical juncture, to contend with him for Detroit, or perhaps on this shore.——I had not the option of retaining my situation on the Miami. Half of the militia had left us. I received a deputation from the Chiefs, counselling me to return, as they could not prevent their people, as was their custom after any battle of consequence, returning to their villages with their wounded, their prisoners, and plunder, of which they had taken a considerable quantity in the boats of the enemy.——Before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries, I was left with Tecunorth and less than twenty Chiefs and warriors, a circumstance which strongly proves that, under present circumstances at least, our Indian force is not a disposable one, or permanent, though occasionally a most powerful aid. I have, however, brought off all the ordnance; and, indeed, have not left any thing behind: part of the ordnance is embarked under the fire of the enemy.——The service on which we were employed has been, though short, a very severe one; and too much praise cannot be given to both officers and men, for the cheerfulness with which on every occasion they met the service. To Lieut.-Colonel Warburton I feel many obligations for the aid he zealously afforded me on every occasion. From my Brigade-Major, Lieutenant M'Lean, I received the same zealous assistance as on former occasions. To Captain Mockler, Royal Newfoundland regiment, who acted as my Aid-de Camp, I am much indebted for the assistance afforded me.——Lieutenant Le Breton, of the Newfoundland regiment, Assistant Engineer, by his unwearied exertions, rendered essential service, as did Lieutenant Gardiner, of the 41st regiment, from his science in artillery. The Royal Artillery, in the laborious duties they performed, displayed their usual unwearied zeal, and were well assisted by the Royal Newfoundland (under

Lieut. Garden) as additional gunners. The laborious duties which the marine, under Commodore Hall, have performed, have been most cheerfully met, and the most official service rendered.——I have the honour to send an embarkation return of the force that served under my command at the Miami, exclusive of the Indians, who may be stated at twelve hundred.——I also enclose a return of our killed, wounded, and prisoners, who have, however, been exchanged.——I had taken upon me to give the rank of Major to the six Captains of the line, as militia were employed on the same service with them; some of them are old officers; all of them deserving; any mark of your Excellency's approbation of them would be extremely grateful to me.——I beg leave to mention the four volunteers of the 41st regiment, Wilkinson, Richardson, Laing, and Proctor, as worthy of promotion.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HENRY PROCTOR,
Brigadier-General commanding.

I beg to acknowledge the indefatigable exertions of the Commissariat.

HENRY PROCTOR.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. Prevost, Bart. &c. &c.

Embarkation Return of the Western Army, commanded by Brigadier General Proctor, on an Expedition to the Miamis.——Amherstburgh, April 23, 1813.

General Staff. 1 General, 1 Lieut.-Colonel, 1 Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, 1 Brigade Major, 1 Staff Adjutant.—Royal Artillery. 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 surgeon, 27 rank and file.—Royal Engineers. 1 Captain.—10th Veteran Battalion. 5.—41st Regiment. 3 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 1 Assistant-Surgeon, 22 serjeants, 6 drummers and bugles, 374 rank and file.—Royal Newfoundland Regiment. 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 55 rank and file.—Commissariat. 1 Deputy Assistant-Commissary-General, 1 Assistant to ditto, 1 issuer.—Field Train. 1 clerk of stores, 1 conductor.—Militia. 1 Major, 12 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 22 serjeants, 400 rank and file. PETER L. CHAMBERS, Major,
Captain 41st Reg. D. A. Q. Master-Gen.

Return of Killed, Wounded, Missing, and Prisoners of the Army under the command of Brigadier-General Proctor, at the Battle fought at the Miamis, May 5, 1813.

Royal Artillery. 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file prisoners.—41st Reg. 11 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 35 rank and file, wounded; 2 Lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 33 rank and file, prisoners.—Royal Newfoundland Reg. 1 drummer, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file prisoner.—Militia, 1 Captain, 4 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file prisoner.

Total. 1 drummer, 13 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 41 rank and file wounded; 2 Lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 37 rank and file, prisoners.

Names of Officers wounded and prisoners.

41st Reg. Lieutenant Bullock, wounded on the 3d ult.; Lieutenants M'Intire and Hails, prisoners.—Militia, Captain Bandy, since dead.

PETER L. CHAMBERS, Major,
Capt. 41st Reg. D.A.Q.M. Gen.

Return of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates, taken Prisoners from the Enemy on the 5th of May, 1813, at the Battle fought at Miamis.

United States Regulars. 1 Captain, 21 rank and file.—10th and 13th Detached Kentucky Militia. 2 Majors, 1 Brigade Inspecter, 8 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Paymaster, 1 Surgeon, 26 serjeants, 3 drummers, 373 rank and file.

Prisoners since delivered up by the Indians.—1 Ensign, 1 Assistant-Surgeon, 12 rank and file.—Grand Total, 467.

N. B. There are a number of prisoners not yet come in, who are in possession of the Indians, but they are bringing them in daily.

PETER L. CHAMBERS, Major,
Capt. 41st Reg. D.A.Q.M. Gen.

May 17.—Since the above Return, twenty-eight prisoners have been given up by the Indians. A. H. M'CLEAN, B. M.

Kingston, Upper Canada, June 14, 1813.

My Lord,—I have again the high gratification of having to transmit to your Lordship the particulars of a feat of distinguished valour and enterprise, achieved near Burlington Bay, on the 6th inst. by a division of this army, commanded by Colonel Vincent, of the 49th regiment, who is acting as a Brigadier-General in Upper Canada, until His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure is known. To the just measure of praise given by Colonel Vincent to Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, for the zeal, intelligence, and gallantry displayed by him on this occasion I have to add, that, so great was the desire of that meritorious Officer to arrive at his post, and share in the arduous duties of the army to which he had been appointed, that he walked in snow shoes, in the depth of last winter, through the wilds lying between the Canadas and New Brunswick. In addition to Colonel Vincent's report of the affair at Stoney Creek, I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the enemy made a movement to their rear, in consequence of the attack of their camp, and retired to the Forty Mile Creek, when Sir James Yeo's flotilla had appeared in the offing.——The Commodore, after communicating with Col. Vincent, proceeded with the reinforcements of troops I had put on board his vessels at Kingston, towards the enemy's second camp, and when the last intelligence left him, his squadron had so successfully

cannonaded it, that the mass of the Americans were retreating with precipitation, and our troops pressing upon them. Several of their boats had fallen into our possession. The attack made upon Sackett's Harbour, the 29th ult. which terminated in the destruction of the naval stores accumulated at that port, induced the enemy's fleet to cease co-operating with the army, and to return suddenly into port, since which time Commodore Chauncey has not ventured upon the Lake.——Captain M'Doual, my Aid-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering to your Lordship this dispatch; he is an officer of great merit and intelligence, and having been sent forward with instructions to Colonel Vincent, had the good fortune to be present in the last action, in which that division of the army so highly distinguished itself: he was also at the attack made on Sackett's Harbour, and was employed on an arduous mission to Colonel Proctor, when the movement of the American army, under Gen. Harrison, towards the Detroit frontier, took place in February last. He is, therefore, well qualified to give your Lordship any information you may require respecting the state of affairs in the Canadas, and deserving of any mark of favour it may graciously please His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to confer upon him. Capt. M'Doual will also have the honour of delivering to your Lordship the colours taken from the enemy at Ogdensburg, that they may be laid at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

To the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst.

Burlington Heights, Head of Lake Ontario, June 6, 1813.

Sir,—Having yesterday received information of the enemy having advanced from the Forty Mile Creek, with a force consisting of three thousand five hundred men, eight or nine field-pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, for the avowed purpose of attacking the division under my command in this position, and having soon afterwards received a report that he had passed the swamp, and driven in my advanced posts from Stoney Creek and Brady's, Lieut.-Col. Harvey, Deputy Adjutant-General, immediately went forward with the light companies of the King's and 49th regiments, and having advanced close to, and accurately ascertained the enemy's position, sent back to propose to me a night attack on his camp.——The enemy's camp was distant about seven miles. About half past eleven I moved forwards with the fifth company of the 8th (or King's) and the 49th regiments, amounting together to only seven hundred and four firelocks. Lieut.-Col. Harvey, who conducted it with great regularity and judgment, gallantly led on the attack. The enemy was completely surprised and driven from his camp, after having repeatedly formed in different bodies, and been as often charged by our brave troops, whose conduct throughout this brilliant enterprise was above all praise. The action terminated before daylight, when three guns and one brass howitzer, with three tumbrils, two Brigadier-Generals, Chandler and Winder, first and second in command, and upwards of one hundred officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, remained in our hands.——Not conceiving it prudent to expose our small force to the view of the enemy, who, though routed and dispersed, was still formidable as to numbers and position, he having fled to the surrounding heights, and having still four or five guns, the troops were put in motion at day-break, and marched back to their cantonments. After we had retired, and it had become broad day, the enemy ventured to re-occupy his camp, only, however, for the purpose of destroying his encumbrances, such as blankets, carriages, provisions, spare arms, ammunition, &c. after which he commenced a precipitate retreat towards the Forty Mile Creek, where he effected a junction with a body of two thousand men, who were on their march from Niagara to reinforce him.——I cannot conclude this dispatch without calling your Excellency's attention to the following officers:—To Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, the Deputy Adjutant-General, my obligations are particularly due. From the first moment the enemy's approach was known, he watched his movements, and afforded me the earliest information. To him, indeed, I am indebted for the suggestion and plan of operations; nothing could be more clear than his arrangements, nor more completely successful in the result. The conduct of Major Plenderleath, who commanded the 49th regiment, was very conspicuous. By his decision and prompt efforts, the surprise of the enemy's camp was completed, and all his efforts to make a stand were rendered ineffectual by the bayonet, which overthrew all opposition. A party of the 49th, with Major Plenderleath at their head, gallantly charged some of the enemy's field-pieces, and brought off

two six-pounders.——Major Ogilvie led on, in the most gallant manner, the five companies of the King's regiment, and whilst one half of that highly disciplined and distinguished corps supported the 49th regiment, the other part moved to the right, and attacked the enemy's left flank, which decided our midnight contest.——I have also received the greatest assistance from Major Glegg, Brigade-Major to the forces; and beg leave to mention the names of Captains M'Doual and Milnes, your Excellency's Aids-de-Camp, who accompanied me to the attack, and upon all occasions have volunteered their services. I have likewise to acknowledge the assistance of Captain Chambers, of the 41st regiment, who had arrived some days before from Amherstberg; and Mr. Brook, Paymaster of the 49th, who assisted me as Acting Aid-de-Camp.——To Mr. Hackett, Acting Staff Surgeon to this army, I feel particularly indebted, for his judicious arrangements, by which the wounded have received every attention, and are most of them likely to be restored to the service.——It would be an act of injustice were I to omit assuring your Excellency, that gallantry and discipline were never more conspicuous than during our late short service; and I feel the greatest satisfaction in assuring you, that every officer and individual seemed anxious to rival each other in his efforts to support the honour of His Majesty's arms, and to maintain the high character of British troops.——I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the enclosed reports for particulars respecting our loss, which, I regret, has been very severe.——I have the honour to be, &c.

John Vincent, Brig.-Gen.

His Excellency Sir G. Prevost, Bart.

General Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in action with the Enemy, near the head of Lake Ontario, June 6, 1813.

Staff. 1 Fort-Major wounded.—8th or King's Reg. 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 7 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 51 rank and file, wounded; 13 rank and file missing.—49th Reg. 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 3 Captains, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 5 serjeants, 2 drummers, 62 rank and file, wounded; 3 serjeants, 39 rank and file, missing.

Total. 1 Lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 19 rank and file, killed; 2 Majors, 5 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 1 Fort-Major, 9 serjeants, 2 drummers, 113 rank and file, wounded; 3 serjeants, 52 rank and file, missing.

List of Officers Killed and Wounded.

Killed.—8th or King's Reg. Lieut. Hooper, killed.

Wounded.—Staff. Fort-Major Taylor, severely. —8th or King's Reg. Major Ogilvie and Captain Munday, severely, not dangerously; Capt. Goldrisk, and Lieutenants Weyland and Boyd, slightly.—49th Reg. Major Plenderleath, severely, not dangerously; Brigade-Major Clark, dangerously; Brigade-Major Dennis and Captain Manners, slightly; Ensign Davy, dangerously; Adjutant Stean, slightly.

(Signed) J. Harvey, Dep. Adj.-Gen.
Edward Baynes, Adj.-Gen.

Return of American Prisoners of War, captured near Stoney Creek, in the action of the 6th inst.

Burlington Heights, June 7, 1813.

2 Brigadier-Generals, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 116 non-commissioned officers and privates.

(Signed) J. Harvey, Dep. Adj.-Gen.
Edward Baynes, Adj.-Gen.

Return of Ordnance, &c. &c. captured from the Americans by a division of the troops under the command of Brigadier-General Vincent, in action on the 6th June, 1813, at the head of Lake Ontario.

Ordnance. 3 iron six-pounders, 1 brass 5½-inch howitzer.—Carriages. 1 limber, six-pounder; 1 tumbril, with six-pounder ammunition complete. —Harness. 4 sets thill, 4 sets trace.—Horses, 9 artillery.

(Signed) Wm. Holcroft, Major,
Commanding Royal Artillery.

N. B. Two of the above six-pounders were spiked and left on the ground, in consequence of the impossibility of removing them.

Downing-street, July 29.—In addition to the dispatches from Canada, published in the Gazette Extraordinary of the 25th instant, a dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. Prevost, by Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Kingston, Upper Canada, June 3.

My Lord,—I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship, that, on the 27th ult. the enemy succeeded in effecting a landing about two miles from Fort George, under the cover of the fire of their flotilla and batteries, with a force so very far superior to any which we could bring against them, that notwithstanding the most determined and gallant opposition on the part of His Majesty's troops under the command of Col. Vincent, he was unable to maintain his position on that frontier, and obliged, after falling back upon Queenstown, to retire with the whole of his army, which he had collected upon Chippawa and Fort Erie, to the head of the Lake. By the report of Colonel Vincent, which I have the honour herewith to transmit, your Lordship will find, that this part of the frontier was not abandoned until every possible exertion had been made to retain it, and until the forts and batteries had been rendered, at least for a time, an useless ac-

quisition to the enemy, by their destruction, and that of the ammunition which could not be carried away.——I have great satisfaction in stating to your Lordship, that, notwithstanding the unequal contest which was so long and so gallantly supported by a handful of His Majesty's troops against an overwhelming force, the army has not been very considerably weakened by the loss they have sustained; and that they were enabled to retire without molestation from the enemy to a position at the head of Lake Ontario, where Col. Vincent will endeavour to make a stand until I shall have it in my power to reinforce him, or until circumstances shall oblige him to fall back. Conceiving that the appearance of the fleet under Commodore Sir James Yeo, off the position occupied by Colonel Vincent, might give additional consequence to his troops, I have embarked the remainder of the 8th regiment, consisting of about 200 men, with which, and a supply of clothing, ammunition, and provisions, the fleet sailed this morning.——The enemy's flotilla were seen yesterday returning to Sackett's harbour, to which place they had, without doubt, been recalled by the attack upon it. I last night received a confirmation of this fact from a flag of truce, which had been sent over with one of our wounded officers, from whom I learn, that their fleet is in port, and that the whole of the naval stores collected at Sackett's Harbour were consumed by the fire on the day of the attack.——I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c.

Forty Mile Creek, May 28, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that yesterday morning, about day-break, the enemy again opened his batteries upon Fort George; the fire not being immediately returned, it ceased for some time. About four o'clock A. M. a combination of circumstances led to a belief that an invasion was meditated; the morning being exceedingly hazy, neither his means nor his intention could be ascertained, until, the mist clearing away at intervals, the enemy's fleet, consisting of 14 or 15 vessels, was discovered under weigh, standing towards the light-house, in an extended line of more than two miles, covering from ninety to one hundred large boats and scows, each containing an average of fifty or sixty men. Though at this time no doubt could be entertained of the enemy's intention, his points of attack could only be conjectured. Having again commenced a heavy fire from his fort, line of batteries, and shipping, it became necessary to withdraw all the guards and picquets stationed along the coast, between the fort and lighthouse, and a landing was effected at the Two Mile Creek, about half a mile below the latter place; the party of troops and Indians stationed at this point, after opposing the enemy, and annoying him as long as possible, were obliged to fall back, and the fire from the shipping so completely enfiladed and scoured the plains, that it became impossible to approach the beach: as the day dawned the enemy's plan was clearly developed, and every effort to oppose his landing having failed, I lost not a moment in concentrating my force between the town of fort George and the enemy, there awaiting his approach; this movement was admirably covered by the Glengarry light infantry, joined by a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland regiment, and militia, which commenced skirmishing with the enemy's riflemen, who were advancing through the brush-wood. The enemy having perfect command of the beach, he quickly landed from three to four thousand men, with several pieces of artillery, and this force was instantly seen advancing, in three solid columns, along the Lake bank, his right covered by a large body of riflemen, and his left and front by the fire of the shipping, and batteries in their fort. As our light troops fell back upon the main body, which was moved forwards to their support, they were gallantly sustained by the 8th (King's) regiment, commanded by Major Ogilvie, the whole being under the immediate direction of Colonel Myers, Acting Quarter-Master-General, who had charge of the right wing. In the execution of this important duty, gallantry, zeal, and decision were eminently conspicuous, and I lament to report, that I was deprived of the services of Col. Myers, who, having received three wounds, was obliged to quit the field. Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, the Deputy Adjutant-General, whose activity and gallantry had been displayed the whole morning, succeeded Colonel Myers, and brought up the right division, consisting of the 49th regiment and some militia.——The light artillery, under Major Holcroft, were already in position, awaiting the enemy's advance on the plain. At this moment the very inferior force under my command had experienced a severe loss in officers and men, yet nothing could exceed the ardour and gallantry of the troops, who

shewed the most marked devotion in the service of their King and country, and appeared regardless of the consequence of the unequal contest. Being on the spot, and seeing that the force under my command was opposed with tenfold numbers, who were rapidly advancing, under cover of their shipping and batteries, from which our positions were immediately seen and exposed to a tremendous fire of shot and shells, I decided on retiring my little force to a position which I hoped might be less assailable by the heavy ordnance of the enemy, and from which a retreat would be left open, in the event of that measure becoming necessary; here, after waiting the approach of the enemy for about half an hour, I received authentic information, that his force, consisting of from four to five thousand men, had re-formed his columns, and was making an effort to turn my right flank. At this critical juncture, not a moment was to be lost, and sensible that every effort had been made by the officers and men under my command to maintain the post of Fort George, I could not consider myself justified in continuing so unequal a contest, the issue of which promised no advantage to the interests of His Majesty's service. Having given orders for the fort to be evacuated, the guns to be spiked, and the ammunition destroyed, the troops under my command were put in motion, and marched across the country in a line parallel to the Niagara river, towards the position near the Beaver Dam, beyond Queenstown Mountain, at which place I had the honour of reporting to your Excellency a depot of provisions and ammunition had been formed some time since. The rear-guard of the army reached that position during the night, and we were soon afterwards joined by Lieut.-Colonel Bishopp, with all the detachments from Chippawa to Fort Erie. The light (and one battalion company of the 8th (King's), joined us about the same time, as did Capt. Barclay, with a detachment of the royal navy.——Having assembled my whole force the following morning, which did not exceed one thousand six hundred men, I continued my march towards the head of the Lake, where it is my intention to take up a position, and shall endeavour to maintain it, until I may be honoured with your Excellency's instructions, which I shall feel most anxious to receive. I beg leave to suggest the great importance that exists for a communication being opened with me through the medium of the fleet; the anchorage under Mrs. Brandt's house is perfectly good and very safe. I believe your Excellency need not be informed, that in the event of it becoming necessary that I should fall back upon York, the assistance of shipping would be requisite for the transport of my artillery. I cannot conclude this long communication without expressing a well-merited tribute of approbation to the gallantry and assiduity of every officer of the staff, and, indeed, of every individual composing my little army; every one most zealously discharged the duties of his respective station. The struggle on the 27th continued from three to four hours, and, I lament to add, it was attended with very severe loss.——I have the honour to enclose a list of the killed, wounded, and missing, with as much accuracy as the nature of existing circumstances will admit.' Many of the missing, I hope, will be found to be only stragglers, and will soon rejoin their corps. I shall reach the head of the Lake to-morrow evening. Hitherto the enemy has not attempted to interrupt my movements. Information reached me this morning, through an authentic channel, that he has pushed on three thousand infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, towards Queenstown. His whole force is stated to amount to nearly ten thousand men.——I send this dispatch by Mr. Mathison, who acted as a volunteer on the 27th; and I am happy to inform your Excellency, that his conduct was very honourable to his character, and merits my marked approbation. Ammunition will be wanted by the first vessel. Capt. Milnes has been kind enough to remain with me until my next dispatch.——I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN VINCENT, Brig.-Gen.

His Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. Prevost, &c. &c. &c.

(A true copy.)

NOAH FREER, Mil. Sec.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of His Majesty's Troops in action with the Enemy at Fort George, May 27, 1813.

General Staff. 1 wounded.—Royal Artillery. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded. —8th or King's Reg. 1 Lieutenant killed; 1 Major, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, wounded; 11 serjeants, 4 drummers. 181 rank and file missing.—41st Reg. 3 rank and file wounded and missing. —49th Reg. 2 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded; 4 drummers, 28 rank and file, wounded and missing.—Left in hospitals, and wounded on former occasions, 16 rank and file, not included.—Glengarry Reg. 1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 24 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 serjeants, 20 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 23

rank and file, wounded and missing.—Royal Newfoundland Reg. 21 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, wounded and missing.

Total.—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 48 rank and file, killed; 1 General Staff, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 4 serjeants, 29 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 13 serjeants, 8 drummers, 240 rank and file, wounded and missing.

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.

Killed.—8th or King's Reg. Lieutenant James Drummie.—Glengarry Reg. Captain Liddle, Ensign M'Lean.

Wounded.—Colonel Myers, Acting Quarter-Master-General, severely, not dangerously.—8th Reg. Major Edward Cotton; Lieutenant J. W. Lloyd, severely, and prisoner; Lieutenants Mortimer M'Mahon and Horace Noel, Ensign Richard Nicholson, severely, and prisoner.—Glengarry Reg. Captain Roxborough, Lieutenant Kerr, Ensign Kerr.—Royal Newfoundland Reg. Captain Winter, Lieut. Stewart.

(Signed) Edward Baynes,
Adjutant-General, North America.

SPANISH WAR.

London Gazette, July 31.

Downing-street, July 31.—A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was this morning received by Earl Bathurst, from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, July 19, 1813.

We established a battery of four eighteen-pounders against a convent, which the enemy had fortified and occupied in force, about six hundred yards from the works of San Sebastian. This battery was opened on the morning of the 14th, and the convent was so far destroyed, as that Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham ordered that the building, and a redoubt which protected its left flank, should be stormed on the 17th. I have not yet received his report of the details of this operation, which, however, was successful, and our troops were established at the convent, and at the village immediately below it, which the enemy had burned.——I have received a report from General Mina, of the 12th, in which he informs me, that Gen. Duran had joined him in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and that he had attacked, on the 8th, Gen. Paris, who had for some time commanded a division in Arragon. Gen. Paris had retired in the night of the 9th, leaving a garrison in a redoubt in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, which Gen. Mina had left Gen. Duran to attack, while he followed the enemy with his own, and the cavalry under Brigadier Don Julian Sanchez. He had taken a considerable number of prisoners, and a good deal of baggage from Gen. Paris, and a convoy on the 11th.——It is impossible to applaud too highly the activity, intelligence, and gallantry, with which these operations have been carried on.——I have since heard that General Paris had arrived at Jaca, on the 14th, and that he had brought with him the garrisons of Ayerbe, Huesca, &c. and was about to retire into France.——Marshal Suchet evacuated Valencia on the 5th instant, and General Elio entered that city, at the head of the second army, on the 7th. I have a letter from Lord William Bentinck, of the 7th, from San Felipe, in which he informs me that he expected to arrive at Valencia on the 10th. I have not heard of Marshal Suchet's retreat beyond Castellon; but the garrison of Segorbe has been withdrawn, and I understand that, on the 4th inst. Gen. Severolo blew up the fort of Alcaniz, and marched upon Mequinenza by Caspe.——Since writing the above, I have received a dispatch from Sir Thomas Graham, of which the enclosed is a copy, containing his report on the attack of the convent near San Sebastian.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham to Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Ernani, July 18, 1813.

The convent of San Bartolome, and the adjoining work on the extremity of the steep hill towards the river, were taken yesterday by assault.——The natural and artificial strength of these fortified posts, occupied by a large body of troops, and the impossibility of access to either but by the fronts, made it very desirable to have destroyed the defences as much as possible. and a new battery on the left was begun the preceding evening, but not being ready in the morning, the attack was determined on.——A column, consisting of the picquets of the 4th Caçadores, commanded by Lieutenant Antonio de Quairos, of one hundred and fifty men of the 13th Portuguese regiment, under Captain Almeyda, supported by three companies of the 9th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Crauford, with a reserve of three companies of the Royal Scots, under Captain Auguimbeau, was formed on the right to attack the redoubt, under the direction of Major-General Hay. Major-General Bradford commanded the left column, composed of two hundred men of the 13th Portuguese regiment, under the command of Major Snodgrass, of that regiment; an equal number, under Lieutenant-Colonel

Macneagh, of the 5th Caçadores, and supported by the 9th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron. The whole of the troops employed in this service being under the command of Major-General Oswald. ——About ten A. M. the left column began the attack on the convent, while the right passed the ravine near the river. Both attacks were made with such vigour and determination, that all obstacles were overcome, without the loss that might have been expected.——The enemy were driven in confusion down the hill, carrying a strong reinforcement, sent from St. Sebastian, along with them in their flight through the burnt village of San Martin.——The impetuosity of the troops in pursuit could not be restrained by the exertion of the superior officers, who had received Major-General Oswald's directions not to pass San Martin, and some unavoidable loss was sustained by those who followed the enemy to the foot of the glacis, on their return to San Martin.——I need hardly assure your Lordship, that on this, as on other occasions, Major-General Oswald conducted the service in the best manner; and I am equally obliged to Major-Generals Hay and Bradford, for their conduct of the attacks intrusted to them. But I beg, in justice to the officers, whose distinguished gallantry in leading on their men to overcome the variety of obstacles that were opposed to them, to mention Major Snodgrass, Captain Almeyda, and Lieutenant de Quairos (severely wounded), of the Portuguese service, and Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, of the 9th foot.——I cannot conclude this report, without expressing my perfect satisfaction with all the officers and men of the royal artillery, both in the four-gun battery, employed for three days against the convent, and on the opposite bank of the river, whence several field-pieces were served with great effect.

P. S. I omitted to mention, that Major-General Hay mentions his great obligations to Capt. Taylor, of the 48th regiment, his Brigade-Major.

Paris, July 16.

Letter from the Duke of Albufera to the Minister at War.

Valencia, June 30.

Monsieur le Duc,—By my reports of the 21st and 25th, I had the honour of informing your Excellency of the raising of the siege of Tarragona; the departure of the English fleet; his appearance on the coast of Valencia; and of the return of the troops I had conducted into Catalonia.——On the 24th Musnier's division and Agremont's brigade entered Valencia in fine condition, the inhabitants could not persuade themselves those troops could have cleared with so much rapidity so great a space. I conceived the project of taking advantage of the English corps to attack the Duke del Parque, to manœuvre and obtain over him, if possible, an advantage which would weaken in opinion, and in reality a corps tolerably well organized, and proud of its former Chief Ballasteros.——Notwithstanding all the diligence I used, I could not act till the morning of the 26th; the enemy anticipated me, left his entrenched positions on the heights, in the neighbourhood of the Xucar, evacuated St. Philippe, and only preserved an advanced guard upon the Col de Allena; informed of the enemy's retreat I ordered General Habert and Harispe's divisions to pursue him, and myself marched to St. Philippe three companies of the 14th, and four chosen companies of the 44th attacked the enemy at the Col de Allena; the defence was brisk, reserves having hastened to assist them; but Major Durand put an end to the battle by ordering the four companies he commanded to cease firing; he waited the enemy, and charged him with impetuosity with the bayonet; the affair was murderous, more than 150 of the Spaniards were killed or wounded. We had four killed and 50 wounded, 30 soldiers and two officers remained in our power. From that time the enemy continued his retreat to the Camp at Castilla, of which I am assured, by 25 or 30 deserters, who arrived at my Camp during the night.——I have placed two divisions, one at St. Philippe, the other on the height upon the royal road, not finding it convenient to follow them further; they occupy positions much more prudent than those of the banks of the Xucar, and are ready to mutually assist each other. As soon as I was informed of the retreat of the Duke del Parque's corps, I determined upon driving away from Re-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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To WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TRINITY BILL.

Sir, I have before me, in the Norfolk Chronicle, or Norwich Gazette, of the 31st of July last, a letter published by you, dated on the 28th of that month, the object of which appears to be, to show to the world the extent of the services which you, in the introduction of the Trinity Bill, which has just been passed, have rendered to the cause of freedom. I do not think, that, in your labours with respect to that Bill, you have rendered any services at all to the cause of freedom; and, I am about to state to you the reasons upon which this opinion of mine is founded.

You tell us that you are happy to reflect, that this Bill completes the toleration of Christians of every denomination; all of whom, you say, by whatever name they are called, may now preach their respective tenets without let or hinderance, none legally daring to make them afraid.

It is true, that this Bill will protect men who may think proper to deny the doctrine of the Trinity, but it will go no further; it leaves unprotected any man who may think proper to deny the truth of the resurrection, of the miracles, or of any other of the matters recorded in the scriptures; so that your Bill operates in the favour of one sect only; and ought not, therefore, in my opinion, to be regarded as containing any thing favourable to freedom.

You say, indeed, that it completes the toleration of every denomination of *Christians*, leaving it to be supposed, of course, (if you had stopped here), that it does nothing for those who are not Christians. Now, then, what do you mean by the word Christian? What is it, I pray you, which is to entitle a man to this appellation? Do you mean, that, every one who believes that Christ did once exist is a Christian? or, do you attach to the word an implication that the man must be a believer in the doctrines of Christianity? If the former, all well-informed men are Christians; for all such men believe, that there was such a person as Christ once existing in Palestine. But, then, your assertion as to the toleration of Christians being *now complete*, is not true; for, as you yourself tell us, we may not, without incurring the heaviest penalties; without being punished as men guilty of crimes, full as great in the eye of the law as those which are too unnatural and too horrible to be described in print; that men may not, notwithstanding this Bill, make a general attack, *even argumentatively*, on Christianity, without subjecting themselves to these infamous punishments.

If you mean the latter; if you mean, that, to entitle a man to the appellation of Christian, he must *believe the doctrines of Christianity*, you bring us back to the old point, and your assertion is in contradiction to the fact, and also to your Bill, unless you can make it appear, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not amongst the doctrines of Christianity. It has been the general belief; I may say, the universal belief, that Jesus Christ was the Son of God; that he was begotten by God; that, through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, a *Virgin* (who had never known man) became pregnant of him; that her husband, Joseph, who had just been married to her, perceiving her to be with child, became jealous, and had resolved to put her away; that God sent an angel, who appeared to Joseph in a dream, and told him, that he need not suspect his wife of infidelity, for, that, she was perfectly innocent, the child within her being of divine origin, and her pregnancy being produced in the manner above described. Hereupon, Joseph, convinced of the injustice of his suspicions, took to his wife, who, in due time, was delivered of a son, whom, by direction of an angel sent from God, she called Jesus. This has been the belief of all men calling themselves Christians; and all this; every word of this; every syllable of this creed, your Unitarians deny. The scripture states the facts most fully, and yet, the facts are all denied by the Unitarians. Upon what ground, then, do they call themselves *Christians* any more than those may call themselves Christians, who merely believe,

that Jesus did once exist, and who disbelieve all the history of his miracles and of his resurrection? There is nothing more incredible in the incarnation, as recorded in the scriptures, than there is in the miracles and the resurrection. Do you think, Sir, that it was not as probable for God to cause a virgin to become with child. as it was for him to enable that child to raise the dead to life? What can be more beyond the reach of human power than the act of reanimating a dead body? You may seek to discover a difference in this act and the act of impregnation without the instrumentality of man; but I defy you to show that the latter is, in the smallest degree, more wonderful, more supernatural, or more probable, than the former. Why, then, do you believe in the miracles; why do you believe, that Christ raised the dead to life, and that he himself was raised from the dead? You believe it because you find the fact recorded in the scriptures; and, do you not find the facts relating to the impregnation of the Virgin Mary also recorded in those same scriptures? If you deny the latter facts, why do you believe the former? and if you deny both the latter and the former, you must be a curious species of Christian indeed. You exhibit to us in this case, a Christian, believing neither in the Divine origin, the miraculous acts, nor the supernatural exit of Jesus Christ. You are at once upon a level with Deists and Atheists, none of whom ever deny that there was such a person as Jesus Christ once living in the world.

The truth is, however, that the Unitarians are satisfied with liberty to deny openly the *divinity* of Jesus Christ. They are willing, it seems, to believe, that he performed miracles, and that he rose from the dead. It is their humour to believe what the scripture says about the miracles and the resurrection, and to disbelieve what it says about the divine origin of Christ; but, are they, for this, to be called Christians any more than those are, who do not believe in either the one or the other? And what right have they to say that the toleration of every denomination of Christians is now complete, merely because *they* are permitted openly to express their disbelief in that part of the scripture, which it does not suit their humour to believe, or, to say that they believe?

You tell us that this *law*, however, does not remove any of the civil or political *disqualifications* attached to a disbelief of certain doctrines. With what propriety, then, do you talk, and I must say, with the spiritual pride of the head of a sect, with what propriety do you talk of having achieved the complete toleration of every denomination of Christians? While there are men, who, on account of their religious profession, are excluded from all share of power in the country; while a gentleman of fortune and of spotless character can not legally be made a justice of the peace without taking an oath that he believes in doctrines which he does not believe in, how can you talk about having completed the toleration of all denominations of Christians? I am not, now, discussing the point, whether such exclusion be wise or unwise, just or unjust; but, I am endeavouring to show, that it is a vain boast, on your part, to hold out that you have achieved the complete toleration of all Christians, while the *Test Act* remains in force. It is known to you, Sir, very well, that every justice of the peace, every mayor and alderman, every minister of state, and other person holding office under the government, must expose himself to a heavy penalty, unless he receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of England, before he enters upon the functions of his office. Can those, who dissent from the Church, those who reprobate that ceremony, be said, then, to enjoy complete toleration? If Unitarians, they are, indeed, now completely tolerated to deny the doctrine of the Trinity (in a *decent* manner); but, they are not tolerated to have their place in society with us, who are members of the Church, unless they will take the test of believing what we believe; and yet, this is what you would fain have the dissenters believe to be complete toleration. I do not wonder at this endeavour on your part; for nothing is so bewitching as spiritual pride. To be the head of a sect was too tempting a bait for you to resist. The love of power, in every rank and degree of life, is prevalent amongst men; there seems to be a desire in every one to get in this respect above his neighbour. The pride of being at the head shows itself in the captain of a company of sheep-shearers not less than in the commander of an army. But, of all sorts of pride, spiritual pride seems to be the most powerful in subduing whatever degree of modesty it may find in a man's natural disposition. It appears to be a passion too big to admit of any companion in the human breast; and, if this had not been the case, I am persuaded, that your modesty

would have been sufficient to drive out the presumptuous idea of your having, by this Bill, which really does nothing for the great mass of dissenters, accomplished the great work of complete toleration.

But, Sir, what have you done for *freedom*; I mean freedom of *discussion*; freedom in uttering men's thoughts, with their tongue or their pen? "Of all the blessings which God has given to man," says Milton, "give me liberty; and of all sorts of liberty, give me the liberty of *freely expressing my thoughts.*" Now, Mr. Smith, what have *you* done for this liberty? You talk of your various interviews with the heads of the government: with the venerable *head of the Church* (who, by-the-by, is *the King*); with your own excellent diocesan, whom you call (and I do not dispute the propriety of the appellation) the *servant of God*, and the friend of man. You compliment all these, whom you seem to represent as your fellow-labourers in the good work, for the liberality of their conduct; but, Sir, what have you done for the cause of liberty? What have you done for that precious liberty, of which Milton speaks? You have gained, it seems, permission for one particular sect openly to deny the truth of a particular part of the scriptures. That is all that you have gained. And even that liberty, small as it is, is clogged, you confess, with some very important qualifications. You tell us, that we must take great care to notice, that this new Act only removes the penalties inflicted by this *statute law*, the common law-offences being left precisely as they were before. You tell us, that men may now, if they please, *argue* against the Trinity; but that they are no more at liberty than before to *rail*, to *revile*, or *profanely to blaspheme*. Now, Sir, I am not quite clear that even you, high as we must now consider you in an ecclesiastical light, and nice as we must suppose your powers of discrimination to be, seeing that you can discover a reason for men to disbelieve the miraculous birth, while they believe in the miraculous acts of the same person; perfect as we are now to look upon you in these respects, I am not quite clear, that you are able to show us, to mark out for us the visible line, between *arguing* and *railing*, upon this very ticklish subject. What one man may call arguing, another man may call railing; and, why should there not be a similar difference of opinion amongst *twelve men*? I have frequently heard, in an assembly, which it would be useless for me to name, a long string of incoherent terms and epithets; such miserable trash; such senseless railing against democrats, and jacobins, and levellers, and enemies of the country; and, at last, to my utter astonishment, out has bolted some phrase about the gentleman's drawing to the close of his *argument*, when there has been no more of argument through the whole thing, than would be to be found in the words of any of Pope's beautiful epistles, if they were all taken apart, and shook together in a bag. It must, therefore, always be matter of opinion; opinion of an Attorney General; opinion of a Judge; and, which must always be still less uncertain, opinion of a jury, what is *argument*, and what is *railing*. Besides, all men do not argue in the same way; they do not all war against what they deem to be false with the same weapons; some proceed in a sober strain, while others may think that *ridicule* is the most powerful weapon, for which opinion, by-the-by, they have the sanction of one of the first philosophers that ever lived, who reasoned in poetry more forcibly than almost any other man ever reasoned in prose, and who, while he said, that ridicule was the test of truth, gave himself the most ample proof of the correctness of his assertion. This was the opinion of one of the best friends of truth that ever existed. But, I suppose, to use ridicule upon religious subjects, must not be permitted, lest it give offence to your grave Unitarian Doctors.

What is to *rail*? Why it is to use *harsh words*. To revile is the same thing. Now, then, how is it possible for any man to write or speak *against* the Trinity, without saying that the doctrine is *false*; to say that the doctrine is false, is to accuse our church of inculcating *a falsehood*. And, who is to assure us, that this shall not be thought railing? If, indeed, this be not *reviling*, nothing is reviling. Our church says, that we cannot be saved, and, consequently, that we must be damned, if we do not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. The Unitarian says that this is false. Is not that reviling? Is it not to accuse our church, and all our clergy of promulgating, in the most deliberate and solemn manner, a most outrageous falsehood? Again, men are not, in virtue of this Bill, to be permitted *profanely* to *blaspheme*. What is to blaspheme, Mr. Smith? Why, it is *to speak evil of God, or Holy things*. Now, Sir, are you quite sure that a jury would not think that you spoke evil of God, or Holy things, if you were to say, that Jesus Christ

was not the Son of God; that his Mother did not receive her impregnation from above; that the Holy Ghost had nothing to do with her pregnancy; and, that all the facts recorded in Holy writ, relative to the agency of the angel of the Lord upon this occasion are *falsehoods;* are you quite sure that a jury of twelve good and true men would not look upon this as *blaspheming*, and blaspheming, too, in the most profane and impious manner? Are you quite sure, that they would not think the promulgation of such sentiments deserving of the severest animadversions of the law?

It is not here, however, that your qualifications stop. You tell us, that *rational* liberty is granted, but that *indecent* licentiousness is not sanctioned. Here we are more at sea than before. Who is to tell us what is *rational*, and what is not, in the eye of the law? Who will pretend to point out to us where decency ends, and where indecency begins? Where is the lawyer, who will venture to tell his client where he is to stop, in discussing a subject with these qualifications before him? There is a maxim, which says, that "miserable "are those who live under *uncertain* "*laws;* a maxim, the truth of which is written in the slavery of every oppressed nation upon the earth. So that your Bill, if you have really explained its true meaning and tendency, is deserving, from the friends of freedom, any thing but that praise, which you are so anxious to demand for it as its author.

What do you mean, Sir, by a *general* attack on Christianity, which you say is an offence at common law, even if the attack be made *argumentatively?* I wish I could find out your meaning here. You seem to justify the law here, because Christianity is the *religion of the country.* But, for this characteristic to have any weight in the justification, the Christianity here spoken of must be the Christianity of the Church. That is the religion *of the country*, and the Unitarian doctrine is a direct attack upon that religion. It strikes, as I once before said, into the very bowels of our Church. The Unitarians deny almost every thing that we Churchmen believe; and neither Paine, nor any body else, has, or can, attack Christianity in a more sweeping manner. In short, it is clearly perceptible, that you yourself are of opinion, that this Bill, on account of which you take so much merit to yourself, will not, in the smallest degree, tend to the ensuring of liberty of speech or of the press; that it will merely serve to satisfy a particular sect, and, that it will rather retard than hasten the day when all men shall be permitted to say what they please upon the subject of religion.

The observations which I have before made, as to the effect of these partial repeals, are pretty strongly verified by this letter which you have put forth to the world. I objected to them upon the ground, that, if there were any religious sects under a state of oppression (a point which I did not presume to determine), these partial repeals must necessarily put off the period of general relief; because, the government, by granting these partial boons, weakened the strength of the complainants. The whole language of your letter is a proof of the truth of this observation. We find you *arranging matters* with the government and the bishops; and we find you full of praises of their *liberality.* Here is no assertion of any great principle; here is no right openly and boldly contended for; but a little peddling palliation, in which the country at large can have no sort of interest. And, as to the part which you yourself have acted, all that I shall say is, that I think you will not be long in discovering, that it would have been prudent to let the Bill explain itself, rather than to have suffered your vanity to thrust you forward as a news-paper trumpeter of your merits.

With these sentiments I remain your most obedient humble servant,

W. COBBETT.

N. B. I here subjoin Mr. Smith's letter, and also two other letters upon the subject. Some things in these letters for an answer on my part; which answer they shall have in my next number.

To the Editor of the Norfolk Chronicle.

Sir,—I should not have presumed to obtrude the following remarks either on your patience or that of your readers, if I had not observed in your last paper that notice has already been publicly taken of the Act just passed, which repeals the penal statutes against Impugners of the Trinity; and, subjoined to the paragraph, a comment of your own, at which I was rather surprised; and which, as it seems to me to have originated in a misapprehension of the subject, leads me to think it may not be inexpedient to offer some explanation of the intention and operation of the Bill, with

a few thoughts on Toleration itself.——To those whose attention has been at all directed to the history of this important question, it may appear trite to remark, that the very idea of Toleration, as founded on its broad, just, and true principles, is comparatively of late date, perhaps not anterior to Mr. Locke, whose admirable letters have not even yet been followed out to their legitimate conclusions. In the reign of King William himself were those statutes passed, by which the punishment for obstinately persisting only to *argue* against the Trinity, was in England extended to outlawry, and in Scotland even to death. The Toleration Act itself, made expressly for the relief of Dissenters, and long extolled as the very Charter of their Rights, would now be regarded as little better than a mockery; for what indeed could be less consonant to justice or common sense, than to offer as "liberal Toleration," a mere permission to men to officiate as Ministers of Religion according to their own forms, and in their own places of worship, "only on condition of their subscribing to all the doctrines of that Church from which they dissented, whose authority they disavowed, and from whose discipline they were allowed to withdraw." Nor, indeed, could it ever have been held in the estimation it so long enjoyed, but that the nature of religious liberty was not understood—and our ancestors, a large majority of whom, whether Presbyterians or Independents, agreed in doctrine with the Established Church, were satisfied with being exonerated from the burden of her Rites and Ceremonies which they disliked, and gave themselves no trouble to examine whether the principles on which their wishes had been granted would extend to secure for their posterity the farther concessions which they might equally desire and as justly claim. In process of time, however, this radical defect was observed, complained of, and rectified; but as toleration is always most freely given where it is least wanted (because the same temper which induces men to leave others unmolested in the enjoyment of their rights, equally disposes them to allow legal security for that enjoyment), so the defect had long ceased to be practically injurious before the remedy was formally granted. Nor (let it ever be remembered with the feelings it ought to excite), was it till the reign of his present Majesty, that substantial Toleration was legally secured in this country to any Protestant dissenting worship, differing in doctrine from the Articles of the Establishment. In the year 1779, after considerable opposition, an Act was passed, by which Dissenting Ministers and School-masters were, for the first time, permitted to exercise their professions without subscribing those articles. Till that day, the Toleration of the multitudes who scrupled that subscription, was mere connivance—they were every day liable to be punished and silenced, and their safety was wholly owing to the ameliorated spirit of the times.——Last year, another liberal measure was arranged with the different Sectaries by the Administration, and then brought in and carried through by themselves. This meddled not with doctrine, but it performed the important service of settling the rights of Dissenters on clear and just foundations: freeing them from all dependence on the assumed discretion of Magistrates, and from all penalties for inadvertent neglect of the prescribed forms of qualification. Still, however, though Lord Mansfield, more than half a century since had declared that "Non-conformity was no Crime," yet by several statutes affecting England and Scotland respectively, the very Preacher, who, by a law passed on purpose, thirty-four years ago, had been freed from the obligation to subscribe the articles, including those concerning the Trinity, remained liable to the most dreadful penalties, if, in obedience to the dictates of duty and conscience, he uttered one syllable on this important and interesting point of theology contrary to the terms of those articles. To remedy this grievance, to do away this obvious inconsistency, was the object of that bill which I have just had the honour and the satisfaction of carrying through Parliament; and I am happy that in the merely religious view of the subject, it completes the Toleration of every denomination of Christians; all of whom, by whatever name they are called, may now preach their respective tenets without let or hinderance, "none, *legally*, daring to make them afraid." This Act, however, let it be carefully noticed, only removes the statutable penalties; all offences at common law, *contra bonos mores*, are left precisely as they were. Men may now, if they please, *argue* against the Trinity; but they are no more at liberty than before to rail, to revile, or profanely to blaspheme. Rational liberty is granted, but indecent licentiousness is not sanctioned. It also remains equally a common law offence to make a general attack, even argumenta-

tively, on Christianity, as the Religion of the Country, or on the general authority of the Holy Scriptures; whether wisely, is another question—but it is one in which Protestant Dissenters, *as such*, have no peculiar concern. For myself, as a Christian, I have no hesitation in acknowledging, that for my religion I desire no such protection; let Truth stand or fall as she is able to support herself, nor seek assistance from means equally applicable to the defence of falsehood. It is also obvious, that this Act leaves untouched the question of the propriety of civil or political disqualifications, as connected with religious profession.—This is a large field, and well deserves a day to itself, and when that day shall arrive, which may probably be ere long, I shall not shrink from the contest.—Before I conclude, I hope I may be permitted to say, that in attempting that which I have been so fortunate as to accomplish, it was my earnest wish not to excite but to allay all hostile feeling, especially in those whose opinions were of the greatest weight, and I am indeed gratified in being able to state that in the various interviews I have had on the subject with the Heads of the Government, not one objection was ever made against the principle, nor any difficulty thrown in my way but what arose from points of mere form. As to the venerable Head of the Church, with whom it was also necessary for me to have no unfrequent intercourse, I have to acknowledge, on every occasion, the politeness of his manner, the frankness of his communication, and the liberality of his conduct. Of our own excellent Diocesan, having fortunately avoided the necessity of requesting his public assistance, it is needless for me to say more than that, if summoned, I am sure he would have acted in his own character, as the servant of God, and the friend of man.——I am, Mr. EDITOR, your's, &c. WM. SMITH.

Parndon, July 28, 1813.

MR. WM. COBBETT,

SIR,—Having heretofore paid some attention to the subject, it was with peculiar interest I read your observations on the *Trinity*, and the discussion they have produced. Permit me to add the following to the articles already published in your Register on the subject, as a kind of twofold reply both to yourself and Tranquillus; and I trust, that when you shall have perused my remarks, it will be unnecessary to convince you that I have no motives of "*selfishness*" in thus obtruding on your notice a few unvarnished thoughts; and although I am impelled from conviction to differ from you in certain points of inferior moment, I am happy in being able to say, that there exists between us a singular coincidence of opinion on almost every important subject. I do not state this fact as, perhaps, some illiberal mind might suggest, to induce you to prejudge more favourably of my remarks; but, to put you in the possession of the information, that, among this "*most thinking people*," there is one at least as *thoughtless* as yourself.

Whether I am a believer in the Hindoo Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Seeva, or in the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or whether I reject both.—Whether I believe in the Koran, the Shastas, or the Bible; or whether I am an Infidel.—Whether I am a Catholic, a Churchman, or Dissenter, I know you will not require me to confess; and to Tranquillus I give this early notice, that nothing he can or may say shall extort such a confession from me: nor, indeed, in fairness has he any right to the demand, the subject at issue not being what are or are not the respective tenets of the controversialists.

And now, not to take up too much of your paper with prefatory observations, I proceed to what appears to me the principal points in dispute, namely, *the justice and utility of the proposed repeal of certain penal statutes relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures*; other minor points are of course involved in these, but I conceive these are the fundamental points at issue.

With the greatest deference to your opinions on the subject of a *partial repeal*, I am compelled to differ from you, and the following are a few out of many reasons which might be urged that induce such difference of opinion; it must, however, be owned that the reasons you have urged, in support of yours, possess some plausibility and weight. The origin of society, and consequently the origin of laws, are involved in almost impenetrable darkness, save what the few scattered rays of ancient history enable us to discover; and we know, if we know any thing of the human mind, that, from the infancy of the world to the present time, although with "tardy gaiter step," it has been progressively ad-

vancing in knowledge and virtue,—I speak now of mankind in the aggregate, not of individuals, sects, or nations. Human laws, like human beings, are imperfect, and require the corrective hand of long experience to improve them; but as the progress of intellect is *partial* and slow, we ought not to expect the noble work of improvement to go on in a ratio more rapid, or that reform should be universal, and at once. But confining ourselves to the laws against heretics, they, no doubt, originated in ignorance, intolerance, and bigotry, and their *total* abolition would be but a sheer act of justice on the part of the legislature. Should we not, however, rejoice, for the sake of suffering humanity, that many of them have been repealed? and had we lived at the different periods of their repeal should we have joined against their abrogation, because we could not sweep from the statute-book every other penal law affecting anti-religionists? Is it possible, that had you lived in the days of the 2d Charles, you could have opposed the advocates of the repeal of an act for the *burning* of heretics, made in the reign of Henry IVth, on the ground that other, though less cruel, statutes still existed? Thanks to the advocates for this *partial* repeal, we have now no fear of being sent to the stake for "*presuming to preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic faith, or determination of the holy church.*" I might cite numerous instances of such *partial repeals*, but must refrain lest I swell my epistle too much; it is, however, happy for us and the rising generation, that the spirit of intolerance has gradually weakened as the light of truth and reason have advanced, and I trust it will continue to advance till religious and civil liberty reign over priestcraft, tyranny, and oppression. Thus, without adverting to your arguments against the repeal of the penal statute affecting anti-trinitarians (which appear to me to arise from an honest fear of its supposed abuse), I conceive that the progress of all reformation being *partial* and slow, we ought to hail every opportunity of adding to the general sum of improvement that time and circumstance may present. Besides looking at the subject in a prospective point of view, it affords, I think, from its tendency, a cheering hope, that the period is fast approaching, when the disabilities and penalties attached to a different creed from the established code, shall be entirely done away, and every man, unmolested, be permitted to worship God in the mode and form he may judge most reasonable and true.

As to the question at issue respecting the divine origin of the Bible, I must unite with you against Tranquillus almost without reserve;—I say almost, because although I can urge nothing in favour of your opponent as to the main point, I will grant him some concessions to which he has an undoubted claim. He says, that the "books of the Old and New Testament are not in the *gross* the word of God, but contain *some divine truths*, which we are *bound* to believe, not only from their own excellence but the evidence that is given us of their authenticity." What those parts are, composing those *divine truths* in contradistinction to the other parts of the Bible, he has not vouchsafed to inform us; the detail, perhaps, would have formed too long an article for insertion, but the nature of them generally he should unquestionably have given us; should he reply, that he has stated them to be facts supported by internal and external evidence—the daily fulfilment of prophecies, the purity and sublimity of those principles, truths, and directions, which he alleges are the rule of his own and others' conduct; it may fairly be asked, what are those facts and prophecies, and principles, and truths, and directions? Until he deign to inform us what parts of the scriptures he believes, and why he believes those parts, we are not prepared fully to answer him on those particular points. But I admit that the books of the Old and New Testament, contain a great variety of subjects of different degrees of importance and credibility; and this admission I make without being at all solicitous about the inference, or hazarding an opinion, whether they are both or whether any part of them contain a revelation from God. An honest statement of the truth is with me superior to every other consideration. Certainly those parts of the Bible which tend to soften the rude nature of man, and incite good-will and benevolence, are far more important than the apparent indelicacies of the poem called "Solomon's Song." Surely it is more credible that Moses should be found concealed among the bulrushes, by Pharaoh's daughter, than that Jesus should be born of a virgin. In short, if we carefully analize the scriptures we shall find them an incoherent heterogeneons compilation, and give the world credit for ingenuity in

making them cohere together for so long a period. The books were written by different persons at different times, without any intention (for any thing that appears to the contrary) of being connected. As to the Old Testament, we are not so much concerned with, but history will furnish us with documents respecting the construction of the New. Whether, if we were, with critical skill, to enter deeply into the inquiry, the result would prove the divine authenticity of the Christian scriptures, or otherwise, I will not presume to conjecture. Time would fail me to state the progress of the several books of the New Testament, their admission into, and their being rejected the "*Sacred Canon;*" and what interpolations, and corruptions, they are supposed to have sustained in their progress. It is, however, certain, that councils have been held at various times, and that what has been deemed canonical at one period, has been denounced at another. The first catalogue, now extant, is said to have been drawn up by Origen, A. D. 210, and leaves out the Epistles of James and Jude. Although by some it is said that the first canon was formed by the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 384, and although many times subsequently altered, each was pronounced the only authentic version—each exclusively the word of God. Whether the present version is so correct as it might be, I do not pretend to determine; but the edition which is the foundation of the received text (published at Leyden, A. D 1624), is said to rest upon the authority of no more than 20 or 30 manuscripts, many of them of little note, whereas upwards of 300 MSS. have since been collated, of the most ancient and of the highest repute, either of the whole or different parts. Hence, perhaps, we may deduce something like an apology for Tranquillus in availing himself of the same privilege, which councils, and popes, and bishops, and priests, fallible like himself, have heretofore assumed. And hence also it may be inferred, that your assertion in your last number was rather premature, when you say that the Scriptures are and must be *all of a piece*, and that "if the miracles took place so did the incarnation." That they are not *all of a piece*, a very cursory attention to their contents will convince us.—Besides, the different degrees of importance in the subjects they contain, it must be admitted, that there are many discrepancies in the historical, anecdotal, and doctrinal parts, while the subdivisions of the christian world, who cite parts of the Bible as their authority for their respective and opposing tenets, prove the fact beyond the possibility of dispute.

It is, therefore, I think, somewhat excusable, allowing education and habit to have some weight in the formation of opinion and character, that a honest, though, perhaps, deluded Unitarian, on the investigation of his peculiar creed, finds that the doctrine of the Trinity is not sufficiently warranted by those documents which are considered as the only criterion of religion; nay, that the general tenor of those documents make against the tenets which he deems anti-scriptural and rejects. And, indeed, it is but justice due to Tranquillus and his brethren, to confess there is but one passage in the New Testament to warrant a belief in a Trinity, and even that passage, there is reason to suppose, is an interpolation, not being found in some of the ancient manuscripts: the same remark will also apply to the *miraculous conception;* and here permit me to observe, that, if by the word "*incarnation*" quoted above, you mean the Virgin Mary's being pregnant by the Holy Ghost, you err in supposing that the miracles and this circumstance must necessarily stand or fall together. I am not about to establish or deny either, but admitting the truth of the Gospels, and the possibility of subsequent additions, the miracles Jesus performed might be true, yet the account of the miraculous conception added by another hand from some unauthenticated tradition, and the silence of Mark and John is a presumption that this was the case. But, allowing all this to Tranquillus and the Unitarians, which they have a right to claim as the result of biblical criticism, they surely ought to acknowledge the like privileges to others, who either in the exercise of an uninformed mind, demanding the liberty of thinking for itself, or as the consequence of deep acumen and examination, may perceive sufficient internal and external evidence to believe other parts, or, to reject the whole. Let not Tranquillus talk again in such pontifical strain of being "*bound* to believe" what *he* conceives to be true, for that which to him appears as clear as the noon-day sun, to others (aye, and divested of prejudice too), is involved in obscurity and darkness. I therefore think, that, instead of quibbling about certain parts (a never-ending controversy), it should be clearly ascertained *beyond the power of dispute*, that the Bible is, or is not, a revelation from heaven.

Upon the whole, I think, that if any man is permitted with impunity to deny the Scriptures, or impugn the doctrines of the church, against the form of the statutes in such cases made and provided, others ought not to be punished for the same thing. It is a part of the existing laws, that none be permitted, under certain penalties, to revile the Scriptures, or deny or contemn certain tenets the Ecclesiastical Establishment have thought proper to adopt as its creed: those laws are either just or unjust; if the former they should be enforced—if the latter they should be repealed. If, however, Mr. Smith's motion, and others of a like *partial* nature, whether successful or not, produce no other good, they promote discussion and inquiry, and tend to advance the cause of truth; which, although *tardy* its progress, and *distant* its victory, will *gradually* strengthen, and *finally* triumph, over superstition and persecuting zeal.

GULIELMUS.

Oxford, *July* 10, 1813.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Sir,—When you began your remarks on Mr. Wm. Smith's bill for the relief of Unitarians from the penalties that might be inflicted on them for the avowal of their belief in the one only living and true God, little was it suspected you would have been drawn into the discussion of subjects at once so various and multifarious, that there are scarcely any theological opinions, or religious sects, which have not met with your animadversion or reprobation. The manner in which you have touched on the variety of topics introduced, the rapidity of thought, the sudden transition from subject to subject, would have led me to suppose, that if you, Sir, did not really belong to, at least you had for once imitated, the style of the "ranting, roaring, bellowing Methodist," whom you so much abuse.——In passing over the vast variety of subjects treated, the mind of every contemplative reader is naturally fixed on those articles which have mostly occupied his thoughts and engrossed his attention, and which appear to him of the greatest importance. While the Trinitarian may be alarmed for the safety of his doctrine, the Calvinist for his dogmas, the Unitarian for his consistency of character, and the cause of religious liberty, with which he considers his sentiments and situation peculiarly interwoven; while the irritability of the Methodist may have been excited at the severity of your language, I have been filled with the deepest regret, that a writer of your celebrity and eminence, should have said any thing that will countenance and support, or have any tendency to perpetuate the Tithe System. I feel much disposed to call in question your defence of this *mighty wrong*, given in your Register of June 5th, and, if I may be allowed, through the medium of your journal, will attempt to prove, that neither Clergy, nor Laity, nor any body of men whatever, can have a right to enter the corn-fields, gardens, flocks, and poultry-yards of their neighbours, for the purpose of seizing the tenth part thereof. That a certain description of people have the *power* I readily admit, but that they have not the *right* I am as ready most earnestly to contend.——But before I proceed, allow me to call to your recollection some remarks in your Register of August last, where you have drawn a comparison between the old and new government of France, in that happy style of irony for which you are so much distinguished; you speak of the blessings of *Lettres de Cachet*, *Gabelle*, *Corveés*, *Game Laws*, and *Tithes*, and you inform the good people of England, in the language of triumph and exultation, in large capitals, there are NO TITHES IN FRANCE.—Again, your Register of September contains a criticism on the poem of the Rev. C. Cotton. You put the question to the Reverend Gentleman, "What are Frenchmen fighting "for?" and give the answer as follows: "They are fighting because they would not "be restored to their former state—they "are not fighting for a Corsican; they are "not fighting for an usurper; they are not "fighting for an upstart: they are fighting "for no game laws, *no Tithes*, no Gabelle, "no Corvées," &c. What is the plain meaning of all this? Why, that the *Tithes*, Gabelle, Corvées, and game-laws, were insupportable curses in France, and prime instruments in producing the revolution, and that the people of France are now shedding their blood to prevent the return of such vile institutions.——I should think it must be admitted, that if Tithes were a curse in France, they are no less so in England. The channel dividing the two kingdoms cannot alter the nature, or alleviate the pressure of tithes; that if they were denounced as a curse in August and September 1812, by Mr. Cobbett's Register, to "the good people, the most thinking "people of England," they are no less a curse in June 1813; and if your readers re-

collect, and will take the trouble to compare the Registers I allude to, they must with me feel the most poignant regret, that with so much talent there should be intermixed so much versatility, so much changeableness.——As one of your readers, surely I have some claim to an explanation of such inconsistencies; interested on these important subjects, I can no longer restrain my pen, and if you would condescend to notice these remarks, I should feel no hesitation in controverting your opinions contained in your Register of June 5th, and endeavour to prove that no right exists in any one to take the Tithe of another;—that this species of property bears no resemblance to Freehold Estate;—that it has been the subject of much dispute from time immemorial, and brought at length under legislative regulation and control; that it is and ought to be so now;—that the Church is no part of the constitution of this country;—that it is not above the laws, as some of its advocates would have us to think;—that the claims of Tithe-Gatherers were never so flagrantly enormous and oppressive as they are at present;—that the influence of the Clergy and Tithe-Gatherers has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished;—and, finally, that if the landed interest of the country possessed a tenth of the spirit of their ancestors, such a grievance could no longer exist.

R. F.

Marden, July 1st, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

London Gazette, July 31.

(Continued from page 192.)

quina Elio's corps, who with 8,000 infantry, 1,200 horse, and four pieces of cannon threatened Valencia, whilst Villacampa upon the left bank of the Guadaliviar approached the Capital. On the 25th, I directed General Musnier to march upon Villacampa at Pedralva: he was not expected; I made him repass the Guadaliviar on the 26th and 27th; he marched with 9 battalions, 600 horse and four cannon upon Requina, to attack Elio; on his arrival, our hussars drove the enemy's cavalry beyond the town, the Castle was occupied by a Spanish garrison. General Musnier, after having thrown some shells into it, summoned the Commandant, who requested till six in the evening, persuaded that General Elio would give battle to deliver him, which was not confirmed; he surrendered the same day, with 150 soldiers and 3 officers. We found in the fort some thousands of English cartridges, grenades, &c. The following day, the 28th, General Musnier marched upon Utiel; the enemy presented 900 horse, which covered Elio's retreat, and which constantly avoided every offer of fighting. I am informed the English expedition re-entered Alicant on the 24th, in great disorder; how great the consternation in that town is, your Excellency may judge, by the declaration of the Captain of a Moorish vessel, which arrived in Valencia two days ago.

Swedish Vindication.

No. 1.—Denmark cannot justly conceive herself entitled to ridicule the moderation and disinterestedness of the Swedish Government, in demanding only the alienation of the province of Drontheim, as, ever since the Peace of Jonkoping, Sweden has unceasingly afforded proofs of her forbearance. With respect to the violent acts committed by Danish privateers against her navigation, could it possibly be supposed that Sweden should patiently suffer for a continuance, that a state stepping forward as a guarantee of the Continental System, deprived, as she is, of her navy, and employing marauders in its stead; a State, without money, and without credit, and embarrassed by bankruptcies accumulating upon bankruptcies, should, without control, lord it over the commercial intercourse and coasting trade of Sweden; yet, it was not till above one hundred Swedish vessels had been captured that our cruizers were ordered to drive away the marauders that disturbed our coasts.——All claims officially made through our Ambassador, had proved fruitless; ordinances, interpreted by motives of gain were quoted, and for the same object, they were employed. The Swedes, who had confidently relied on the peace between the two countries, lifted up, for a considerable time, the voice of complaint to their King, against this conduct displayed by Denmark, before he used force, against acts of violence, that had been carried to such an extent only from his incredulity as to their existence. If Denmark conceived herself for a moment entitled to lord it imperiously over the Swedish commerce; if the Prize Court in Zealand (so well known for its rapacity), took upon itself to explain Treaties between Sweden, Russia, and France, and pre-

sumed to define the rights of the Swedish navigation, it is more than probable that these pretensions would even, without our resistance, and from their own futility, have fallen to the ground, had the Danish Cabinet for a moment considered its own situation.——But what moderation, therefore, has Denmark to expect? Let us examine her conduct towards Sweden for the last 25 years. What was her conduct in the year 1788? Weak and irresolute did her Government totter to a war at a time when the whole western frontiers were without troops for their protection. It thus preceeded until stopt by our heralds, and thus they shrunk back at the approach of those valiant and brave Dalecarlians who still bore in mind the heroic exploits of their ancestors, the contemporaries of Gustavus Vasa. Did Sweden give the least cause for war in the year 1808? Has a more crooked declaration of war ever been produced, or was any declaration of war more ridiculous than the one which was then issued forth with a view of justifying that unjust war? Was not the object then to regain the provinces conquered by Charles X.? Why did the King of Denmark stamp with the name of rebel the first Swede who, after the revolution on the 13th of March, 1809, was sent to him with overtures of peace? Rejecting with haughtiness the friendly representations made on the part of Sweden, yet how soon did Denmark lower her tone, when she was at length convinced that this imperious conduct could produce not the least impression in Sweden. ——The death of the Crown Prince, Charles Augustus, afterwards gave a more extensive field for hope. The privateering system was discontinued for a while, in order by that means to acquire the good will of the Swedish nation; but this was merely an armistice with Corsairs. *The King of Denmark then dared to propose himself as the heir to the Swedish throne.* His agent at Orebro condescended to the most ridiculous flattery, with the hope of getting a few voices. He soon, however, discovered that he was preaching in a wilderness. The election of Charles Augustus made all these airy imaginations vanish, and the privateers, as might be expected, renewed their depredations. At length, having, for a considerable time, in vain opposed this violence by diplomatic remonstrances, the Swedes at length employed force against these marauders, and their mischievous activity ceased.

No. 2.—After all the irritating acts, and the scandalous and oppressive demands on the part of Denmark, and which we have now shortly recapitulated, is it to be wondered at if Sweden, even at the expense of Denmark, endeavours to procure herself a situation that may, for the future, protect her from the possibility of aggression by a kingdom which has ever been ready to use its power for her destruction?

No. 3.—Denmark speaks of the national feeling which ought to render detestable the demand of 25,000 Danish troops to be placed under the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden. But what must become of this national sensibility, when the Danes are informed, that after their government had prepared quarters for the French troops to take possession of Hamburgh and Lubeck, one of the adjutants of the Prince of Eckmuhl had the command of the Danes in one of these cities. In a short time these victims will see the Danish fortresses garrisoned by French troops. Instead of this singular mode of maintaining the national dignity, why did not the King of Denmark come forward and command in person his troops against the Emperor Napoleon? The Cabinet would then have acquired greater honour than by arming their coasts and carrying on hostilities against the English ships of war, which it is not in their power to destroy, and by loading the inhabitants of their country with taxes, who are already too grievously oppressed.—— The Court of Copenhagen has always been inclined to accumulate every thing without doing any thing. The time is now passed when such an experiment can be successful. The military art has now extended itself beyond the parade. Politics have also taken a more active direction, incompatible with the tardiness of antiquated customs.

No. 4.—Pains are taken to convince the inhabitants of the two Kingdoms and the Duchies that the King of Denmark was actually inclined to moderation; but what will they say when they are informed, as a fact, that Count de Bernstorff, who, it is complained, was not listened to by the English Government, must attribute the refusal he encountered only to the extravagance of his demands. Notwithstanding the endeavours made by the Danish Cabinet to persuade Europe and their own subjects, that they wished for a peace with England, that they would unite themselves in the common cause, and that, from a noble impulse, they would contribute to the defence of Hamburgh, we need only for a moment to examine into the conduct

of that Cabinet to be persuaded that they sought to gain time, to accommodate their actions to the change of events, and thus proceed on during the winter, in order to be the better able to unmask their views after hostilities had commenced and the event of the war was ascertained. On the one hand, Baron Alquier is detained, with great assiduity, at Copenhagen, and Mr. Waltersdorff at Paris. The English convoys that pass through the Sound, and the Swedish gun-boats that accompany them, are fired upon. On the other hand, the Cabinet of Denmark refuses the French Ambassador to cause *Te Deum* to be sung for the taking of Moskow, and states this circumstance to the Russian Minister as an incontrovertible proof of courage; and at the same time they demand an Armistice with England, and occasionally cease hostilities in the Sound. They next send, with great publicity, separate missions to the Emperor Alexander and to England; they contribute, for a few days, towards the defence of Hamburgh against the French, and at last, after this chaos of contradictions and inconsistencies, they adopt a system of *unconditional* submission to the commands of the Emperor Napoleon.

No. 5.—The Danish Government acknowledges, that the offers made in London for a peace, were not of such a nature as to be considered unconditional, and in this, without being aware of it, they are at least sincere; but it would not be believed that Denmark, after an unfortunate war, and deprived as she was of all physical and moral means of injuring England, could have proposed to that power to pay to her a price for peace. Such a peace could only respect the common cause, and would be of some value in the event of Denmark's uniting her forces with the allied powers. No question about neutrality could in such circumstances be started, as the proposition would necessarily create suspicions with the armies that were to carry on the war in Germany. If Count de Bernstorff, on his arrival at London, had said, "Denmark will assist in the common cause, and her troops will contribute" to its support, but we demand peace, an indemnification for our fleet, our lost possessions and colonies, subsidies and the retention of Norway, no one could have been astonished at it, and such proposals would have been clear and definite; but what did this same Count Bernstorff propose, he who declares that he could obtain no answer whatever, and could not acquire even an audience? He demanded the fleet, or an indemnification for the same, as well as for the storehouses taken at Copenhagen: the restitution of the colonies of Anholt and Heligoland, a guarantee of the present possessions of Denmark, and in consideration of all these sacrifices, this power offered to occupy with 10,000 men, the cities of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and he further demanded in such a case subsidies, the object and amount of which were undefined. But there was still another wish, which certainly ought to have been expressed, but which with much care was concealed, in order to gain some degree of credit, and this was on the ambition to become a power of the first rank, and to unite for this purpose the Hanseatic cities and Holland, without abdicating any part of what had till then constituted a monarchy of the third rank. In considering such a foolish document as the one in question, only two motives can be assigned for its production; either that a nation is to be amused like a child, by embracing the first airy imagination that floats before the fancy, or else that we are purposely to exaggerate our demands in order to meet with a refusal. The Danish Government, no doubt, wishes that the latter of these motives, rather than the former, should be attributed to it. This being the case, we leave it to the world to judge whether this is the manner in which we ought, in such a critical moment as the present, to display to Europe that we are sincere, and are animated by the zeal to make sacrifices for the common cause.

No. 6.—It is said that Sweden intends to subjugate Norway. The Norwegians are a people too enlightened not to foresee, that if ever they should belong to the same Monarch as Sweden, they will be united to that kingdom for their common defence, but with such a Constitution and laws as they may elect for themselves. The Scandinavians pant for glory and independence in their native mountains, and the nations of the South are insensible to such feelings; yet despotism may extend her influence from the coasts of Zealand to the remote extremity of Calabria, but liberty, and the knowledge of the rights and character of man have fixed their abode in the North.

No. 7.—The Norwegians suffer through the blockade of their ports. Sweden and England feel equally as much for them as his Danish Majesty himself. But why does he not avail himself of the only means for alleviating the distress of a people which

he declares to be so tenderly beloved by him? Why not give up Dronthiem and keep to himself the remainder of Norway for ever, or accept of the indemnifications offered to him for its surrender? Sweden has considerable claims on the Danish Government for illegal captures committed against her trade. Proposals have even been made to dispense with these claims on condition of getting possession of Drontheim. Can this province outweigh the advantages of a peace, the restoration of the colonies, the activity of the commerce, and the possibility of immediately supplying the wants of the inhabitants of the three Southern provinces in Norway? An objection may be probably made to it, namely, that the laws of honour enjoin not, without forcible means, to abdicate even a village which has been inherited from one's ancestors; but is it consistent with such noble sentiments not immediately to quell the chimerical desire of obtaining the Hanseatic cities and Holland, which certainly do not appertain to the Danish hereditary dominions? Why receive from the Emperor Napoleon, after he had crossed the Dwina, a renewed promise to confer on Denmark, Scania, Holland, and the province of Gottenburg? Why secretly place 15,000 men at the disposal of General Clara St. Cyr? Why order the Minister for Foreign Affairs to write a letter to the French Head-quarters, full of expressions of an unalterable affection, and at the same time, in utter contradiction, send dispatches to Baron de Blome, at St. Petersburgh, professing a sincere interest in the success of the Russian arms, and the destruction of the great army of the Emperor Napoleon? If it should be objected, that the possession of Drontheim should tend to the general supremacy over Norway, and that, therefore, under a mask of moderation, Sweden has more extensive designs, we can state that Drontheim was united with Sweden during the reign of Charles the Tenth, and that the Conquest of Norway was not accomplished by such occupation.

No. 8.—Sweden has openly declared to Denmark the views that led to her conduct, and the engagements which the deportment of Denmark has compelled her to enter into with her Allies, and she cannot, therefore, be reproached with having acted in an insidious manner. Sweden cannot expect the good-will of Denmark, because she endeavours to establish the liberty and independence of the Scandinavian Peninsula, and because Denmark is entirely despotic; but the wishes of Sweden are, that the Danish Cabinet will at least admit that they have been too long wavering in their purposes, and she desires that they will not mistake pertinaciousness for constancy.——If the Danish Government will be sincere with regard to Sweden, and will desist from this versatile system of politics, which has been so detrimental to Sweden for two centuries—a system that has been the principal cause of the diminution of the Swedish territory—in that case the Danish Government might propose, and Sweden might perhaps consent, to defer her controversy with Denmark, and to leave all further discussions to the Allied Courts. Eight thousand barrels of corn are ready, at Gottenburgh, for the purpose of being conveyed to Norway. The King of Denmark need only say one word, and the Norwegians will immediately see an end to the famine which has brought them to despair; but if, on the other hand, the King of Denmark continues to multiply injuries on Sweden, and to misrepresent her in the eyes of Russia, England, and all other Powers, his Danish Majesty cannot expect (and we appeal to every impartial mind), that Sweden shall consent to victual and nourish an army and a people which the King of Denmark wishes to lead against Swedish liberty, for the purpose of again establishing in Sweden the times of Christian the Second.——If the King of Denmark be sincere, he will express himself thus: "I will no longer molest Sweden. I wish for a general peace. I will assist in maintaining the political equilibrium of Europe. I will employ for this just purpose 50,000 men, and I will place myself at the head of them." Sweden, on her part, can afford a like number of men; for, if no enterprise be undertaken against Norway and Zealand, she can place in the field two-thirds of her forces. We leave it to the enlightened statesman, and to the experienced warrior, to judge, whether or not 100,000 men, placed on the Lower Elbe, would be able to compel the Emperor Napoleon to accept of conditions for a peace, by which neither his self-love, his interests, nor even his military glory should be diminished.

AMERICA.

MESSAGE *of the American President, upon opening the Congress on the 25th of May.*

"*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,*—At an early

day after the close of the last Session of Congress, an offer was formally communicated from the Emperor of Russia of his mediation as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the Emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and as a farther proof of the disposition on the part of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negociation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned, with the requisite powers, to conclude a Treaty of Peace, with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were authorized also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as may be mutually advantageous. The two Envoys who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleague already at St. Petersburgh.——The Envoys have received another commission, authorizing them to conclude with Russia a Treaty of Commerce, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse between the two countries.——The issue of this friendly intercourse of the Russian Emperor, and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that Sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States to the terms on which they are willing to close it, is certain.——The British Cabinet also must be sensible that with respect to the important question of Impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for, or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels in the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force, for any purpose on board the vessel of one independent power on the high seas in war or peace can be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each State its seafaring Members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the United States, and now enacted by them, as an article of municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain without a conviction of its title to preference: in as much as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controling penalties, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of person, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire voyages; whereas the mode assumed by the United States guards with studied fairness and efficacy against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors, or the safety of navigation, and the success of mercantile expeditions.——If the reasonableness of expectations, drawn from these considerations, could guarantee their fulfilment, a just peace would not be distant. But it becomes the wisdom of the National Legislature to keep in mind the true policy, or rather the indispensable obligation of adapting its measures to the supposition that the only course to that happy event is in the vigorous employment of the resources of war. And painful as the reflection is, this duty is particularly enforced by the spirit and manner in which the war continues to be waged by the enemy, who uninfluenced by the unvaried examples of humanity set them, are adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier a system of plunder and conflagration to the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare.——As an encouragement to persevering and invigorating exertions to bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able to appeal to the auspicious progress of our arms both by land and on the water.——In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by Capt. Lawrence, and his companions, in the Hornet sloop of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war, with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the Hornet, as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise, and the full recompense provided by Congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce

of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port and resuming their cruizes. The augmentation of our naval force, as authorized at the last Session of Congress, is in progress. On the lakes our superiority is near at hand, where it is not already established. ——The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and shew, that under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a presage of future and greater victories—while, on the Western Frontier, the issue of the late siege of Fort Meigs leaves nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valour.——The sudden death of the distinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his last communications; nor has the French Government taken any measures for bringing the depending negociations to a conclusion through its Representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays before so unusually spun out. A successor to our departed Minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission. The course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connexion of their features with the system of other powers.——The receipts into the Treasury from the 1st of October to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on account of Treasury notes, and of the loans authorized by the Acts of the last and the preceding Session of Congress, have amounted to 15,412,000 dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to 15,920,000, and left in the Treasury on the 1st of April 1,857,000 dollars. The loan of 16 millions of dollars, authorized by the Act of the 8th February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million of dollars had been paid into the Treasury prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near 15 millions of dollars, with the sum of five millions of dollars authorized to be issued in Treasury notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs and the sales of public lands, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, and making in the whole 29,300,000 dollars, to be received during the last nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorized, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount, during that period, to 10,500,000 dollars, which, with near one million for the civil, miscellaneous, and diplomatic expenses, both foreign and domestic: and 17,800,000 for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building and to be built, will leave a sum in the Treasury at the end of the present year equal to that of the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expenses already authorized by law, beyond the sums above mentioned; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of one million of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorized by the State of Pensylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.——This view of our finances, whilst it shews that due proportion has been made for the expenses of the current year, shews at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the Treasury. This can best be done by a well-digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources: which will have the effect both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, and on that account, as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained. ——The loan of sixteen millions was not contracted for at less interest than about seven and a half per cent., and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted, that with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of the advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans. ——In recommending to the National Legislature this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give other proofs of their patriotism which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and territorial exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the United

States to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry, or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for the yielding the requisite contributions.——By rendering the public resources certain, and commensurate to the public exigencies, the Constituted Authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue; every hostile hope founded on a calculated failure of our resources, will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and on the land, an alacrity in supplying the Treasury necessary to give them their fullest effect; and, thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine, with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided against future enterprises on the rights, or the peace of the nation.——The contest in which the United States are engaged appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people, to the love of country, to the pride of liberty, to the glorious founders of their independence, by a successful vindication of its violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demands security from the most degrading wrongs, of a class of citizens, who have proved so worthy of the protection of their country, by their heroic zeal in its defence, and finally to the sacred obligations of transmitting entire to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence, which is held in trust by the present from the goodness of Divine Providence. ——Being aware of the inconveniencies to which a protracted Session, at this season, would be liable, I limit the present communication to objects of primary importance. In special messages which may ensue, regard will be had to the same consideration. JAMES MADISON.

"*Washington, May* 25, 1813."

Copy of a Letter from Major-General Dearborn to the Secretary at War.

Head-quarters, Fort George, Upper Canada, May 27.

Sir,—The light troops under the command of Colonel Scott and Major Forsythe, landed this morning at nine o'clock. Major-General Lewis's division, with Colonel Porter's command of light artillery, supported them. General Boyd's brigade landed immediately after the light troops and General Winder, and Chandler followed in quick succession. The landing was warmly and obstinately disputed by the British forces: but the coolness and intrepidity of our troops soon compelled them to give ground in every direction. General Chandler, with the reserve (composed of his brigade and Colonel Macombe's artillery) covered the whole. Commodore Chauncey had made the most judicious arrangements for silencing the enemy's batteries, near the point of landing. The army is under the greatest obligations to that able and naval commander for his co-operation in all its important movements, and especially in its operations this day. Our batteries succeeded in rendering Fort George untenable; and when the enemy had been beaten from his positions, and found it necessary to re-enter it, after firing a few guns, and setting fire to the magazines, which soon exploded, he moved off rapidly by different routes. Our light troops pursued them several miles. The troops having been under arms from one o'clock in the morning, were too much exhausted for any further pursuit. We are now in possession of Fort George and its immediate dependencies; to-morrow we shall proceed on. The behaviour of our troops, both officers and men, entitles them to the highest praise; and the difference of our loss with that of the enemy, when we consider the advantages his position afforded him, is astonishing. We had 17 killed and 45 wounded. The enemy had 90 killed and 160 wounded of the regular troops. We have taken 100 prisoners, exclusive of the wounded. Colonel Myers, of the 49th, was wounded and taken prisoner. Of ours only one commissioned officer was killed, Lieutenant Hobart, of the Light Artillery. Enclosed is the report of Major-General Lewis.——I have the honour to be, Sir, with great consideration and respect, your most obedient servant,

H. DEARBORN.

Hon. Gen. John Armstrong, Secretary at War.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

TITHES.——In my last number, at page 209, I inserted a letter, signed R. F., and dated from Marden, upon the subject of tithes. This gentleman sets out with observing upon the wide range which I have taken in discussing the question at issue on the Trinity Bill. He seems not to be pleased with my remarks upon the doctrines and conduct of the different religious sects, and says, that I have abused the Methodists. For my part, when I take a view of that mass of contradictions which the opinions of these different sects present, it is impossible for me to speak with any degree of respect of any of them. I have not *abused* the Methodists. I have only said of them what is true; and, whatever the fashion may be, to call *truth abuse* is not correct. It is impossible that all these sects can be right; it is impossible that any two of them can be right; and yet they all take the self-same book as the foundation of their opinions. There are some scores of these sects, every one of which holds opinions different from all the others; and yet the whole of them unite, and cordially unite, in the impudent assertion, that the Church is in the wrong; that she is a deceiver, and that she ought to be put down.——Their own disagreements; their palpable contradictions; their denunciations of each other; their mutual and never-ceasing animosities; all these do not teach them to doubt of the correctness of their respective creeds. And, as to the Methodists, their insolence, and the cool manner in which they consign over all the rest of the world to eternal flames, are sufficient to draw down on them the scorn of every man of a just way of thinking. It is wrong to condemn sects in a lump; and, therefore, I do not pretend to deny, that there are good men, who have been terrified into an adherence to methodistical practices; but, generally speaking, this sect is full of low cunning, hypocrisy, and dishonesty; which two latter terms mean, in fact, pretty nearly the same thing; for I believe, that an honest hypocrite is what never was met with upon the face of the earth.——Without, therefore, attempting any defence of the Church, her rites, ceremonies, or doctrines, I have no hesitation to say, that, as far as my experience enables me to speak, her followers are the best sort of people. The Unitarians, the Independents, the Quakers, and some others, perhaps, of small amount, as to numbers, may, as to their general moral character, surpass the mass of the people of the Church; but then, let it be observed, that these sects consist almost exclusively of persons tolerably well educated, and, indeed, that they have amongst them none of the *poor*. But, as to the great body of those who dissent from the Church; that is to say, the twenty or thirty different casts of Methodists; I can truly say, that, as far as my experience has gone, they are the worst part of the people, and made worse, too, by that which they call their religion, but which is something too despicable to be called by that name.——To *abuse* such a description of persons is next to impossible. They are lower in the scale of animal life than any people that I ever saw in any country: and I look upon it as a great disgrace to this nation that they should have increased in numbers as they have increased. Their increase is the increase of hypocrisy and of every species of cheating. We are told, that the Church-people have no religion at all, and that they go to church merely from habit, there to sleep, or to shew their fine clothes. Were this true to the very letter, the Church is greatly to be preferred to the Methodist meeting; for at the latter nothing is to be heard but the most beastly nonsense or doctrines of the most mischievous tendency. For my part, I see no harm in people dressing themselves once a week, and meeting together at a certain place to show off; and if some of them, more advanced in years, or too young to perceive the advantage of beauty, do chance to take a nap, it only shows, that, as Rousseau observes, "sermons are always good for something." The assemblages at the Church are, at least, attended with no mischief; but, at the Methodist meeting there must be mischief; for

there is openly taught the infernal doctrine, that a murderer may be one of the elect people of God, while an innocent person whom he has murdered may be doomed to eternal flames. Talk, indeed, of writings or preachings being *libellous*, because they are *contra bonos mores!* Talk of it being an offence at common law, to publish such writings or make such preachings! I wish to know, what can possibly be so directly in the teeth of good morals as this infamous doctrine? There is not a Methodist meeting in England, where the people are not told, that good works are of no avail in ensuring their salvation; and that those who never commit any moral offence at all, are more likely to have hell-fire for their portion, than those who rob and murder. And, is not this against the good morals of the country? Is this to pass unpunished? Nay, are the preachers of this infamous doctrine to be encouraged, to be excused from their share of duty in the militia, while Mr. Eaton is pilloried and imprisoned for nearly two years, for publishing a book, in which the divine origin of Jesus Christ is denied? Is it a less offence to question the truth of the Gospels, than it is openly to proclaim that a murderer, a wilful murderer, may be one of the elect, while the most innocent and virtuous man may be doomed to hell-fire? And is it possible: I ask R. F., if it be possible, to speak of a sect, who hold such a doctrine as this, in too strong terms of reprobation? ——I am not for inflicting legal penalties, even upon the men who thus corrupt the hearts of the people. If the law suffered every man to write and preach what he pleased, upon the subject of religion, this doctrine would soon disappear like mists before the sun. While *truth* is a *libel*, this doctrine will continue to gain ground, because it is so flattering to human vices. It is not to be combated by the weapons which the law now permits men to use. Truth must have an unconfined range before this infamous doctrine can meet with its match. But, at any rate, those who teach it ought not to meet with encouragement from the law, as they now do in their exemption from their share of duty in the militia.——I have been led into these remarks without sufficient cause, as it may seem to R. F.; but when accused of *abusing* the Methodists, I could not help saying thus much in my justification.——I now come to the main subject of this gentleman's letter; namely, *Tithes.* He says, that he will attempt to prove, that, neither clergy, nor laity, nor any body of men whatever, can have a right to enter the corn fields, gardens, flocks, and poultry yards of their neighbours, for the purpose of seizing a tenth part thereof. He allows, that certain persons have the *power* to do this; but says, that he is ready most earnestly to contend, that they have not the *right.*——Seeing that, I shall with great pleasure insert any thing that my correspondent may choose to send me upon the subject; I will not puzzle myself here with an endeavour to anticipate his definition of *power* and of *right*, as applied to the present case; but will now proceed to notice his charge against myself, on the score of consistency, touching the subject of tithes.——He reminds me, that in one of my Registers, written about a twelvemonth ago, I spoke of the tithes in France, as some of the things which the people wished to get rid of, and against the restoration of which they were now fighting.——R. F. further says, that if tithes were a *curse* in France, they are not less so in England.——Then he says, that if they were denounced as a curse a twelvemonth ago, they were not less so in June last, when I wrote my first article in answer to TRANQUILLUS, in which article a good deal was said about tithes. ——The conclusion of R. F. is, that I have herein discovered great *changeableness.*——Now, before I proceed to answer this charge, which, I must confess, I am very much surprised to see made, R. F. will suffer me to observe, that this fashion of personally attacking an adversary, as a preface to an answer to his arguments, always excites, in my mind at least, a suspicion that there exists some degree of irritation, arising from the difficulty of giving such answer. Men, when they feel strong in their ability to demolish the argument itself, very seldom stop to waste their time in assailing the person from whom that argument has proceeded. Whether I had been consistent or inconsistent in my two articles referred to by R. F. was a matter of no consequence to him in the present case. There was one of those articles, to which he meant to give an answer, and that alone was the article with which he had any thing to do. He was not desired to be decided by my *opinion*, but by my *arguments;* and, therefore, to cite one article against the other, was quite out of place. If, indeed, I had made use of no reasoning; if I had merely *asserted*, at one time, that tithes were a good; and, at another time, that tithes were an evil; all that he would

have had to do, in order to silence me, would have been to quote the two passages, shewing, at the same time, that the two assertions, applied to cases and circumstances perfectly similar; but, this was not so; my article on *Tranquillus*'s letter contained what I deemed a chain of *reasoning;* and, therefore, that article demanded reasoning in answer to it, and could in no wise be affected by any assertion of mine, made at any former time.——In complaisance, however, to R. F., and to prove to him, that I have a great regard for his good opinion, I will endeavour to convince him, that there is no changeableness discovered in the articles to which he so pointedly refers.——I do not stand in need of a reference to the article of August or September last, to enable me to assert, that I did not describe tithes as a *curse* in the abstract. I never so described them. But, on the other hand, I never described them as a *blessing.*——I know, that tithes form one of the objects against which the French people are fighting, and I particularly mentioned them in my criticism on Mr. Cotton's poem, because he was a clergyman. I defy R. F. to quote any passage in my writings, wherein tithes are described as a *good.* I have never either called them so, or thought them so. I am, therefore, utterly astonished that R. F. should think of accusing me of inconsistency upon this subject. It would seem, that, from what he says, I had pronounced, on the fifth of June last, an *eulogium* upon tithes; that I had spoken greatly in praise of their existence; that, in short, I had called them a "*blessing.*" I appeal to the reader, if any thing can be further from fairness, nay, from truth, than this representation.——The fact is this: Tranquillus had complained, that *dissenters* were compelled to yield tithes. This was a part of his complaint against the Church, and the Church-people. What was the tenor of my answer to this complaint? Not that tithes were a *good;* not that their existence was *desirable;* not that they were a *blessing.* No such thing. I said not a word in commendation of this mode of maintaining teachers of religion. What I said was this: that, the dissenters had no reason to complain of the existence of tithes any more than the Church-people had; that tithes were *property*, a great part of which property belonged to *lay-men*, and not to the clergy at all; that it would be difficult for him to shew the justice of taking them from the one without, at the same time, taking them from the other; that tithes could not be regarded as belonging to either the owner or the occupier of the land; that if abolished, they ought to revert to the *community*, and that, the farmer or the landlord would, of course, have to pay for them to the community, to whose use they would be applied. ——This was what I said to Tranquillus respecting tithes; and I leave the reader to decide, whether there be any thing here inconsistent with the notion, that tithes are, in themselves, a very great evil.——The people of France got rid of tithes, and I will warrant, that they will never again permit them to exist. If they were abolished in England, they most assuredly would never be re-established. But, does it hence follow, that dissenters are more oppressed by tithes than other people? I put the case before to Tranquillus, of an Unitarian being a tithe-holder, and asked him why that man's property should not be considered as sacred as that of other men?" But, was this representing tithes as a blessing? I asked Tranquillus for what reason dissenters should not yield tithes to this man as well as Church-people? He has written to me several times since, but has never thought proper to answer this question. I also asked him who he thought was to pay this tithe-owner for the loss of his property; and whether he thought, that the tailor, the shoe-maker, the blacksmith, and trades-people in general, would give up part of their money, in order to make compensation to the tithe-owner; and thus, in fact, give their property to the owners and occupiers of the land; or whether he thought, that the tithe-owner and his family ought to be turned adrift to beg or steal the means of existence? R. F. may, perhaps, answer these questions; but it is quite certain that Tranquillus has not attempted it.——The tithes which are owned by lay-men, have, in fact, already been *confiscated.* They were seized by the government; but, they were not given, except in particular instances, to the owners of the land. They were bestowed by the government, as a reward for public services, real or supposed. They were regarded as public property, and not as the property of the owners of the soil. Upon the principle on which the government seized on this portion of the tithes, there is no doubt but it might seize on all the rest; but, then, let it be observed, that it is as public property that the tithes were seized on before, and not as property belonging to either the owner or the occupier of the land.——If R. F. should

prove, as he says he can, that neither clergy nor laity have any *right* to take tithes, I shall be very happy; for, though I do not regard them in the odious light that some people do, I will not dissemble that I should have no objection to be relieved from them. His position, "that the claims of "tithe-gatherers were never so flagrantly "enormous and oppressive as they are at "present," as a general position, he is hardly competent to speak upon, because no one man can be competent to speak positively upon a matter involving such a multiplicity of widely-differing cases and circumstances. In general, tithes are not taken in kind; and as the value of money, compared with the price of corn, is continually falling, the tithe-owner must either lose a great part of his property, or he must be continually rising the nominal amount of his composition. This circumstance gives the appearance of oppressiveness to the demand of the tithe-owner; but, the farmer has always the remedy in his own hands; for, he can, at any time, refuse the demand of the tithe-owner, and suffer him to take his tithes in kind.——I have heard the opinion started, that it is the tenth part, not of the produce arising from *cultivation*, but a tenth part of the *spontaneous* produce, which the tithe-owner ought to claim. This is an opinion which I should very much like to see put to the test of proof. It may be correct for any thing that I know to the contrary; but I have never yet seen it satisfactorily proved.——That it would be a good thing to get rid of tithes altogether, there can be no doubt; because they are a source of endless animosity and litigation. But, I am very much of opinion, that it is out of the power of R. F. to shew that the land-owner has a better title than the tithe owner. At the Reformation numerous estates were taken by the government from the clergy. In many of these cases the lands, thus taken, became the property of one man, and the tithes of those lands the property of another man. In this way these properties have descended to their present possessors; and I rather think that it will puzzle even R. F. to shew, that the title to the land is, in any way whatever, better than the title to the tithes.——I shall, however, wait with patience for the promised communications of R. F. upon this interesting and important subject, having, as I trust, said enough to convince him, that he suffered his irritation to get the better of his candour, when he accused me of inconsistency in speaking of the nature and effect of tithes in general.

Queen's Speech.——Of Kings' speeches this nation has had a very great variety; but until now, I do not recollect, that it has, of late years, at least, been favoured with a speech from a Queen.——The Courier news-paper of Monday last, informs me that our present Queen has made a beginning in this way, upon presenting a pair of colours to the Cadets (as they are called) at the Military College, at Bagshot Heath. ——It may be necessary to inform some of my readers, that, within these few years, an immense pile of building has been erected by the English government on a wide, dreary, barren spot, covered chiefly with heath, between two little miserable villages, the one called Bagshot and the other Black-water, and at a considerable distance from each of these; and, of course, at a great distance from any town of consequence.——This building, together with the roads and other appurtenances, have cost the nation a very great sum of money. I should suppose upwards of two millions of pounds sterling already.——Into this place are received boys, whose parents have sufficient interest to procure their admission, which boys are here educated with the intent of being, in the fulness of time, made commissioned officers in the army. ——These boys are clothed like soldiers. What is the discipline they are subjected to I know not; but their clothing is of a red colour with blue cuffs and collars; and when I have had the mortification to see them, they have worn upon their heads a sort of foraging cap.——It was, it seems, to these youths that the Queen presented a pair of colours, which, as we are told, in the news-papers, were supported by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. ——Having deeply impressed on my mind the principles of the English Constitution, I have always looked at this building, and at the whole scheme of the establishment, with great jealousy, and not without some degree of shame.——The Queen seems to view the matter in a very different light. She seems to think this Building upon Bagshot Heath an admirable place for learning the laws and constitution of England.——Her Majesty has, indeed, given no reasons for this opinion, as far as I can perceive; and, therefore, I shall take the liberty to say, that I widely differ in opinion from Her Majesty upon this point.——But, I will first insert the Royal Speech, as I find

it in the above-mentioned newspaper:——"It is with peculiar interest and satisfaction that I this day witness the effects of "an Institution founded under the gracious "auspices of the King, whose fostering and "protecting hand has, through the course "of a long and virtuous reign, been invariably extended to every object of national honour and utility; nor am I "less gratified by observing that my beloved son, the Prince Regent, following "the example of his Father, and actuated "by the same consideration for the public "welfare, has bestowed on it his powerful "protection and patronage, and has rendered it eminently available to the great "and important purposes which its Royal "Founder had in view, in making this "noble provision for the instruction of "young Officers, and for the early education of those destined for the military "service.——The means which this Institution places at the disposal of the "Commander in Chief, have been most "successfully applied to the benefit of the "army and to the public service, by my "beloved son, the Duke of York; amongst "whose uniform attentions to the great "duties of his station, there is none more "creditable to himself, none certainly more "grateful to my feelings, and, I believe, "to those of the country, than the personal "care and superintendence which he has "bestowed on the two national establishments for military education—this Royal "Military College, and the Asylum for "the children of the non-commissioned "officers and soldiers of the regular army. "——His Majesty's commissioners for the "management of this College, participate, "I am persuaded, in my own feelings on "the scene before us, and are thereby rewarded in the manner most acceptable to "them, for the care with which, from its "infancy, they have watched over this "Institution, and have conducted it to its "present state of perfection.——The ends "of this Institution have been greatly forwarded by the abilities and unremitted "exertions of the late, and of the present "Governors and Lieutenant Governors. "——The other Officers and Professors, "and Masters, belonging to the Establishment, are justly entitled to their share "of applause for the zeal and fidelity with "which they have discharged their respective duties.——I present these colours as tokens of the interest I feel in the "prosperity of the Royal Military College, "and in testimony of my maternal solicitude for the happiness and welfare of the "youths to whom I now address myself. "——I feel confident that you will, by "your virtues and future services, realize "the fond expectations of your friends and "your parents, of your Sovereign and your "Country. You will, at this Institution, "*imbibe* the *principles* of our *established* "*national religion*, and a just regard and "*reverence for our laws and constitution.* "You will become sensible of the importance of order and discipline. You will "receive the information and instructions "which are calculated to promote your "success in the honourable profession "which you have chosen; and both by example and precept you will here be animated by the honest ambition of hereafter emulating those renowned Commanders and valiant Soldiers, who, under the protection of Providence, have so "greatly upheld the military character of "the Country.——You will, I trust, confirm the words inscribed on these colours, equally applicable to the increasing advantages which this Institution "promises to the Army, and to the prowess "of the Nation, justly exulting in the distinguished part she has taken in a contest, the object of which is the restoration of the independence and liberties of "Europe.——To this great object, it is "probable, you will all be progressively "called, as the soldiers and champions of "your country.——I pray God to bless "and protect you in the career of honour "for which you are destined."——It is not amiss to be informed, that we owe the origin of this College to George the Third. ——As to what Her Majesty says about her beloved son, the Regent, following the example of his father in consulting the public good; about her beloved son the Duke of York's uniform attentions to the duties of his station; and about the excellent conduct of the commissioners, governors, professors, and masters: as to what Her Majesty says about all these matters, I shall, for want of time, pass it over in silence, for the present; but, I must notice, in a particular manner, that passage, where Her Majesty is pleased to say to the Cadets, as they are called, "You will, at *this Institution*, imbibe the principles of our "established *national religion*, and a just "regard and reverence for our *laws* and "*constitution.*"——Now, not knowing what may be going on about religion in this place, I cannot pretend to say, that this part of Her Majesty's speech is at all erro-

neous, and I am disposed to give full credit to the assertion, being indeed fully persuaded, that the Youths at this College are in a very fair way of imbibing just the same sort of religious principles as those which are imbibed by the Youths of the church at the other colleges.——But, as to the laws and constitution of England I am very certain, that this college is no place for the imbibing of right notions with respect to them.——When young men commence the study of the laws and constitution of England, they must read the works of those who have written upon those laws and that constitution; and, if we could suppose it likely, that any of these boys would so apply their time, we must also suppose, that their tutors would put into their hands the Commentaries of Blackstone, which commentaries were, by the by, dedicated to the Queen herself.——It is likely, too, that the professor would particularly point out to his scholar that chapter which relates more immediately to the Military.—— The Youth, then, would open the book, and read thus: "in a land "of liberty it is *extremely dangerous* to "make a *distinct order* of the profession of "arms. In absolute monarchies this is "necessary for the safety of the Prince, "and arises from the main principle of "*their* constitution, which is that of *go*"*verning by fear*: but in free states the "profession of a soldier, taken singly and "merely as a profession, is justly an ob"ject of jealousy. In *these* no man should "take up arms, but with a view to defend "his country and its laws: he puts not off "the artisan when he enters the camp: "but it is because he is a citizen, and "would wish to continue so, that he makes "himself for a while a soldier. THE "LAWS, THEREFORE, AND CON"STITUTION OF THESE KINGDOMS "KNOW NO SUCH STATE AS THAT "OF A PERPETUAL STANDING "SOLDIER, BRED UP TO NO OTHER "PROFESSION THAN THAT OF "WAR: and it was not till the reign of "Henry the Seventh, that the kings of "England had so much as a guard about "their persons."——This would be rather an untoward beginning for this Military Student of the laws and constitution.——Perhaps, however, he might have the courage to proceed a little further, when he would find the same expositor of our laws saying: "To prevent the executive power "from being able to oppress, says Baron "Montesquieu, it is requisite that the ar"mies with which it is intrusted should "consist of the people, and have the same "spirit with the people: as was the case "at Rome, till Marius new modelled the "legions by inlisting the rabble of Italy, "and laid the foundation of all the Mili"tary tyranny that ensued. Nothing, "then, according to these principles ought "to be more guarded against in a free "state, than making the military power, "when such a one is necessary to be kept "on foot, *a body too distinct from the* "*people*. Like OURS, therefore," (I wish Blackstone had lived to see this day!) "it should wholly be composed of NA"TURAL SUBJECTS; it ought only to "be inlisted for a short and limited time; "the soldiers also should live *intermixed* "*with the people*; no separate camp, no "*barracks*, no inland fortresses should be "allowed."——Would the Student of the laws and constitution, reading in his apartment upon Bagshot Heath, want to go any further? If he would, he might proceed thus: "The greater the general liberty is, "which any state enjoys, the more cau"tious has it usually been of introducing "an exception as to any particular order "or profession. These men, as Baron "Montesquieu observes, seeing the liberty "which others possess, and which they "themselves are excluded from, are apt "(like eunuchs in the eastern seraglios) "to live in a state of perpetual envy and "hatred towards the rest of the commu"nity; and indulge a malignant pleasure "in contributing to destroy those privi"leges, to which they can never be ad"mitted."——These, the Student would find to be the principles of the laws and constitution of England, as relating to the state of a Soldier; and I think I may venture to assert, that Her Majesty was deceived in supposing that the Bagshot Heath College was a likely place for the imbibing of these principles.——For my part, I have always thought that these seminaries were amongst the very worst establishments in the country. Only forty big boys kept together at such a distance from a town is what I should not like to see; what then must be my objection to see many hundreds in that state?——Her Majesty, in conclusion, gives us (the people) but a gloomy prospect. She tells the Cadets, whose happiness she is so good as to say, is an object of her maternal solicitude, that in the present contest for the restoration of the independence and liberties of Europe, they will probably, ALL be pro-

gressively called to take a share. Mercy upon us! Why, there must be some of them, from their appearance, not more than seven or eight years old! When, then, is this contest to end? I was in hopes, that all these victories in Spain, and the approaching invasion of France, would have brought the contest to a speedy close; but, alas! If we are to see all these Cadets called out into this contest, a third part of those who are now alive, will be dead before the contest is over.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 18*th August*, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN WAR.

PROCLAMATION

By his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Baronet, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty's North American Provinces, and Commander of the Forces in the said Provinces, &c. &c. &c.

His Excellency the Commander of the Forces having seen a Public Declaration made by Lieutenant-Colonel P. Preston, of the 12th regiment of the United States infantry, dated at Fort Erie the 30th of May last, in which he professes to hold out the protection of the United States to all those who shall come forward and voluntarily enrol their names with him, and threatening with rigorous and disastrous consequences those who shall have the spirit and loyalty to pursue a different course of conduct: his Excellency deems it necessary to caution His Majesty's subjects in this province against listening to this insidious offer of the enemy, or trusting to their assurances of protection, which subsequent events have clearly proved they are so little able to afford to themselves. With the bare possession of a narrow strip of our frontier territory, not obtained by them without a severe contest and corresponding loss, with an unconquered and unbroken army in their front, at an inconsiderable distance from them, and ready to dispute every inch of ground over which they should attempt to advance into the country, it was hardly to be expected that the enemy's presumption would have led them to consider themselves as in the possession of this province, or have induced them, contrary to the established usages of civilized warfare, to treat its peaceable inhabitants as a conquered people.——The brilliant result of the action of the 6th instant, the rout and complete dispersion of a large division of the enemy's forces on that day, attended with the capture of their artillery and of their ablest Generals, their subsequent retreat and flight, with the loss of the whole of their baggage, provisions, and tent equipage, before the victorious army of Brigadier-General Vincent, daily increasing in strength from the powerful reinforcements reaching it, and assisted by the squadron under Sir James Yeo, now in undisturbed possession of the lake; all these events, which followed in rapid succession within a very few days after Lieut.-Colonel Preston's declaration, shew more strongly than any language can possibly describe, the futility of the offers held out by it, and produce the strongest incentive to His Majesty's subjects to hold fast that allegiance from which the enemy would so insidiously withdraw them.——His Excellency therefore confidently calls upon all the loyal and well disposed in this province, who are not under the immediate control, or within the power of the enemy, to use every possible effort in repelling the foe, and driving him from our soil, assuring them that they will be powerfully aided by the reinforcements daily arriving at this post, and pressing on to their support.—To those of His Majesty's subjects who are unfortunately situated within that inconsiderable portion of the territory occupied by the enemy, his Excellency recommends a quiet and peaceable conduct, such as shall neither afford a just cause to the enemy for treating them with the severity and rigour they have threatened, or incompatible with their allegiance to the best of Sovereigns. His Excellency at the same time declares, that he shall be compelled, however reluctantly, instantly to retaliate upon the American prisoners in his possession, every violation of the persons or property of any of His Majesty's subjects, so peaceably demeaning themselves, and hereby publicly protests against such treatment as equally unsanctioned by the usages of war, or by the example afforded by His Majesty's forces, with regard to any of the American prisoners in their possession.——Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Kingston, this 14th day of June, 1813.

GEORGE PREVOST, Commander of the Forces.

By his Excellency's Command,
E. B. Brenton.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Monday, Aug. 16, 1813.

Downing-street, Aug. 16, 1813.

His Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange has arrived at this Office with Dispatches addressed to Earl Bathurst, by Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, of which the following are copies:—

San Estevan, Aug. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—Two practicable breaches having been effected at San Sebastian on the 24th of July, orders were given that they should be attacked on the morning of the 25th. I am concerned to have to report, that this attempt to obtain possession of the place failed; and that our loss was very considerable.——Marshal Soult had been appointed *Lieutenant de l'Empereur* and Commander in Chief of the French Armies in Spain and the Southern Provinces of France, by a *Decret Imperial*, on the 1st of July, and he joined and took the command of the army on the 13th of July, which having been joined nearly about the same time by the corps which had been in Spain under the command of General Clauzel, and by other reinforcements, was called the Army of Spain, and re-formed into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of General Reille, Comte d'Erlon, and General Clauzel, as Lieutenant-Generals, and a reserve under General Villatte; and two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, the two former under the command of Generals Treillard and Tilly, and the latter under the command of General Pierre Soult. There was besides allotted to the army a large proportion of artillery, and a considerable number of guns had already joined.——The Allied Army was posted, as I have already informed your Lordship, in the passes of the mountains. Major-General Byng's brigade of British infantry, and General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right, in the pass of Roncesvalles. Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscarret, to support those troops; and Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, at Olaque in reserve.——Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan with the remainder of the second division, and the Portuguese division, under the Conde de Amarante, detaching General Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, and the town of Vera, and the Puerto de Echalar; and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; and the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera and those under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, and Mariscal del Campo Giron, on the great road.——The Conde del Abisbal blockaded Pampeluna.——On the 24th, Marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St. Jean de Pied de Port, and on the 25th attacked, with between 30 and 40,000 men, General Byng's post at Roncesvalles.——Lieut.-Gen. Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support with the fourth division, and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day. But the enemy turned it in the afternoon; and Lieut.-Gen. Sir Lowry Cole considered it to be necessary to withdraw in the night; and he marched to the neighbourhood of Zubiri.——In the actions which took place on this day, the 20th regiment distinguished themselves.——Two divisions of the centre of the enemy's army attacked Sir Rowland Hill's position in the Puerto de Maya, at the head of the valley of Bas[illegible] in the afternoon of the same day.——[illegible] brunt of the action fell upon Major Ge[illegible] Pringle's and Major-General Walker's b[illegible]gades in the second division, under the command of Lieut.-General the Hon. [illegible]illiam Stewart. These troops were at first obliged to give way; but having been supported by Major-General Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, they regained that part of their post, which was the key of the whole, and would have enabled them to re-assume it, if circumstances had permitted it But Sir Rowland Hill having been apprized of the necessity that Sir Lowry Cole should retire, deemed it expedient to withdraw his troops likewise to Irurita; and the enemy did not advance on the following day beyond the Puerto de Maya.——Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acquired but little advantage over these brave troops during the seven hours they were engaged. All the regiments charged with the bayonet. The conduct of the 82d regiment, which moved up with Major-Gen. Barnes's brigade, is particularly reported.——Lieut.-General the Hon. Wm. Stewart was slightly wounded.——I was not apprized of these events till late in the night of the 25th and 26th; and I adopted immediate measures to concentrate the army

to the right, still providing for the siege of San Sebastian, and for the blockade of Pamplona.—This would have been effected early on the 27th, only that Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole and Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Picton concurred in thinking their post at Zubiri not tenable for the time during which it would have been necessary to wait in it. They therefore retired early on the 27th, and took up a position to cover the blockade of Pamplona, having the right, consisting of the 3d division, in front of Huarte, and extending to the hills beyond Olaz, and the left, consisting of the 4th division, Major-General Byng's, and Brigadier-General Campbell's Portuguese brigade, on the heights in front of Villalba, having their left at a chapel behind Sorausen, on the high road from Ostiz to Pampeluna, and their right resting upon a height which defended the high road from Zubiri and Roncesvalles. General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, and that part of the Condé del Abisbal's corps not engaged in the blockade were in reserve. From the latter, the regiment of Travia, and that of El Principe, were detached to occupy part of the hill on the right of the fourth division, by which the road from Zubiri was defended.——The British cavalry, under Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, were placed near Huarte on the right, being the only ground on which it was possible to use the cavalry.——The river Lanz runs in the valley which was on the left of the Allied, and on the right of the French army, along the road to Ostiz. Beyond this river there is another range of mountains connected with Ligasso and Marcalain, by which places it was now necessary to communicate with the rest of the army.——I joined the third and fourth divisions just as they were taking up their ground on the 27th, and shortly afterwards the enemy formed their army on a mountain, the front of which extends from the high road to Ostiz to the high road to Zubiri, and they placed one division on their left of that road on a height, and in some villages in front of the third division. They had here also a large body of cavalry.——In a short time after they had taken up their ground, the enemy attacked the hill on the right of the fourth division, which was then occupied by one battalion of the 4th Portuguese regiment; and by the Spanish regiment of Pravia. ——These troops defended their ground, and drove the enemy from it with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this hill to our position, I reinforced it with the 40th regiment; and this regiment, with the Spanish regiments of El Principe and Pravia, held it from this time, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the enemy during the 27th and 28th to obtain possession of it. ——Nearly at the same time that the enemy attacked this height on the 27th, they took possession of the village of Sorausen, on the road to Ostiz, by which they acquired the communication by that road, and they kept up a fire of musketry along the line till it was dark.——We were joined on the morning of the 28th by the sixth division of infantry, and I directed that the heights should be occupied on the left of the valley of the Lanz; and that the sixth division should form across the valley in rear of the left of the fourth division, resting their right on Oricain, and their left upon the heights above mentioned.——The sixth division had scarcely taken their position when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy, which had been assembled in the village of Sorausen.——Their front was, however, so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights on their left, and by the fire from the heights occupied by the fourth division and Brigadier-General Campbell's Portuguese brigade, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss, from a fire on their front, both flanks and rear.——In order to extricate their troops from the difficulty in which they found themselves in their situation in the valley of the Lanz, the enemy now attacked the height on which the left of the fourth division stood, which was occupied by the seventh Cacadores, of which they obtained a momentary possession. They were attacked, however, again by the seventh Cacadores, supported by Major-General Ross, at the head of his brigade of the fourth division, and were driven down with great loss.——The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, and in every part in our favour, excepting where one battalion of the 10th Portuguese regiment of Major-General Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give way immediately on the right of Major-General Ross's brigade, the enemy established themselves on our line, and Major-General Ross was obliged to withdraw from his post.——I, however, ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, first that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and next those on the left. Both attacks suc-

ceeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the sixth division having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the fourth, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of our line.——In the course of this contest, the gallant fourth division, which has so frequently been distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet; and the 40th, the 7th, 20th, and 23d, four different times. Their officers set them the example, and Major-General Ross had two horses shot under him. The Portuguese troops likewise behaved admirably; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Spanish regiments del Principe and Pravia.——I had ordered Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to march by Lanz upon Lizasso, as soon as I found that Lieutenant-Generals Sir Thomas Picton and Sir Lowry Cole had moved from Zubiri; and Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, from San Estevan, to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the seventh division came to Marcalain.——The enemy's force which had been in front of Sir Rowland Hill, followed his march, and arrived at Ostiz on the 29th. The enemy, thus reinforced, and occupying a position in the mountains, which appeared little liable to attack, and finding that they could make no impression on our front, determined to endeavour to turn our left by an attack on Sir Rowland Hill's corps.——They reinforced with one division the troops which had been already opposed to him, still occupying the same points in the mountain, on which was formed their principal force, but they drew into their left the troops which occupied the heights opposite the third division, and they had, during the night of the 29th and 30th, occupied in strength the crest of the mountain on our left of the Lanz, opposite to the sixth and seventh divisions; thus connecting their right in their position with the divisions detached to attack Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.——I, however, determined to attack their position, and ordered Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie to possess himself of the top of the mountain in his front, by which the enemy's right would be turned, and Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Picton to cross the heights on which the enemy's left had stood, and to turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. All the arrangements were made to attack the front of the enemy's position, as soon as the effect of these movements on their flanks should begin to appear. Major-General the Honourable Edward Pakenham, whom I had sent to take the command of the sixth division, Major-General Pack having been wounded, turned the village of Sorausen, as soon as the Earl of Dalhousie had driven the enemy from the mountain, by which that flank was defended: and the sixth division, and Major-General Byng's brigade, which had relieved the fourth division on the left of our position on the road to Ostiz, instantly attacked and carried that village.——Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole likewise attacked the front of the enemy's main position with the 7th Cacadores, supported by the 11th Portuguese regiment, the 40th, and the battalion under Colonel Bingham, consisting of the Queen's and 53d regiment. All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops.——In their retreat from this position the enemy lost a great number of prisoners.——I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops throughout these operations. The attack made by Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his Lordship, and executed by Major-General Inglis and the troops composing his brigade; and that by Major-General the Honourable Edward Pakenham and Major-Gen. Byng, and that by Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole; and the movement made by Sir Thos. Picton, merit my highest commendation.——The latter officer co-operated in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left, in which the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Trench was wounded, but I hope not seriously.——While these operations were going on, and in proportion as I observed their success, I detached troops to the support of Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill.——The enemy appeared in his front late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended manœuvre on his left flank, which obliged him to withdraw from the height which he occupied behind the Lizasso to the next range. He there, however, maintained himself, and I enclose his report of the conduct of the troops.——I continued the pursuit of the enemy after their retreat from the mountain to Olaque, where I was at sunset, immediately in the rear of their attack upon Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill. They withdrew from his front in the night, and yesterday took up a

strong position, with two divisions, to cover their rear in the pass of Dona Maria. ——Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill, and the Earl of Dalhousie, attacked and carried the pass, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy and the strength of their position. I am concerned to add, that Lieutenant-General the Honourable William Stewart was wounded upon this occasion.——I enclose Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's report.——In the mean time I moved with Major-General Byng's brigade and the fourth division under Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, by the pass of Velate upon Irurita, in order to turn the enemy's position on Dona Maria. Major-General Byng took, in Elizondo, a large convoy going to the enemy, and made many prisoners.——We have this day continued the pursuit of the enemy in the valley of the Bidassoa, and many prisoners and much baggage have been taken. Major-General Byng has possessed himself of the valley of Bastan, and of the position on the Puerto de Maya, and the army will be this night nearly in the same positions which they occupied on the 25th July.——I trust that H. R. H. the Prince Regent will be satisfied with the conduct of the troops of His Majesty and of his Allies on this occasion. The enemy having been considerably reinforced and re-equipped after their late defeat, made a most formidable attempt to relieve the blockade of Pamplona with the whole of their forces, excepting the reserve under General Villatte, which remained in front of our troops on the great road from Irun.——This attempt has been entirely frustrated by the operations of a part only of the Allied Army, and the enemy have sustained a defeat and suffered a severe loss in both officers and men.——The enemy's expectations of success, beyond the point of raising the blockade of Pamplona, were certainly very sanguine. They brought into Spain a large body of cavalry, and a great number of guns, neither of which arms could be used to any great extent by either party in the battle which took place. They sent off the guns to St. Jean de Pied de Port on the evening of the 28th, which have thus returned to France in safety.—— The detail of the operations will shew your Lordship how much reason I have to be satisfied with the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops. It is impossible to describe the enthusiastic bravery of the fourth division; and I was much indebted to Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole for the manner in which he directed their operations; to Major-General Anson, Major-General Ross, Major-General Byng, and Brigadier-General Campbell, of the Portuguese service. All the officers commanding, and the officers of the regiments, were remarkable for their gallantry; but I particularly observed Lieut.-Colonel O'Toole, of the 7th Cacadores, in the charge upon the enemy, on our left, on the 28th, and Captain Joaquim Telles Jurdao, of the 11th Portuguese regiment, in the attack of the mountain on the 30th.——I beg to draw your Lordship's attention likewise to the valuable assistance I received, throughout these operations, from Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill, from Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, and Sir Thomas Picton, in those of the 30th and 31st of July.—— To the Conde del Abisbal also I am indebted for every assistance it was in his power to give, consistently with his attention to the blockade. I have already mentioned the conduct of the regiments of Pravia and El Principe, belonging to the army of reserve of Andalusia, in a most trying situation; and the whole corps appeared animated by the same zealous spirit which pervaded all the troops in that position.—— Marshal Sir William Beresford was with me throughout these operations, and I received from him all the assistance which his talents so well qualify him to afford me. The good conduct of the Portuguese officers and troops in all the operations of the present campaign, and the spirit which they shew on every occasion, are not less honourable to that nation than they are to the military character of the officer, who, by his judicious measures, has re-established discipline and revived a military spirit in the army.——I have again to draw your Lordship's attention to the valuable assistance I received throughout these operations from the Quarter-Master-General Major-General Murray, and the Adjutant-General Major-General Pakenham, and the officers of those departments respectively; and from Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff.——Although our wounded are numerous, I am happy to say that the cases in general are slight, and I have great pleasure in reporting to your Lordship, that the utmost attention has been paid to them by the Inspector of Hospitals, Dr. M'Gregor, and by the officers of the department under his directions.——Adverting to the extent and nature of our operations, and the difficulties of our communications at times, I have

reason to be extremely well satisfied with the zeal and exertions of Sir Robert Kennedy, the Commissary General, and the officers of his department, throughout the campaign, which upon the whole have been more successful in supplying the troops than could have been expected.——I transmit this dispatch to your Lordship by his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who is perfectly acquainted with all that has passed, and with the situation of the army; and will be able to inform your Lordship of many details relating to this series of operations, for which a dispatch does not afford scope. His Highness had a horse shot under him in the battle near Sorauren on the 28th of July.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

I have omitted to inform your Lordship in the body of the dispatch, that the troops in the Puerto de Maya lost their four Portuguese guns on the 25th of July. Major-General Pringle, who commanded when the attack commenced, had ordered them to retire towards Maya; and when Lieut.-General Stewart came up, he ordered that they might return, and retire by the mountain road to Elizondo. In the mean time the enemy were in possession of the pass, and the communication with that road was lost, and they could not reach it.——I enclose returns of the loss before San Sebastian, from the 7th to the 27th of July; and returns of the killed, wounded, and missing in the operations from the 25th ult. to the 1st inst.

My Lord, *July* 31, 1813.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that, although from the immense superiority of force, which the enemy directed against the position intrusted to my charge, yesterday it became, in my opinion, imperiously necessary for me to retire from that ground: the conduct of the officers and troops, British and Portuguese, was such as to entitle them to my entire approbation, and I could not have wished it to be better.——Major-General Pringle, with Major General Walker's brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel Fitzgerald, of the 60th regiment, supported by the 34th regiment, and 14th Portuguese regiment, opposed the ascent of the enemy to the ridge on the left of the position, in a most gallant style; drove him repeatedly back, and although unable ultimately to prevent him from ascending the ridge, by a more distant movement, our troops kept their ground firmly, and when ordered to retire, performed it under Major-General Pringle, with the greatest regularity, and with small loss, covered by a battalion of the 14th Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donald, of the conduct of which officer, and the steadiness of his regiment, the Major-General speaks in terms of the greatest praise.——Colonel Ashworth's brigade, also attacked in his position by a superior force, met the attack with the greatest steadiness, and drove the enemy before him at the point of the bayonet, and held his ground as long as I thought it prudent for him to do so; and a battalion of Brigadier-General Costa's brigade held the ridge on the right of the position to the last, covering the formation of the troops on the ground they were directed to take up: the enemy attempted to force the point, but were repulsed by Brigadier-General Costa, and finally driven down the ridge at the point of the bayonet by that battalion, a part of Colonel Ashworth's brigade, and a small detachment of the 28th regiment. On the whole, I can assure your Lordship, that the enemy had nothing to boast of, nor was our loss severe, considering the disparity of our forces.——I feel particularly indebted to Major-General Pringle for his conduct on this occasion, as well as to Colonel Ashworth, Colonel O'Callaghan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, 60th foot, commanding brigades under him, and also to Lieut.-General the Conde d'Amarante, and Brigadier-General Costa, who was wounded.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ROWLAND HILL.

To Field-Marshal Marquis of Wellington, K. G.

P. S. I must not omit to mention the services of Colonel Pampluna and Lieutenant-Colonel Pyn, 18th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Grant and Major Mitchell, commanding the 6th of the line and 6th Portuguese in Colonel Ashworth's brigade.

Elizondo, August 1, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that, in compliance with the instructions I received through Major-General Murray, I proceeded yesterday with the column under my orders, on the road to Donna Maria. On our arrival at the foot of the pass, we found the enemy ascending the hill in great haste, and closely pressed by the 7th division, moving by a road parallel and to the right

of that which my column was on. The rear of the enemy's column having began to ascend the hills before our arrival, it was impossible to cut off any part of it. It was, however, considerably annoyed on its march by one nine-pounder and a howitzer. I immediately ordered the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General Stewart, to ascend the hill by the road we were on, whilst the Earl of Dalhousie's column ascended by one more to the right. The enemy took up a strong position at the top of the pass, with a cloud of skirmishers in the front. ——The attack on our side was led by Lieutenant-General Stewart, with Major-General Walker's brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald of the 60th, who forced back the enemy's skirmishers to the summit of the hill; but coming upon their main body, found them so numerous and so strongly posted, that Lieutenant-General Stewart was induced to withdraw them until the seventh division should be in closer co-operation with him. About this time the Lieutenant-General was wounded, and the command of the division devolved upon Major-General Pringle, who, with his own brigade, commanded by Colonel O'Callaghan, renewed the attack on our side, whilst the seventh division pressed them on the other, and both divisions gained the height about the same time, the enemy retiring, after sustaining a very considerable loss. The conduct of Lieutenant-General Stewart, Major-General Pringle, and of the officers and troops in general, was conspicuously good, and I regret that the very thick fog prevented our taking that advantage of the situation of the enemy which it might otherwise have done. A part of each division pursued them some distance down the hill, and occasioned them a considerable loss. Having thus far performed your Lordship's instructions, I withdrew my column from the pass, and moved it upon Almandoz. —— Major-General Pringle praises the conduct of Captain Heise and Captain Thorn, on this occasion; and I believe it is the intention of Lieutenant-General Stewart to report the good conduct of some other officers, but his wound has probably delayed it.——I have, &c.

(Signed) ROWLAND HILL,
Lieut.-General.

Lezaca, 4th August, 1813.

My Lord,—The Prince of Orange having been detained till this day for the returns, I have to inform your Lordship that the enemy still continued posted in the morning of the 2d with a force of two divisions on the Puerto de Echalar, and nearly the whole army behind the Puerto, when the 4th, 7th, and light divisions advanced by the valley of the Bidassoa to the frontier, and I had determined to dislodge them by a combined attack and movement of the three divisions.——The seventh division, however, having crossed the mountains from Sumbilla, and having necessarily preceded the arrival of the fourth, Major-General Barnes' brigade was formed for the attack, and advanced, before the fourth and light divisions could co-operate, with a regularity and gallantry which I have seldom seen equalled, and actually drove the two divisions of the enemy, notwithstanding the resistance opposed to them, from those formidable heights. It is impossible that I can extol too highly the conduct of Major General Barnes, and these brave troops, which was the admiration of all who were witnesses of it.——Major-General Kempt's brigade of the Light Division, likewise drove a very considerable force from the rock which forms the left of the Puerto.——There is now no enemy in the field, within this part of the Spanish frontier.——I have the honour to enclose Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham's report of the assault of St. Sebastian.——While the troops were engaged in the neighbourhood of Pamplona, as reported in my dispatch of the 1st instant, Brigadier-General Longa occupied with his division this part of the Bidassoa, including the town of Vera. That part of the enemy's army which had been left in observation of the allied troops on the great road from Irun, attacked him on the 28th; but were repulsed with considerable loss. ——I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of these troops on all occasions; and likewise of a battalion of Spanish Cacadores, in General Barcena's division of the Gallician army, which had been sent to the bridge of Yansi, on the enemy's retreat on the 1st instant, which it held against very superior numbers during a great part of the day.——Nothing of importance has occurred in Arragon since my dispatch of the 19th July.——I have a report from Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, from Binaroz on the 21st July; and he was making preparations to cross the Ebro.——I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

P. S. I enclose a return of the killed and

wounded in the attack of the enemy's position on the 2d inst.

Ernani, July 27, 1813.

My Lord,—The attack of the breach in the line wall on the left flank of San Sebastian's, took place on the morning of the 25th, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after daylight. I am sorry to say, that notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom did force their way into the town, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way, and from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the assault.——The loss sustained was therefore severe, especially by the third battalion Royal Scots, the leading one of Major-General Hay's brigade, which being on duty in the trenches, formed the column of attack. Major-General Spry's Portuguese brigade, that of Major-General Robinson, and the 4th Cacadores of Brigadier-General Wilson's being in reserve in the trenches; the whole under the direction of Major-General Oswald, commanding the 5th division.——Though this attack has failed, it would be great injustice not to assure your Lordship, that the troops conducted themselves with their usual gallantry, and only retired, when I thought a further perseverance in the attack would have occasioned a useless sacrifice of brave men. Major-General Hay, Major Frazer, Colonel the Honourable C. F. Greville, and Colonel Cameron, commanding the royal Scotch, 38th and 9th regiments, greatly distinguished themselves. Major Frazer lost his life on the breach, with many of his brave comrades.——The conduct throughout the whole of the operations of the siege hitherto, of the officers and men of the royal artillery and engineers, never was exceeded in indefatigable zeal, activity, and gallantry; and I beg to mention, particularly to your Lordship, Lieutenant-Colonels Dickson, Frazer, and May, and Major Webber Smyth, of the royal artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Fletcher, Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne, and Majors Ellicombe, and C. F. Smith, of the royal engineers.——The three officers of this corps, employed to conduct different parts of the columns of attack, behaved admirably, but suffered severely. Captain Lewis has lost his leg, Lieutenant Jones was wounded in the breach, and taken; and Lieutenant Machell, after his return, was killed in the trenches.——I beg to recommend to your Lordship, Lieutenant Campbell, of the 9th, who led the forlorn hope, and who was severely wounded on the breach. I have the greatest satisfaction too in assuring your Lordship of the most cordial support and assistance, afforded by Sir George Collier, commanding His Majesty's ships on this coast, and of all the Officers and Seamen of the squadron employed on shore.——No exertion that could be afforded was wanting, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson has represented to me, in the strongest terms, the steady and gallant conduct of a detachment of seamen in the batteries, under the command of Lieutenant O'Reilly (first Lieutenant of His Majesty's ship Surveillante), and of their exemplary behaviour while on shore. I beg too, to mention Mr. Digby Marsh, master's mate, acting as Lieutenant in the batteries, after Lieutenant Dunlop was severely wounded.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Graham.

To Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G.

Abstract of the Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, at the Siege of St. Sebastian, from the 7th to the 20th July* 1813, *inclusive.

Total British Loss—1 Captain, 1 Staff, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 1 drummer, 107 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 Captain, 48 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 10 serjeants, 3 drummers, 144 rank and file, wounded.

Grand Total—2 Captains, 1 Staff, 59 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Captains. 7 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 19 serjeants, 4 drummers, 251 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

(Signed) E. Pakenham, Adj.-Gen.

Abstract of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, at the Siege of St. Sebastian, from the 21st to the 27th July* 1813, *inclusive.

Total British Loss—1 Major, 1 Captain, 5 Lieutenants, 1 Staff, 4 serjeants, 85 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 11 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 5 Ensigns, 2 Staff, 12 serjeants, 272 rank and file, wounded, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 4 serjeants, 145 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—2 serjeants, 40 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Staff, 3 serjeants, 169 rank and file, wounded; 1 Captain, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 140 rank and file, missing.

Grand Total—1 Major, 1 Captain, 5 Lieute-

nants, 1 Staff, 9 serjeants, 125 rank and file, killed; 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 14 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 15 serjeants, 441 rank and file, wounded; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 285 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) E. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Abstract of Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Allied Army under the Command of Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy from the 25th to the 28th July, 1813, inclusive.

Total British Loss—1 Major, 7 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 30 serjeants, 2 drummers, 324 rank and file, killed; 1 General Staff, 7 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9 Majors, 31 Captains, 78 Lieutenants, 24 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 105 serjeants, 5 drummers, 2,192 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded; 5 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 10 serjeants, 7 drummers, 373 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 Ensigns, 4 serjeants, 157 rank and file, killed; 5 Lieutenant-Colonels, 4 Majors, 13 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 41 serjeants, 6 drummers, 825 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 48 rank and file, missing.

Total Spanish Loss—26 rank and file, killed; 12 Officers, 155 rank and file, wounded; 11 rank and file, missing.

Grand Total—2 Majors, 9 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 5 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 34 serjeants, 2 drummers, 507 rank and file, killed; 1 General Staff, 12 Lieutenant-Colonels, 13 Majors, 44 Captains, 81 Lieutenants, 36 Ensigns, 12 Spanish Officers, 6 Staff, 146 serjeants, 11 drummers, 3,172 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded; 5 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 12 serjeants, 7 drummers, 432 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

(Signed) E. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing from the 25th to the 28th of July, inclusive.

British Officers killed.

25th July.

7th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Knowles.—20th Ditto. Adj. Buest.—28th Ditto, 1st Batt. Ensign Delmar.—34th Ditto, 2d Batt. Adj. Day. —39th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieuts. Lord and Williams.—50th Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Rudkin, and Lieuts. Birchall and Deighton.—60th Ditto, 5th Batt. Lieuts. Von Dahlmon and Joyce.—71st Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieuts. Duff and Roberts.

26th July.

40th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Malone.

28th July.

Staff. Major Roverea, Aid-de-Camp to Lieut.-Gen. Sir L. Cole.—King's German Legion, 1st Line Batt. Capt. Avenant.—7th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Fernie.—20th Ditto. Capt. M'Kenzie.—23d Ditto, 1st Batt. Captains Stainforth and Walker, Volunteer Barnett.—27th Ditto, 3d Batt. Capt. Whyte, Adj. Burne.—40th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Galway.—48th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Lima, Ensign Parsons.

Portuguese Officers killed.

4th Regt. of the Line. Capt. Lucas G. Pailha. —10th Ditto. Major Clandide Victoria, Capt. Antonio Francisco Fracaes.—11th Ditto. Ensign Lorenzo J. Alvez.—7th Cacadores. Ensign Coust. de Sonsa Girav.—10th Ditto. Ensign Versaisliac A. Taverez.

British Officers wounded.

25th July.

General Staff. Lieut.-Gen. the Honourable W. Stewart, severely; Capt. Stewart, Brigade-Major, ditto.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Gomm, ditto; Ensign Radcliffe, slightly.—20th Ditto. Lieut.-Col. Wallace, ditto; Major Bent, ditto; Lieuts. Champigny, Crockatt, Walker, and Smith; Ensigns Thompson and Oakley, ditto.—23d Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Booker, Lieuts. G. Browne, Flaherty, and Ledwith, slightly.—28th Ditto, 1st Batt. Captains Bradley, and Meachem, Lieuts. Tomlinson, Crammer, and Gordon, Ensign Hill, slightly.—34th Ditto, 2d Batt. Lieut.-Col. Fenwick, Lieut. Barron, severely; ——Simmons, Ensign Pickett, slightly.—39th Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Jones, Lieuts. Hart, Cox, and Scanlan, Ensigns Poe and Rhodes, severely; Ensign Courtenay, slightly.—50th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. Hill, Capt. Grant, severely; Capt. North, Lieuts. Nowlan and M'Donnel, slightly; Lieuts. Jones and Paterson, severely; Ensigns Collins, Bateman, and White, ditto.—71st Ditto, 1st Batt. Major M'Kenzie, ditto; Capt. Grant, Lieut. Parke, slightly; Lieuts. Packe, and Peacocke, severely.—82d Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. Grant, slightly; Capt. Firman, severely; Capt. Marshall, and Ensign Lacey, slightly.—92d Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. J. Cameron; Majors Mitchell, and Macpherson; Capt. Holmes, M'Donald, and Brevan; Lieuts. Fyfe, Macpherson, Chisholme, D. M'Donald, Dwire, Ross, Winchester, Gordon, Grant, and A. Macdonald, slightly; Ensigns F. Mitchell, G. Mitchell, and Kennedy, ditto.—Brunswick Oels. Captains Proestler, and Braxein, ditto; Lieut. Gresheim (2), severely.

26th July.

27th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieut. Crawford, severely, since dead; Ensign Byrne, slightly.—40th Ditto, 1st Batt. Captains Heyland, and Bowen, severely; Capt. Phillips, slightly; Lieuts. Kelly, and Thoreau, ditto.—48th Ditto, 1st Batt. Major Wilson (Lieut.-Col.), severely; Captain Thwaites, ditto.—53d Ditto, 2d Batt. Lieut. Frazer, ditto.—60th Ditto, 5th Batt. Ensign C. Martin, ditto.

28th July.

General Staff. Lieut.-Col. the Hon. A. Gordon, Aid de-Camp to the Commander of the Forces, severely; Lieut.-Col. Waters, A. A. G. slightly. —2d, or Queen's. Lieut. Hutton, severely.—7th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Despard; Capts. Crowder, Orr, Hamerton, and Wemyss; Lieuts. Logan, Fraser, Nunn, King, and Garratt, ditto. —11th Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Wrenn; Lieuts. Moore and Christian, ditto, Lieut. Daniel, slightly.—20th Ditto. Capt. Jackson, severely, Capt. Murray, slightly; Lieuts. Bainbrigge and Lewis, severely; Lieut. Connor, slightly.—23d Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Nevil, severely; Lieut. Brice and Harris, slightly; Adj. M'Lellan, severely.—27th Ditto, 3d Batt. Capt. Hamilton, slightly; Lieuts. Pratt, Pollock, Hanby, and Drew, severely; Ensign Radcliffe, severely; Ensign Ovens, slightly; Ensign Clunes, severely; Surgeon Wray, slightly.—31st Ditto, 2d Batt. Quarter-Master M'Intosh, ditto.—32d Ditto, 1st Batt. Major Wood (Lieut.-Col.), severely; Volunteer Lloyd, slightly.—36th Ditto. Lieut. Smith, severely; Ensign Skerry, slightly. —40th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieuts. Glynn, O'Dogherty, and Carter, ditto; Ensign Smith, severely.—48th Ditto, 1st Batt. Major White and

and Capt. Wood, ditto; Lieuts. Cuthbertson, Duke, Robinson, Vandermeulen, and Pountney, ditto; Lieut. Johnston, slightly.—57th Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Burrows, ditto; Lieut. Price, and Volunteer Campbell, severely.—61st Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Charlton and Lieut. O'Kearney, slightly; Volunteer Leebody, severely.—79th Ditto, 1st Batt. Volunteer Kynock, ditto.—91st Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Lowrie, ditto; Lieut. R. Stewart, slightly, Lieut. A Maclean, severely; Lieut. Marshall, slightly; Ensigns M'Farlain and J. Omarston, ditto.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

4th Reg. Line. Lieut.-Col. A. W. Campbell, severely; Major A. S. Almeida Figeira, slightly; Capt. L. de Limos Vasconallos, severely; Capt. Pedro Jose Fedrico and Lieut. A. Campbell, slightly; Lieuts. B. M. de Rosa and L. M. de Rosa, severely; Ensigns E. F. S. Sardinna, slightly; D. A. de S. Aranjo, D. J. A. de Nunka, and Adjutant Jose Pedro de Rey, severely. —10th Line. Major G. P. de Faria, Adjutant Jona de Santos, Lieutenants J. Gaulbert, and Pedro Pinto, slightly; Captains Manuel A. de Serra, Joachim M. Fonseca, severely; Lieut. Manuel M. Gerao, and Ensign Joas J. M. de Arango, severely; Captains A. de St. Valente, Anselmo Xavier, D'Antonio Silviera, and Joas Rodarte, severely.—12th Line. Col. P. L. Measurier, Major L. Arnot, Captains W. H. Thornton, and J. R. C. de Alpoim, Adj. Manuel Jose Cona, severely.—23d Line. Captains Giron Freire and Thomas Antonio, severely; R. Steiger and F. Jose Perreira, slightly; Lieutenants P. Antonio Robacho, Felix Jose Freire, Ensigns Jose D'Almeida, Antonio Cardoza, severely.—7th Cacadores. Lieut.-Col. Brien O'Toole, severely; Capt. Joas Pais de Sande, slightly; Capt. F. de Paolo Rosado, Ensign F. Diego Louzaido, severely.—10th Cacadores. Lieut.-Col. R. Armstrong, Major I. W. Green, Capts. Anselmeo, J. de Gueiros, and Jose Rodrigues de Linea, severely; Lieut. J. Horatio Rolear, slightly.

British Officer missing.

7th Foot. Capt. Tarleton.

Abstract of Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy on the 30th of July, 1813.

Total British Loss—1 Major, 2 Captains, 6 serjeants, 72 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 1 General Staff, 1 Lieut.-Col., 3 Majors, 9 Captains, 18 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 32 serjeants, 4 drummers, 394 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded; 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 52 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 Major, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Staff, 8 serjeants, 130 rank and file, killed; 1 General Staff, 1 Colonel, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, 8 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 17 Ensigns, 31 serjeants, 8 drummers, 760 rank and file, wounded; 135 rank and file, missing.

Grand Total—2 Majors, 3 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Staff, 14 serjeants, 202 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 2 General Staff, 1 Colonel, 5 Lieutenant-Colonels, 8 Majors, 17 Captains, 26 Lieutenants, 21 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 63 serjeants, 12 drummers, 1154 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded; 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 187 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers Killed, Wounded, or Missing, July 30.

British Officers Killed.

68th Foot. Major Crespigny.—74th Ditto. Capt. Whitting.—Chass. Brit. Capt. Tournefort.

British Officers Wounded.

Gen. Staff. Major-Gen. Pack, slightly.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Sandys, ditto.—32d Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Toole, severely; Lieut. Ross Lewyn, slightly.—34th Ditto, 1st Batt Ensign Orrall, severely.—36th Ditto, 1st Batt Lieut. Charles, slightly.—40th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Foulks, ditto.—45th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Humfrey, severely.—50th Ditto, 1st Batt. Ensign Sawkins, and Adj. Myles, slightly.—60th Ditto, 5th Batt. Adjutant Kent, ditto.—61st Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. M'Lean, ditto; and Lieut. Wolfe, severely.—68th Ditto. Capt. Irvin, ditto; and Ensign O'Connel, ditto (arm amp.); Lieut. Leith, slightly.—71st Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Walker, severely.—74th Ditto, 1st Batt. Brevet-Major Moore, Lieuts. Pattison and Duncombe, ditto; Lieut. Tew, slightly.—82d Ditto. Lieut.-Col. Grant, and Major Fitzgerald, severely.—82d Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieuts. M'Kay, Boyde, Wood, and Ensign Mason, ditto; Adj. Holdsworth, slightly.—91st Ditto, 1st Batt. Major M'Niel, severely.—92d Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Holmes, ditto.—Chass. Brit. Major Combre Lont, slightly; Captains Brem, severely; Treuller, slightly; Saulx, severely; Lieutenants Dufrig, slightly; Sunhary, severely; St. Columba, slightly; Servais, severely; Adj. Bosingault, ditto.

British Officers missing.

50th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Bartly and Lieut. Power.

Portuguese Officers killed.

2d Reg. of the Line. Major Lourenzo Martinho Pegado and Capt. M'Gibbon.—14th Ditto. Adj. Jose Maria Cabresro.—23d Ditto. Lieut. Christoova de Souza a Abinho.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

General Staff. Br. Hippolitall de Costa, severely.—2d Regt. Line. Lieut.-Col. Joa Telles de Menezes, Major Robert Ray, and Lieut. Frs. Rebello de Moira, slightly; Lieut. Jove Nepomuno da Ataede, dangerously; Ensigns Frs. de Paulia Gahrita, slightly; Bents Jose Taveres, severely; Avini Pompeo Correia, slightly; Ensign Fr. Jos. Furtodo, severely.—6th Ditto. Lieut.-Col. Max Grant, and Capt. Joa, Iraquazon, slightly; Capt. John Sutherland, severely; Lieuts. Joa Maria Periera, and Man, Joze Ainha, slightly; Ensigns Ant. Iraquion de Mendouca and Joze de Souza Pinto, severely.—11th Ditto. Ensign Lucas Maximo, ditto.—14th Ditto. Lieut.-Col. J. Macdonald, and Major F.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

QUEEN'S SPEECH.——In my last, at page 232, I inserted the Speech said to have been made by the Queen, at the Military College, on Bagshot Heath, on which I made some remarks, as far as related to a passage, in which Her Majesty is reported to have said, that the persons educated at this College, would there imbibe a just regard and reverence for our *laws and constitution.*——There were other points in the Speech, which points I then passed over in silence; but which I think proper to notice here.——I may be somewhat singular in my opinion, but, at the risk of a charge of singularity, I cannot refrain from saying, that I regard this establishment as an object worthy of great public attention; and, therefore, a Speech, the effect of which must be to give countenance to this establishment; to give it an air of fashion, as being a favourite object with the Queen personally; a Speech, having this as its natural tendency, must merit the attention of every one, who has any sincere regard for the freedom of the country.——At the reading of this last sentence, some, I know, will turn aside, and say, "Pshaw! it is not "about the *freedom* of the country that we "are thinking now: it is about its *safety*, "and to ensure that safety, such establish-"ments are necessary."——Reader, is not this the way of thinking of almost all the persons that you converse with?——And, has not this been the way of thinking of almost every nation in the world, that has once been free and that has lost its freedom? Was there ever a nation in the world that entertained such an opinion for any length of time, and that was not finally enslaved?——In order to come to something like a rational conclusion, with regard to this opinion, let us first inquire, what *national safety* means, since it is of this safety, as it seems, that we are now to think, in preference to every thing else. The great constitutional laws of England are decidedly hostile to the support of any standing military force at all. The law requires that this force should be liable to be disbanded at the end of every year. To employ foreign troops, and especially foreign officers, is strongly provided against. Within these few years, the law has been so altered as to permit the King to employ foreign troops and foreign officers. We have seen German officers commanding even English troops in the heart of the country, and have seen one of them, at least, *reviewing* English regiments, and even *militia* regiments, commanded, of course, by English gentlemen! We have seen, and we still see, barracks erected all over the kingdom: we see a continual shifting backward and forward of the troops; we see English militia-men sent to Ireland, and Irish militia-men brought to England; we see, in short, a military parade and array, in whatever direction we turn our eyes.——What a change from the former state of England! What a spectacle for a reflecting Englishman to behold! How different from that state, which justified the eulogiums which Voltaire pronounced upon our government, when, amongst other things, he said, "here there is no force; *here*," meaning in England, "there is no *force*, but the force "of the *law*!" And I remember an expression of DE LOLME, at which, I remember, too, I was very much displeased, about five-and-twenty years ago, when I was very proud of my silver-hilted sword and laced scarlet coat. It was this, or to this amount: that in this happy country the bayonet was despised, while a crowd felt itself instantly subdued at the sight of the constable's staff.——There is no man, be he of what party he may, unless, indeed, he be really an enemy to the freedom of the country, who must not lament, that this great change has taken place.——Some men may think the change necessary. They may think, that without all this military force, the country would be in a worse state than it now is. They may think, that, though a great evil in itself, this military system prevents a still greater evil. There may be, too, honest differences of opinion as to the cause of this necessity. But, I am persuaded, that there is no man who has not a particular interest in the existence of this military

system, who is not sorry for the change: who does not lament that the change has taken place.——If this be the feeling of sensible Englishmen who love their country, it must appear to such men, that the Queen was not very well advised when she chose to express her peculiar satisfaction at witnessing the existence of a Military College in the heart of England, and when she took occasion to compliment the King as the founder of the institution. It appears to me, that, in place of exultation upon such an occasion, the language of lamentation at the necessity of such an establishment would have better become the lips of Her Majesty. I do not see, for my part, any good reason at all for the exhibition, in which the Queen was advised to act so conspicuous a part; but, if she must make a speech to this Military College, it seems to me, that great care ought to have been taken to avoid every thing like an expression of satisfaction at the existence of a permanent military school in England, where the whole tenor of the laws is so decidedly hostile to the existence of any species of standing military force.——If a speech was to be made, I lament that Her Majesty was not advised (for it is but just to suppose, that she acted under the advice of others upon this occasion) to remind the persons whom she addressed, that, according to the laws of England, the military ought always to be considered as subject to the civil power; that, so hostile is the spirit of our laws to the idea of a standing military force, that the pay of the soldier, and that the expenses of even this College, are voted annually by the parliament; and that if a parliament were to refuse to pass such vote, the whole army, and this College, and all that appertains to the army, would be, at once, disbanded, and cease to have any legal existence. It seems to me, that these were things of which Her Majesty might very properly have reminded the youths, who she was so kind as to say were objects of her maternal solicitude. The Speech, as it now stands, unmixed with any cautions of this sort, appears to me to be calculated to puff these boys up with an idea of their consequence, as belonging to a profession distinct from the mass of society; an idea that may, at some time or other, lead to very mischievous effects.——Let us now return to the question which I before put; namely, what *national safety* means? since it is of this safety, as it seems, that we are now to think, in preference to every thing else. Upon this point, people in general appear to me to have very confused notions. They seem to be *afraid of something*. But, if you question them home, very few can tell you *what it is that they are afraid of*.——They scorn to feel (or, at least, to acknowledge) any fear of Buonaparté. He, according to the account of all the friends of the military system, is now become an object of contempt, rather than of dread. He has been compelled, they tell us, to run away; he has been covered with disgrace; his laurels (the small sprigs that he had) have been snatched from his brow by the Russians; his favourite General has been "conquer-"ed," as they term it, by "England's "hero" in Spain; the people of France are so decidedly hostile to him, that nothing but the army prevents an open revolt. Under these circumstances, it would be an insult to the common sense of the people of England to suppose that they could be afraid of Buonaparté.——What, then, is it, that they are afraid of? Not of the Americans, to be sure, whose towns we are demolishing, and whose people, as we are told, we have frightened out of their senses. ——What, then, is it, that these friends of the military system are afraid of? What is it, in order to ensure safety against which barracks and military schools are necessary? ——Is it Jacobinism? Is it rebellion? Oh! fie! No, no! For these same friends of the military system; these same persons who tell us that this change is necessary; that foreign troops, barracks, and military schools, and depots; those who insist that all these are necessary, tell us that the Jacobins, or reformers (for they use the term synonymously), are a low, despicable, degraded crew; that they have no influence over the minds of the people; that the people despise those who disapprove of the present system of rule; that the people love this system; that they are the most loyal people in the world; and that their devotion to the King and all his Royal family is equal, pretty nearly, to the hatred which the people of France bear towards Buonaparté and his race.——Do they not tell us this, reader? And if this which they tell us be true, is it possible that they can be *afraid* of the effects of the machinations of the Jacobins, or Reformers, those two words, you will observe, always meaning the same thing?——If, then, Buonaparté be fallen, and the people of England have nothing to fear from him; if the foreign enemy, as well as the domestic foe, be objects of contempt; if we have nothing to

fear either from without or from within; if we are all thus safe and sound, from the skin to the core; if this be the case, and the friends of the system assure us that this is the case, is it too much, Reader, for us to require of them to point out to us *specifically*, not vaguely, not in loose, indefinite, general terms, but *specifically*, whence arises that *necessity*, of which they are eternally talking, of this huge military force, and of all these depots, barracks, and military schools; of all these shiftings of the troops, of all these marchings and counter-marchings, from town to town, from barrack to barrack, from county to county, and from one side of St. George's Channel to the other?——Now, Reader, I beg you to observe well, that I do not say, that all this military establishment, parade, and array; I do not say, that this new system is not necessary; that is not a point which I need insist upon. But, this I say, that nothing but necessity, and an obvious necessity, too, can justify this departure from the former system of the country, and, that it is incumbent upon the friends of this new system to show us, that is, I mean, *prove* to us, that such necessity does exist. ——They have never yet, that I have heard of, given us any such proof. They have given us assertion, till we are tired of the sound; but never have they, at any time, produced any thing in the shape of proof.——If, indeed, they were to allege, that the monstrously increased power of France had put our existence, as an independent nation, in peril; if they were to allege, that this country was reduced to a state of jeopardy by the conquests of the enemy; or if they were to allege, that great discontent prevailed in the country, and that a large military force was necessary to preserve internal tranquillity.—If they were to make these allegations, their conduct, or, at least, their professed opinions, would be consistent and reasonable. I should be inclined to dispute the premises with them, to be sure; but, they now save me the trouble of any dispute about facts, and furnish me with the means of drawing from their own reiterated premises a conclusion, a fair and legitimate conclusion, against themselves.——The truth is, that they are in a dilemma. They maintain the necessity of the military system; and, I suppose they do it for reasons quite satisfactory to themselves. But, to shew the necessity of the system would not be quite convenient; because it would be impossible to make out such necessity without alleging, and, indeed, without proving, that the country has something to apprehend; that it has something to *fear;* that it is in some sort of *danger*, either from without or from within.——This proof would, perhaps, not be very easy to produce; and, what is worse for them, if they did succeed in producing it, they would not only belie all that they have said about the weakness of the enemy, and about the loyalty of the people of England; but, they would give to us, who have disapproved of the system of politics and of war which has been pursued for many years past; they would give to us a full and complete right to retort upon them, and to demand at their hands what has been the *cause* of this *danger* to the country.——They have told us, during all this number of years, that the measures which we disapproved of were wise and just; and that we were either traitors or fools for setting ourselves in opposition to those measures. For more than twenty years past, there has been no man, who has taken a sincere part openly in opposition to the measures of the Government, who has not been stigmatized as a Jacobin. This fact is notorious. It is notorious also, that the measures adopted have been the very reverse of those recommended by the Jacobins, who predicted danger to the country from the measures pursued by the Government. For the friends of the present system, therefore, to acknowledge, that the country has any thing to *fear;* for them to acknowledge, that the country is in danger, either from without or from within, would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of their own injustice or folly; and yet to this acknowledgment they must come, or how are they to make out the *necessity;* how are they to muster up impudence sufficient to look the public in the face, and to tell them, that the situation of England is now become such, as, in order to ensure her *safety*, to require a large army kept on foot in the country, together with depots, barracks, and military schools, where the persons intended for commissions in the army are kept apart from the other youth of the country? How are they, I say, to muster up impudence sufficient to look the public in the face and make this assertion?——These remarks have suggested themselves to my mind, as being, not only proper, but necessary to be made upon this occasion. I have the same opinion with respect to those which I am now about to offer; but which I shall offer with more reluctance, because they may appear to savour too much

of a personal nature.——I regret that Her Majesty should have been advised to have pronounced any public eulogium on the public acts or conduct of either the King, the Prince Regent, or the Duke of York. This having been done, however, it is clear that every one who chooses is at perfect liberty to examine into *the justice of that eulogium.*——If this were denied; if one might not freely enter into such examination, base, indeed, would be the pander, who should pretend, that any thing resembling the *liberty of the press* remained in this country. If publications like that before me were to be shielded by the law from free examination; from a canvassing of its facts; from a discussion of the correctness of its sentiments, what a miserable, what an abandoned wretch must that be, who would still have the audacity to say, that Englishmen enjoyed the liberty of the press?——It should always be considered by those who pronounce public eulogiums, that they give a fair right to any one of that public to inquire publicly into the truth of what is asserted. If this were not the case, an eulogium must, of course, pass for nothing; or, at least, it must be a subject of supreme ridicule with every one who knew how to put a proper value upon it.——With this preface I shall take the liberty to inquire a little into the correctness of Her Majesty's eulogium upon the King. And here, I must beg the reader to observe, that I attribute the acts of the King to his Ministers, passed and present; that I have full in my mind the doctrine of the constitution, that the King can *do no wrong.* I, therefore, ascribe no wrong to him; and, it is because I consider him as irresponsible and his Ministers as responsible, that I now question the justice of the eulogium pronounced by Her Majesty upon the public acts of the King's reign.——The Speech says this: "that through the course of a "long and virtuous reign, the King's fos-"tering and protecting hand has been ex-"tended to every object of national honour "and utility."——This praise, for the reasons above named, I must consider as bestowed, in fact, upon the successive Ministers of the King, and not upon the King himself; because the constitution always considers him as acting under advice, and under the advice, too, of persons whose lives are responsible for the advice which they give him.——With regard to the King's domestic virtues; with regard to his virtues as a mere man; as a husband, as a father, as a son, as a brother, as a master towards his servants: of these I *know* nothing; but, like others, I have heard a very good account of them. At any rate, I have nothing to do with them. A King is the better for being virtuous as a private man; but history informs us, that kings may be very good fathers and husbands, and yet most intolerable tyrants towards their subjects; and, on the contrary, that they may be very loose in their domestic morals, and at the same time, most excellent kings.——We will, therefore, give His Majesty, as I dare say is his due, full credit for the possession of every domestic virtue; and we will ascribe to him no wrong as a King; but, I for one will not allow the acts of his *reign*, that is to say, the acts of his several Ministers, to be praised in print without giving my reasons why I think, that that praise is not just.——If Her Majesty had said, that the King had done so and so through the course of a long and virtuous *life*, I should have been no more disposed to question the virtue than I am disposed to question the length of the life; but Her Majesty having been advised to speak of the virtue of the *reign*, I must look upon her eulogium as extending itself to all the acts of that reign, which acts, the reader will bear in mind, are to be looked upon as the acts of the advisers of the King, and not as the acts of the King himself.——With this distinction clearly before me, I have no hesitation to say, that this has been a most unfortunate reign; that, under the successive advice of Bute, North, Pitt, and Perceval, His Majesty saw greater misfortunes brought upon England, than, for ages, she had experienced; that, soon after the reign commenced, that contest began, which ended in the loss of those colonies, which are now become a formidable enemy upon the ocean, and under the flag of which English ships of war have been led captive into those very ports which formerly made part of His Majesty's dominions. The loss of America was accompanied with an enormous addition to the debt and taxes of England. These, however, have been augmented to a degree almost beyond the comprehension of an ordinary mind by the war with France, began twenty-one years ago, and, from a passage in Her Majesty's Speech, supposed not to be yet arrived nearly at its close. When the King ascended the throne, the national debt amounted to a hundred and forty-six millions; it has now arrived at nearly nine hundred millions. The taxes collected during the year when he came to the throne amounted to about eight

millions; they now amount annually to about seventy millions.——These facts are not to be denied, and they speak in a language not to be misunderstood or misrepresented.——When the King came to the throne, France was not only confined within her ancient boundaries, but was so crippled as to promise us long uninterrupted repose. What is she *now?* It is useless to answer me with railings against Buonaparté and against Jacobins and levellers. All this balderdash amounts to nothing. It was the business of the King's ministers successively to maintain the relative superiority which England possessed at the beginning of the reign. Have they done this? Is France, compared with England, what she was when the King mounted the throne? And what is England now, compared with herself, to what she was then? Look at her *statute book;* for there it is that you must read her *true history;* there it is that you must look, in order to know whether the reign has been happy or otherwise. When the King came to the throne, the expense of maintaining the paupers in England and Wales, was not, I believe, a tenth part of what it now is; and I believe, that the number of persons tried annually for felony, was not a fortieth part of what it now is. I have not the account now before me, but I am convinced, from what I recollect, that I am correct in what I say.——I shall now conclude by expressing a hope, that when Her Majesty has another Speech to make, her advisers will be more cautious, not only in the selection of the topics, but also in the mode of expression; for I must say, that of all the Speeches I ever read, this appears to have been prepared with the smallest proportion of sound judgment.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 24*th August*, 1813.

MR. FORDHAM'S SECOND LETTER.

MR. COBBETT,—The contents of your last Register excited my attention. And, first, as to the letter of R. F. at Marden; why is not this writer's name in full length? I am a great man for names as well as yourself, Mr. Cobbett. Tranquillus, Gulielmus, and such fine words, frighten us country folks; we are afraid that some pretender or infidel lies concealed under the mask. But to return to R. F. 1st, He says, "that no right exists in any one to "take the tithe of another."—Pray let him explain the word "*right;*" it will save the writing of volumes, and may serve to show what claim we have to any property whatever: I am truly desirous to see this explanation. 2d, He says, "It has been "the subject of dispute time immemorial." —What then? any subject may easily be disputed. 3d, "The Church is no part "of the Constitution."—Here again we require explanation. What is the Constitution?—a code of laws?—then the laws that relate to the Church are a part of the Constitution. I presume it should be said, that the Church (or system of faith) *ought not* to be any part of a Constitution. Your remarks upon Mr. Wm. Smith, show excellent discrimination; and you and I will never disagree about that liberty, which Milton asked for, "the liberty of freely "expressing our thoughts." If religion cannot bear the attacks of argument, or ridicule, let it perish. As to railing and blasphemy: what one calls railing, another calls reasoning; what one calls blasphemy, another calls the pure word of God. What, for example, is more truly blasphemous, in *one*'s opinion, than the impregnation of a virgin by the Deity? what more blasphemous than that on the Trinity?—Yet, in the opinion *of others*, these constitute an essential part of the pure faith. I say of opinions, what a certain merchant said to the French Minister: "Let them alone: he who knows the na"ture and immutability of truth, does not "fear the freedom of discussion." And now, give me leave, to make a few remarks on some passages in your writings. You shall not find me to be one of the timid; what I dare think to be right, I dare to express: I detest every species of deceit and hypocrisy; and will never, while I breathe, express a sentiment which I do not sincerely believe. In the course of your writings on the Trinity, you often speak of the religion of the established Church as being the same with the religion of Jesus Christ. Here is your error in common with thousands of others. You may as well, at once, say, night is day; for these are not more *opposite* than those. Will you, Sir, permit the gross abuses of the Constitution of England to be called the true principles of liberty? Neither will I permit the corruptions of interested men to be called the religion of Jesus Christ. Let religion be treated with the same fairness as you treat the subject of politics; and let

us not, unjustly, attribute to religion the wickedness of men. I stand always ready prepared to defend the purity of the Christian religion, against the dogmas of the Church, the gross foolishness of Methodism. and the abominable hypocrisy of the Christian world.——1st, The King is the head of the Church; he appoints the bishops, &c.; he proclaims the prayers to be made. &c.: but in the religion of Jesus Christ, there is neither king nor priest; He is alone the Master or Guide in religion; and he who acknowledges any other violates his express command: "Call no man Master "or Leader on earth."——2d, The priests (and this applies to dissenting ministers) make a trade of religion; they sell it for so much per annum: this is expressly forbid in the New Testament; and true Christians are commanded to have no connexion with such wicked men. "There are some," says Paul, "who "make a gain of godliness: from such "withdraw yourself." "If *any one* will "not work, neither shall he eat." The apostle himself worked night and day as a tent-maker, that he might not basely rob others of their bread.——3d, Your Church teaches the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. &c.: but I defy you, or any other man, to show me a single passage that can support it, either in the Old or New Testament, either in name or substance; it is gross hypocrisy; and I can show you numberless passages to the contrary in every page of the New Testament.——4th, Your Church, in common with dissenting churches, make use of public prayers. Here again I will challenge you and all the world united, to produce a single passage to support this practice. On the contrary, I can produce to you, in one moment, clear commands which solemnly forbid this ostentatious display of devotion, as well as the *whole life* of Jesus Christ, whose prayers were always retired from the multitude. See 6th chap. of Matthew, 5th and following verses; also, just look at some verses in the 23d chapter, where you meet with an excellent description of the *modern priesthood*. The character of Jesus is also as unlike the character of modern priests, as his religion is unlike theirs.—White and black, liquid and solid, are not more opposite to one another.——There is another subject in your writings, where you blend all miracles together as equally entitled to our belief. If you are willing, I will treat of this subject in another letter. I hope you will do me the favour to insert this in your next number, if any way convenient to you.——I remain, your's sincerely,

G. G. FORDHAM.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

Sir,—Deeply impressed with the consequences which might probably result from the want of a "Declaratory Law, or a "Stipulation with Foreign Powers, respecting the Expatriation of British Subjects, particularly with the United "States," in the event of hostility between Britain and America, I transmitted to you, in 1807, such reflections as occurred to me upon the subject of expatriation, which you inserted in your Register of 19th September, 1807, at page 133. Those reflections, and my anxiety, on the point in question, emanated not from the pen of "the most uncivilized wretch, or the most "licentious of libertines," as your correspondent, Candidus, of Lincoln's Inn, in page 509 of your Register, charges they did, in which you inserted my Letter: nor did they arise from "the anxiety which "some amongst us shew to be at perfect "liberty to pursue their own interest at "the expense of those of their country," which you, in the same Register, p. 532, insinuate; but they presented themselves to my view solely from the fact, having been communicated to me of the immense number of British subjects who have left their parent state since the former American war, to reside in and become citizens of America.——I contended, that if Britain refused to acknowledge the legality or policy of her subjects expatriating themselves, she ought, in common justice, to act reciprocally in adopting similar conduct with respect to America; that she should not contend for the doctrine of retaining her own subjects, and at the same time inlist those of America amongst her subjects; but if she insisted that her subjects could not expatriate themselves, she should hold similar doctrine with respect to America, and not allow or invite them to throw off their allegiance and become subjects to her, as is the case with any foreigner entering into the British navy, and serving therein for the space of two years, by act of 13 George 2, chapter 3, section 2. For advocating such reciprocity I was stigmatized by Candidus, in page 701 of your Register, and told by him, "that when we make "laws, it is for our own benefit, and not

"for the advantage of other nations; that "if those other nations think it expedient "to prohibit expatriation they can do so, "but so long as our enemies invite our "subjects to apostacy; I cannot discover "that either consistency or policy calls "upon this country to adopt a different "course with their subjects." Consistency, as well as policy, seems to me to require that we should do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. If we endeavour to prevent our extermination as a nation; supposing, for a moment, that the whole subjects of Britain were about to depart for America, by the adoption of non-expatriation, we should allow America to adopt a similar rule of conduct. It is true, that we are not bound to legislate for America, but consistency and policy both require if we expect America to adopt the doctrine of non-expatriation, that we should not hold out a premium to her citizens to become subjects of Britain, whilst we refuse her the reciprocal advantage of domiciliating British subjects.——In your last Register, page 161, it seems to me that your opinion is now somewhat different from what it was in 1807; however, let me not be misunderstood; I presume not to charge you with criminality for a change of sentiment; on the contrary, the wisest and best of mankind in every age, have found reason to alter their sentiments, convinced by their maturer age and experience of the fallacy of their early opinions; and I applaud their manly conduct in setting themselves right. ——"Allow the right of expatriation," you observe, page 555, Register, October 10, 1807, "and I hardly see any ground "upon which resistance of any sort against "government, however villanous and tyrannical that government may be, can "be justified." So far as to policy and as to the legality of expatriation, you altogether denied the instances I adduced in favour of it. In your Register of August 7, 1813, you, however, remark, "It should "be considered, too, that our own laws "make exceptions as to alienage," although you formerly asserted, page 551, Register, October 10, 1807, "that a "man cannot become a subject to another "state." We, however, now agree; and it was to put an end to all controversial proceedings, that I was and am desirous of declaring or enacting what the view of Britain was and is respecting alienage. I agree cordially with you in your observation, page 171, "that an attempt to act "towards persons taken in the American "army, rigidly upon the doctrine of un"alienable allegiance, would be a step of "which we should in a short time most "sorely repent;" but if Britain insists upon the policy and legality of holding her subjects to their allegiance, we should, to act consistently, never sanction the domiciliation in Great Britain of her citizens from America. If we pursue this doctrine on a peace with America, we must stipulate by treaty that we will not acknowledge the right of America to inlist our subjects under her banners, and that we will not admit the citizens of America to the rights of British subjects. I consider American citizens and British subjects to be aliens to the respective countries of Britain and America, as much as are the natives of France; but yet I have heard contended the doctrine which has been adopted, that American citizens, born before the revolution, may hold lands in Britain. This I know they do, but I apprehend that the King may claim such property in the life-time of the holder, and that on his death it escheats to the crown. This is another subject it would be desirable to have settled. The law of America is, I believe, and as you observe, different at this time from what it was in the year 1791, with respect to residence required before a stranger be admitted to the rights of citizenship. Five years' residence are now required, but from the facility with which persons antecedently became naturalized, an immense number of British subjects became American citizens. Prior to 1792, and sometime afterwards, it was merely requisite to go into a court of law in America, and declare the intention only of becoming a resident citizen, to entitle a person to the rights of American citizenship. A friend of mine recently favoured me with a copy of a certificate of citizenship, which a British subject was supplied with on application for and admission to the rights of citizenship, which alone would entitle him to acquire property of his ancestor, a British subject, who resided in America long prior to the revolution and subsequently, and who continued a British subject; but on the death of the parent, one of the most eminent law characters, as he is stated to have been, Mr. Edmund Randolph advised the present holder to become a citizen, as the sole means of enabling him to hold the property referred to. This, perhaps, may be termed a situation of peculiar difficulty; but I believe there are many persons who are similarly situated, arising out of the

former connexion between the parent country and its colonies. Severe, indeed, would it be to treat such men as traitors, even if they were found with arms in their hands upon an invasion of America by Britain; for it is not improbable that they would be compelled by America to defend the soil in which they have, by acquisition of property, acquired an interest. Their lot seems peculiarly hard, as it was not sought for by them, but cast upon them by the former relative situation of the two countries. The certificate I have above alluded to is in the following terms: "Virginia to wit: At a supreme court held "in ——, the — day of ——, ——, "who hath emigrated into this state from "Great Britain, this day in court declared "on oath, that he intended to reside in "this Commonwealth; he thereupon took "the oath for giving assurance of fidelity "to the Commonwealth, in order to entitle himself to the rights of a citizen. "Copy. Teste, Walker Crutchfield, "Clerk." If this man, thus admitted to the rights of citizenship, be found in arms in America, he would, by the laws of Britain, be liable to be tried for high treason; and under his admission to the rights of citizenship, he is bound to defend the country from invasion by his oath of fidelity. Even Mr. D. M. Erskine, the ci-devant British Ambassador, to whom I alluded in page 439 of your Register, September 19, 1807, who became a citizen of the United States in consequence of intermarrying with an American, would be placed in a predicament which the talents of his noble parent could not extricate him from, was he to be found opposing by arms the efforts of an American descent at Portsmouth, which place his noble parent, when a commoner, represented in the House of Commons; and was he to be taken prisoner on board the American force (I am, it is true, supposing an extreme case, but it is a possible event), he would be in a double character, that of a British subject by birth and an American citizen by adoption. Surely, in this dreadful predicament, man should not be placed; a mutual declaratory act of the two governments should set at rest the situation he would be placed in, and to which government he strictly and solely belongs.—I know of no middle course to adopt: we must either allow all British subjects to expatriate themselves, if disposed so to do, as we admit American citizens to the rights of British subjects, or we must wholly forbid them to depart from their allegiance, in which case we must act reciprocally, and refuse the rights of British subjects to American citizens. Whether this be or be not "a time for half measures," in the gothic language of the Courier, is, in my estimation, perfectly immaterial as to the point at issue. We should, one way or another, act with due consideration to the former relative situation of Britain and America: reciprocally too we ought to act, and then we shall keep in view both policy and justice. If, as the Courier also observes, the question is, "Whether we shall support public "law against a systematic attempt to steal "away our countrymen, and to arm them "against us;" he should, at the same time, recollect that the same observation most strictly applies to Britain; and that whilst we uplift the axe where our own countrymen have become American citizens, we cannot complain if we find the consequence to be an adoption of a similar determination by the American Government. Dreadful will it be if we find that the American Government has retaliated upon innocent individuals of the British Government, whose temporary residence has been required in America.

9th Aug. 1813. S. V.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

SIR,—When the manners and principles of a people become perverted from the legitimate ends of civil society, the reflecting mind is often wounded with the intrusion of false doctrines, confidently and arrogantly sent forth by the basest panders of faction, and thoughtlessly imbibed by the credulous many; indeed such are the necessary consequences of a system as base in its origin as profligate in its course, and which appears to have contaminated all orders of society; and the man of discernment is left to lament the progress of error, without a clear prospect of an antidote to such a bane. ——These reflections arise in consequence of the promulgation of intelligence from America, which you discuss in this day's Register, respecting the committal to custody of British subjects by the American authorities, in order to retaliate, if necessary, for any punishment inflicted on *British subjects naturalized in America.* I hope you will observe the last expressions of the foregoing sentence, for it is the pivot on which the question turns. *British subjects!* says the American, how can they be so, after having been naturalized by us?

Because they were born in a land under the British authority, says the Englishman. So here we find the claim of both parties: the question lies in a small compass, but the difficulty will be how to satisfy both claimants; the editors of our hireling press never appear inclined to moderation, never to dip into reason and let it be their guide, but to glide on the surface, and to lead their readers by appearances only; they well know what a thoughtless race they have to deal with, and how contented and well informed they will consider themselves, after having skimmed over the immaculate productions of The Times, Post, Courier, &c. &c. But, Sir, the business before us is of a very serious and animating nature; particularly to those who have a real love of freedom, and whose love of mankind would wish this question to be discussed at the shrine of reason, and thereby prevent the innocent being sacrificed on the altar of madness.——I am glad to perceive that you attempt to create that mode of *thinking* on the subject which I so much admire; but you do not appear to have any definite opinion on the subject, there does not appear to be that resting-place or foundation which generally accompanies your productions, and which, as Cato is supposed to have said in his soliloquy, "Here will I hold," &c.: but I hope for the sake of humanity, and the liberty of man, that it will admit of being brought into "a tangible shape."—I remember that Mr. Whitbread was reported to have said, "that he believed the people of this country were never more enlightened in the science of civil government than at present:" in this I differ from him, otherwise the corrupt press would not find it their interest to be continually pouring forth their lucubrations, so opposite to the principles which placed the Brunswick family on the throne of this land; but I am fearful you will say, enough of your comments.——Therefore, I will state to you, that it appears to me, that a safe line may be drawn in this case, consonant to the liberty of man, and which will appear consistent in all its bearings. And when the character and capacity of the man from whom I derive my ideas are considered, it will give additional weight to the doctrine, and that man is the immortal Locke, whose treatises on government I believe are now but little known. Indeed the young men with whom I converse know no more of them than the untutored African; but, be it remembered, that this great and good man wrote in defence of our "glorious Revolution," glorious I agree, looking at the principles, not the practice. You will find in Book 2d, chap. 8., beginning at sect. 113, that he lays down this doctrine:——1st, That the place of birth gives no right to the community to claim that person as one of their body.——2dly, That residing among them during his convenience, and conforming to their laws, &c. constitute only a tacit consent, from which they can claim no allegiance whatsoever.——3dly, That he is at liberty to leave such community, and connect himself with any other which he may think proper, and whenever he pleases; but with this considerable exception, that if he hath *freely* given his *express* consent, after arriving at years of discretion, to become a member of such community, he is to all intents and purposes one of their body, and cannot transfer his allegiance to any other commonwealth, unless the government of his own society should be dissolved, in which case he would be at liberty to become a member of any other community.——This doctrine, Sir, appears to me conclusive: for, although many notions may be adduced against it, here is a *basis*, harmonizing with the natural liberty of man, and his liberty in society, according with reason, and steering clear of the extremes of inalienable allegiance, and a dissolution of allegiance at pleasure; for it must be clear to the most common understanding, that it is a gross infringement on the liberty of man, if he happens to be born under a noxious despotism, that he must for ever belong to such a pestilential society; and on the other hand, it is equally unreasonable and unjust, that if such an express consent be given, that it should be broken at pleasure: therefore, "here will I hold," until I hear something that can overturn this reasoning. I should much like, Mr. Cobbett, to see you handle this subject; for, believe me, I don't mean to flatter, when I say, that, elucidated by you, truth would appear doubly clear. I wish I had the eloquence of a Cicero, the argumentative powers of a Locke or a Barclay, and an opportunity to proclaim throughout the world the doctrines laid down by our great philosopher. His writings made the enemies of freedom fly to lands of despotism to indulge their venom against the enlightening truths of nature; but how changed the scene, could Locke peep from his tomb, and behold the race of degenerate scribes who have murdered the fair doctrines once held in veneration, but now scarcely men-

tioned but to be *ridiculed*! His feelings can be appreciated by a few, but scarcely described by any. You will perceive by this, that I do not notice the "*law of nations;*" upon the subject, Mr. Locke says, that ancient and modern history are in unison with his opinion, which I think will be more conclusive evidence than giving any of my own. I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

A Lover of Freedom.

General Enclosure Bill.

Sir,—I feel obliged and gratified by your clear illustration of the consequences of a General Enclosure Act, and even where my opinions meet your opposition, your fairness satisfies, and your reasoning is instructive. I know no right I have to trouble you again, but on some points I am inclined to think there is room for reply, at any rate, reason for explanation.——As to the Legislation this Bill would have given to Justices of the Peace, considering their appointments, I very much doubt; contemplating the fallibility of all human institutions, were their appointments even completely popular or completely elective; whether the domestic justice (if I may so call it) of the country would be administered as cheaply, as readily, and, speaking from what I see, as disinterestedly, as it is now. There may be exceptions to blame: but a time-serving justice is as severely marked by the estimate of public opinion, as an unjust one would be severely punished by the King's Bench. Were the appointment popular, perhaps the clergy would be the fewer. They must excuse me, I admit their intelligence as a body; I allow them an equal share of integrity with other men: but the Throne and the Altar are so allied in interest, or think themselves so, that they have need to be more than men to resist the bias of such an influence on their minds. With respect to this Bill, however, the magistrates might have been left the mere ministerial confirmers of the Enclosures taking place under it, as they are in the case of poor rates, without a right to refuse this confirmation, if all the enacted forms have been complied with. This would be a less power than is now given them by the present General Enclosure Act, by which, commissioners acting under private Bills, are obliged to pass all accounts before them. And far less than is very commonly given them by the Appeal to them in Sessions, now very usually inserted in private Acts.——As to the Bill itself, though designated a Bill for General Enclosure, I certainly did not contemplate, had it been passed (with all necessary alterations and amendments), that it was therefore to have been immediately acted upon in every parish having waste in the kingdom. I certainly only had in view an Act for facilitating the possibility of Enclosures by diminishing attendant expenses, by simplifying the precedent processes, and by leaving the adjustment of interests and the settlement of opposition more in the vicinity of the immediate parties interested. The time and the extent of its adoption would, like every other speculation, have been guided by the demand and competition of the market. And every hasty imprudence here, like imprudence every where, would, from failure, have taught caution, and the necessity for a progressive use of facilitated means.——What you state is indisputable, "that the number of mouths in any country, which has for ages been established, will always bear an exact proportion to the quantity of food to be got in that country;" and I believe it is generally the case, that in a free and industrious country, the converse proposition is equally true, that the quantity of food will always bear an exact proportion to the number of mouths. But, true as this proposition and its converse are, yet this quantity of food may be taken at the pure physical receipt which is usually the lot of the poor man in a year of scarcity, and that abundance which gladdens his heart, and which is his fortune in a year of plenty; when his consumption is less careful, and when the very lowest wages of his labour will purchase it. Now if the cultivation of wastes were to add to the positive quantity of food raised in England, so much as to keep the supply of it at the rate of a year of plenty, this measure would thus portend to better the condition of the poor. ——As to new Enclosures adding to the positive quantity of food in a country, and the quantity of corn being always in proportion to the quantity of land in cultivation. I am myself inclined to think that new Enclosures, gradually taking place, would increase the positive quantity of food; not because the quantity of corn or food is always proportioned to the quantity of land, but because there is always in a free and industrious nation, where competition and demand are continually working, a superfluity of capital and of labour; which would, from man's propensity to become a landed proprietor, readily be in-

vested in the purchase and cultivation of waste, if to be had; which capital and labour never would have been invested in the improvement of others' property; and every proportion of corn or food hence raised, would be an addition to the *positive* quantity of food in the country. Nor am I aware, though I have seen with admiration the high cultivation, and have heard the returns of crops in some parts of the Netherlands, from whence our improved agriculture came, and which we as yet by no means equal, that the additional capital requisite for such high cultivation, might not, in many instances, return more when employed in fresh Enclosures; though you say, "it is a fact very notorious, that the waste lands, in general, are the worst lands in the country." I can only draw instances from parts I more particularly know; and I think I may say, that in the counties of Lincoln, York, and Derby, this has not been uniformly the case. What is more, in the two first counties there have been several cases of the allotments of wastes, which, in three or four years with very little manure, I believe, in some places, even with none, have repaid the purchase-money expenses of enclosing cultivation.—— If I am not mistaken, this happened, in some instances, in the Fens of Lincolnshire. The crops of old growing land, however highly cultivated, must have been very abundant to have equalled this and their usual crop, for both must be grown at the same time and in the same space; the one, as the return for the capital of the unimproved husbandry; the other, for the capital employed in the improved cultivation preferred to the cultivation of waste. With which must be considered the danger of mildew in our climate, wherever wheat, one of our most profitable crops, is laid, from the length of straw, on land too rich and highly manured.—— You describe with amiable feeling your unwillingness, by any measure of this sort, however advantageous to yourself, to abridge the possessions and enjoyments of the common-side trespassers; or to deface the beautiful and picturesque scenery of your county. We all insensibly tinge our reasoning from associations and impressions arising from objects and views around us: thus with me, the wastes I generally see, are in their scenery rude and horrid; their produce little or none; that little perhaps stolen, not altogether by the poor man, but by some neighbouring jobber who stocks without right; a miserable cottage, and encroachment here and there, and no where comfort. Now what will Enclosure do here? why, if the same as in other instances have happened, these cottages and encroachments will all be sold at a moderate rate to the occupiers, and be increased by further purchase, both which will be improved by the capital and labour left from the occupations of the loom. Nor would you see in this population, the nature of man debased by servitude, nor countenances towering to wealth or power; that, I pray, may never be the feel of Englishmen, save should the coward spirit of villany encounter the brow of honesty. No, I could shew you men, thus having obtained domain, which they prize and which they cultivate with sentiments of independence and with practical ingenuity; enjoying comforts the palace might envy, and having attachments and friendships which the interested views of wealth and of avarice seldom know but in fiction, or assume but for a base purpose.——I feel I have already too far trespassed upon your paper; therefore, forbearing at all to mention the inducement such an Act might be to delay emigration which is frequent, I will only beg to subscribe myself,

RUSTICUS.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, *Monday, Aug.* 16, 1813.

(Continued from page 256.)

de Paula Cabreita, slightly; Capt. Lewis Filippe, dangerously; Capt. Thomas Potter and Lieut. Beit Gnesse, slightly.—18th Ditto Col. M. Pamplona, severely; Lieut.-Col H. Pyone, dangerously; Major F. de Paula Beg, Ensign Victorino Joze de Sa, severely; Ensign Ant. Viera Vasnabus, slightly.—19th Ditto. Lieut. Lister, Ensigns A. Maria da Molta, F. Javia da Cunha, slightly; Joaq Ribeiro, Ant. Luis de Tovieca, severely.—2d Cacadores. Capt. Jorge Fermino P. Amado, ditto.—6th Ditto. Major J. Mitchell, very slightly; Capts. R Brunton, W. H. Temple, ditto; Capt. Joa de M Madneriera, severely; Lieut. Pio Emanuel de Sousa, ditto; Ensign H Bankhausen, slightly.—7th Ditto. Ensigns Joa Clairsostemo Vellozo, and Squacio Bernado du Tonsua, ditto.—9th Ditto. Major Lucz Maria de Cerquezo, severely; Lieut. Iqnacio F. da Rocha, and Ensign Joaquim Iraquim de Cuerta, slightly.

Abstract of Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Army under the Command of Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy, from the 31st July, to the 1st August, 1813, *inclusive.*

Total British Loss—6 serjeants, 40 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 7 Captains, 3 Lieutenants,

1 Ensign, 24 serjeants, 4 drummers, 239 rank and file, wounded; 1 Major, 1 serjeant, 39 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 Captain, 11 rank and file, killed; 1 Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 2 serjeants, 42 rank and file, wounded, 16 rank and file, missing.

Grand Total—1 Captain, 6 serjeants, 51 rank and file, killed; 1 Colonel, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 26 serjeants, 4 drummers, 281 rank and file, wounded; 1 Major, 1 serjeant, 46 rank and file, missing.

Return of Officers killed, wounded, and missing, from July 31, to August 1, inclusive.

Wounded British.—July 31.

50th Foot, 1st Batt. Brigade-Major Wemyss, severely.—71st Ditto, 1st Batt. Capt. Grant, slightly.—92d Ditto, 1st Batt. Major Macpherson, severely; Capts. Seton and Lee, slightly; Capt. D. Campbell, severely; Lieut. Hope, ditto; Ensign T. Mitchell, slightly.—Chasseurs Britanniques. Lieut. Blemour, ditto.—60th Regiment. Volunteer Browning, ditto.

Missing British Officer.—July 31.

60th Foot, 5th Batt. Major Fitzgerald.

British Officers wounded.—1st August.

20th Foot. Lieut. Fitzgerald, slightly.—27th Ditto, 3d Batt. Capt. Butler, severely.—95th Ditto, 3d Batt. Major Perceval, ditto.

Portuguese Officer killed.—31st July.

19th Reg. Line. Capt. Campbell.

Portuguese Officers wounded.—31st July.

General Staff. Col. Charles Ashworth, slightly.—6th Reg. Line. Major D. A. Gil, ditto; Ensign J. M. Vasconcelles, severely.

1st August.

7th Reg. Line. Lieut. Antonio P. Heightor, slightly.

Abstract Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in Action with the Enemy on the 2d August, 1813.

Total British Loss—1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 4 serjeants, 26 rank and file, killed; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 4 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 17 serjeants, 1 drummer, 278 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file missing.

Portuguese Loss—1 rank and file killed; 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 5 rank and file, wounded.

Grand Total—1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 4 serjeants, 27 rank and file, killed; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 4 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 18 serjeants, 2 drummers, 283 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file missing.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded on the 2d of August.

British Officers killed.

6th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Brownlow.—20th Foot, 1st Batt. Ensign Waxen.

British Officers wounded.

4th West India Regiment. Capt. A. Hamilton, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Barnes, severely.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Campbell, ditto; Lieuts. Everest, slightly; Tarleton and Addison, severely.—20th Foot. Lieut.-Col. Wauchope, Lieut. Rotton, ditto; Lieut. Lutyens, slightly.—24th Ditto, 2d Batt. Lieut.-Col. Kelly, Capt. Lepper, severely: Capt. Brecknell, Adj. Fleming, slightly.—58th Ditto, 2d Batt. Major Campbell, severely: Capt. Westropp, slightly; Lieuts. Shea, severely; Hayton, slightly; Lamprier, severely; Ensign Baylie, ditto.—95th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Pemberton, ditto.—Brunswick Light Infantry. Lieut.-Col. Hertzberg, slightly; Lieuts. Koskenbar, severely; Broembsen, slightly; Ensign Guyer, severely.

Portuguese Officer wounded.

2d Cacadores. Ensign J. Antonio J. Figueira.

General Abstract of the Loss sustained in Action, from the 25th July to the 2d August, 1813.

British.

2 Majors, 10 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 46 serjeants, 2 drummers, 462 rank and file, 3 horses, killed: 2 General Staff, 11 Lieutenant-Colonels, 15 Majors, 51 Captains, 104 Lieutenants, 31 Ensigns, 7 Staff, 128 serjeants, 14 drummers, 3,103 rank and file, 9 horses, wounded; 1 Major, 5 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 14 serjeants, 7 drummers, 462 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Portuguese.

2 Majors, 4 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 12 serjeants, 299 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 1 General Staff, 2 Colonels, 9 Lieutenant-Colonels, 10 Majors, 21 Captains, 18 Lieutenants, 31 Ensigns, 3 Staff, 75 serjeants, 15 drummers, 1,632 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 199 rank and file, missing.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the Command of the Marquis of Wellington, at the Siege of St. Sebastian, from the 7th to the 27th of July.

British Officers killed.

Royal Engineers. Lieut. Machell.—Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Major Fraser, Capt. Cameron, Lieuts. Clarke, Anderson, and Massey, Adj. Cluff.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Capt. Woodham, Adj. Thornhill.—38th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. Carlisle.

British Officers wounded.

Staff. Assistant-Quarter-Master-General Major the Hon. J. Stanhope, severely.—Royal Artillery. Capt. Dubourdieu, ditto (since dead).—Royal Engineers. Lieut.-Col. Sir R. Fletcher, slightly; Capt. Lewis, and Lieuts. Reid and Tapp, severely.—Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Capt. Argimbeau, ditto (left arm amputated); Capt. Logan, ditto (right arm amputated); Capt. Stewart, slightly; Capts. Macdonald and Buckley, severely; Lieut. Armstrong, slightly; Lieut. O'Neill, Ensign Hoskins, —— Reynolds, and Volunteer Miller, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Col. Cameron, Capt. Cameron, —— Jervoise, slightly; Lieuts. Campbell and —— Ruse, severely; —— Robertson, Assistant-Engineer, ditto (since dead).—38th Ditto, 1st Batt. —— Macleod, Assistant-Engineer, ditto; —— Harrison, slightly; Ensign Walsh, severely; Adj. Hopper, ditto (since dead).—59th Ditto, 2d Batt. Adj. Crawley, ditto.—Detachment of Seamen. Lieut. Dunlop, ditto; Lieut. O'Reilly, slightly.—Engineers E. I. Comp. Service. Capt. Blakiston, ditto.

British Officers missing.

Royal Engineers. Lieut. Jones.—Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Lieut. Eyre, Ensign Alston.—9th Foot,

1st Batt. Ensign Syret.—38th Ditto, 1st Batt. Lieut. M'Gill.

Portuguese Officer killed.

4th Cacadores. Capt. J. A. Alves.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

Staff. Capt. Rainey, 82d, Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Bradford, slightly.—1st Reg. Line. Capt. J. C. Da Silva, ditto; Ensign Jt a Eleuterio, ditto.—3d Ditto. Ensign Magelins, ditto; Adj. Hill, ditto.—15th Ditto. Major Snodgrass, ditto.—4th Cacadores. Lieut. Col. Williams, ditto; Capt. Joa de Mello, severely; Adj. J. P. Barrao, ditto.—5th Cacadores. Capt. J. B. Mozinho; Ensign M. C. de Freithog.—8th Ditto. Lieut.-Col. Hill; Capt. J. A. Dueito, severely.

AMERICAN WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 14, 1813.

Admiralty Office, August 14, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received at this Office from Admiral the Right Honourable Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. and K. B. Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels on the American and West Indian station, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

San Domingo, Hampton Roads, Chesapeake, June 24, 1813.

Sir,—I request you will inform their Lordships, that from the information received of the enemy's fortifying Craney Island, and it being necessary to obtain possession of that place, to enable the light ships and vessels to proceed up the narrow channel towards Norfolk, to transport the troops over on that side for them to attack the new forts and lines, in the rear of which the Constellation frigate was anchored, I directed the troops under Sir Sydney Beckwith to be landed upon the continent within the nearest point to that place, and a reinforcement of seamen and marines from the ships; but upon approaching the island, from the extreme shoalness of the water on the sea side, and the difficulty of getting across from the land, as well as the island itself being fortified with a number of guns and men from the frigate and the militia, and flanked by fifteen gun-boats, I considered, in consequence of the representation of the Officer commanding the troops, of the difficulty of their passing over from the land, that the persevering in the attempt would cost more men than the number with us would permit, as the other forts must have been stormed before the frigate and dock-yard could be destroyed; I therefore ordered the troops to be re-embarked.——I am happy to say, the loss in the above affair (returns of which are enclosed) has not been considerable, and only two boats sunk.——I have to regret, that Captain Hanchett, of His Majesty's ship Diadem, who volunteered his services, and led the division of boats with great gallantry, was severely wounded by a ball in the thigh.——The officers and men behaved with much bravery, and if it had been possible to have got at the enemy, I am persuaded would have soon gained the place.——I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

A Return of Officers, Seamen, and Marines belonging to His Majesty's Ships, killed, wounded, and missing, in the Attack on Craney Island, June 22, 1813.

Killed—None.
Wounded—1 Officer and 7 seamen.
Missing—10 seamen.

Name of the Officer wounded.

Capt. Hanchett, of His Majesty's ship Diadem, severely, but not dangerously.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

A General Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Rank and File, in the Affair with the Enemy, near Craney Island, June 22, 1813.

1st Royal Marine and Rocket Artillery. 1 rank and file wounded.—2d Batt. Royal Marines. 2 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 4 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file missing.—102 Reg. 1 serjeant killed; 1 serjeant wounded.—1st and 2d Company Canadian Chasseurs. 1 Lieutenant wounded; 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 41 rank and file, missing.

Total—3 killed; 8 wounded; 52 missing.

SYDNEY BECKWITH, Q. M. Gen.

San Domingo, Hampton Roads, Chesapeake, June 27, 1813.

Sir,—I request you will inform their Lordships, that the enemy having a post at Hampton, defended by a considerable corps, commanding the communication between the upper part of the country and Norfolk; I considered it advisable, and with a view to cut off their resources, to direct it to be attacked by the troops composing the flying corps attached to this squadron; and having instructed Rear-Admiral Cockburn to conduct the naval part of the expedition, and placed Captain Pechell with the Mohawk sloop and launches, as a covering force, under his orders, the troops were disembarked with the greatest zeal and alacrity.——Sir Sydney Beckwith, commanding the troops, having most ably attacked and defeated the enemy's force, and took their guns, colours, and camp, I refer their Lordships to the Quar-

ter-Master-General's report (which is enclosed), and that will explain the gallantry and behaviour of the several officers and men employed upon this occasion, and I trust will entitle them to the favour of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, and the approbation of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.——Sir Sydney Beckwith having reported to me that the defences of the town were entirely destroyed, and the enemy completely dispersed in the neighbourhood, I ordered the troops to be re embarked, which was performed with the utmost good order by the several officers of the squadron, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Cockburn.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

John Wilson Croker, Esq.

His Majesty's Ship San Domingo, Hampton Roads, June 28, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, that in compliance with your orders to attack the enemy in town and camp at Hampton, the troops under my command were put into light sailing vessels and boats, during the night of the 25th instant, and by the excellent arrangements of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, who was pleased in person to superintend, the advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, consisting of the 102d regiment, two companies of Canadian chasseurs, three companies of marines from the squadron, with two six-pounders from the royal marine artillery, were landed half an hour before day-light the next morning, about two miles to the westward of the town, and the royal marine battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, were brought on shore so expeditiously that the column was speedily enabled to move forward.——With a view to turn the enemy's position, our march was directed towards the great road, leading from the country into the rear of the town: whilst the troops moved off in this direction, Rear-Admiral Cockburn, to engage the enemy's attention, ordered the armed launches and rocket-boats to commence a fire upon their batteries; this succeeded so completely that the head of our advanced guard had cleared a wood, and were already on the enemy's flank before our approach was perceived; they then moved from their camp to their position in rear of the town, and here they were vigorously attacked by Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, and the advance; unable to stand which, they continued their march to the rear of the town, when a detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, conducted by Captain Powell, Assistant Quarter-Master General, pushed through the town and forced their way across a bridge of planks into the enemy's encampment, of which, and the batteries, immediate possession was gained. In the mean time some artillerymen stormed and took the enemy's remaining field-piece. —— Enclosed, I have the honour to transmit a return of ordnance taken. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams will have the honour of delivering to you a stand of colours of the 68th regiment, James City light infantry, and one of the 1st battalion, 85th regiment. The exact numbers of the enemy it is difficult to ascertain. —— From the woody country, and the strength of their position, our troops have sustained some loss—that of the enemy was very considerable; every exertion was made to collect the wounded Americans, who were attended by a surgeon of their own, and by the British surgeons, who performed amputations on such as required it, and afforded every assistance in their power; the dead bodies of such as could be collected were also carefully buried.——I beg leave on this occasion, to express the obligations I owe to Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, and Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, for their kind and able assistance, to Major Malcolm and Captain Smith, and all the officers and men, whose zeal and spirited conduct entitle them to my best acknowledgments.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) SYDNEY BECKWITH,
Quarter-Master-General.

Right Hon. Admiral Sir J. B. Warren, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Return of Ordnance Stores taken in Hampton, on the 25th June, 1813.

4 twelve pounder guns on travelling carriages, 3 six-pounder guns on travelling carriages, with limbers, and a proportion of ammunition for each of the above calibers.—3 covered waggons, and their horses. T. A. PARKE, Captain,
And Senior Officer R. M. Artillery.

A Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing at Hampton, 26th June, 1813.

Royal Marine Artillery. 1 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file wounded.—(Ships) three Companies of Royal Marines. 1 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—1st and 2d Canadian Chasseurs. 3 rank and file killed; 13 rank and file wounded; 6 rank and file missing.—1st Batt. Royal Marines. 1 rank and file killed, 1 Lieutenant, 6 rank and file, wounded.—2d Batt. Royal Marines. 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

Total—5 killed, 33 wounded, 10 missing.

(Signed) SYDNEY BECKWITH, Q. M. Gen.

Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren has transmitted to John Wilson Croker, Esq. a letter from Captain Lumley, of His Majesty's ship Narcissus, to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, giving an account of the boats of that ship having, on the 12th of June last, under the directions of Lieutenant John Cririe, first of the Narcissus, and Lieutenant P. Savage, of the royal marines, brought out from York River, in the Chesapeake, the Surveyor United States revenue schooner, carrying six guns, pierced for twelve, and having twenty-five men on board. Three men in the boats were killed, and six wounded, including Lieutenants Cririe and Savage, slightly; the enemy had five wounded.

Swedish Reply

To an Article in the Moniteur of June 21, 1813.

Moniteur.—"In the year 1811, Sweden made known at Paris the desire she had of uniting Norway to Sweden, and demanded the assistance of France. She was answered, that whatever wish France had to do an agreeable thing to Sweden, a treaty of alliance having been concluded with Denmark, guaranteeing the integrity of that power, his Majesty could not give his consent to the dismemberment of the territory of his ally."

Swedish Reply.—France proposed to Sweden to make part of a Confederacy of the North, about to be formed between Denmark and the Duchy of Warsaw. Sweden replied, that the politics of France having lost Finland to Sweden, the latter would never confide in any Power but one that should enable her to acquire Norway. France wishing to join Sweden to the federal system, was not satisfied with this reply.

Moniteur.—"From this moment Sweden detached herself from France, and entered into negociations with her enemies."

Swedish Reply.—This is not true. Sweden did not detach herself from France till France had invaded Pomerania, in violation of the faith of treaties.* This unjust invasion gave rise to reflections which shewed the extent of the designs of France, designs tending to destroy the forces of the North, by employing them exclusively in fighting the Spanish Patriots. Then Sweden addressed herself to England and Russia, and felt that to escape the miserable fate of Bavaria, Saxony, Poland, and Westphalia, she must seek allies as powerful as France, but more interested in preserving the existence of Sweden.

Moniteur.—"Afterwards the war between France and Russia became imminent. The Swedish Court proposed to make common cause with France, but at the same time renewing its proposition relative to Norway."

Swedish Reply.—At that epoch, the Court of France proposed again an alliance. It was answered, that if the French Government did not wish for war, the Court of Sweden would propose an arrangement to the Court of Russia. (See the Letter of the Prince Royal of Sweden to the Emperor, dated March 24, 1812, inserted in the account given to the King by his Minister of State, M. d'Engerstrom.)

Moniteur.—"It was in vain that Sweden represented, that from the Norwegian ports a descent upon Scotland was easy; it was in vain that she dwelt upon all the guarantees which the ancient alliance of Sweden gave France of the conduct she would follow towards England. The reply of the Cabinet of the Thuilleries was the same."

Swedish Reply.—The Swedish Government never had an idea of disturbing the coasts of the British empire, and never was such a proposal made.—The integrity of that Empire is the bulwark of all Free States.

Sweden complained to the French Government of the piracies of its privateers, and the insults offered to her neutral flag. She often represented that the enlightened Sovereigns of France had sought the alliance of Sweden, who has always been in a situation to do her good or harm. Such are the Facts—France thought she could domineer over Sweden, and she was as shortsighted with respect to the North as she has been respecting Spain. Sweden had as an example the contempt in which the people of the Rhenish Confederacy were held, and she did not court such a fate.

Moniteur.—"From that moment Sweden no longer kept any measures; she contracted an alliance with Russia and England; and the first stipulation of that treaty was the common engagement of compelling Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden."

Swedish Reply.—We repeat, that Sweden contracted no engagement till after the unjust invasion of Pomerania. Compare dates. Pomerania was invaded on the 27th of January, 1812; the treaty with Russia was signed on the 3d of April, and that with England on the 18th of July following.

Moniteur.—" The battles of Smolensko and of the Moskwa restrained the activity of Sweden; they received some subsidies, made some preparations; but began no hostilities."

Swedish Reply.—The activity of Sweden was not checked. Twenty thousand Russians, who were to be employed against Denmark, were sent at the instance of Sweden on the rear and left flank of the French army. The talents displayed by General Wittgenstein have proved that Sweden judged well, and every impartial observer knows that this movement decided the retreat of the French army.

Moniteur.—" The events of the winter of 1813 followed; French troops evacuated Hamburgh; the situation of Denmark became perilous: at war with England, threatened by Sweden and Russia, France appeared unable to support her. The King of Denmark, with that fidelity which characterizes him, addressed himself to the Emperor, in order to get out of this situation. The Emperor, who wishes that his policy should never be at the expense of his Allies, replied, that Denmark was at liberty to treat with England to save the integrity of her territory, and that his esteem and friendship for the King should receive no diminution from the new connexion which the force of circumstances obliged Denmark to contract. The King expressed his gratitude at this proceeding."

Swedish Reply.—It is quite natural for France to desire that a Government, which serves her policy as blindly as Denmark, should preserve the integrity of her territory. If France is really animated with the principle which leads her not to be a burden to her Allies, why does she not give the Kings of Naples, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemburgh, Baden, and the other Powers of the Confederation the same latitude she has given Denmark?

Moniteur.—" Four ships' crews of very excellent sailors had been furnished by Denmark, and manned four ships of our Scheldt fleet. The King of Denmark, during this time, having expressed a desire that these sailors should be restored, the Emperor sent them back to him with the most scrupulous exactness."

Swedish Reply.—These sailors were sent back to be employed against Sweden, and the French Government, always liberal when it desires to injure the descendants of the great Gustavus, would not let slip the occasion to give a constant proof of its desire to ruin the commerce of Sweden. Besides these sailors were of no use at Antwerp.

Moniteur.—" M. de Bernstorff proceeded to London; he expected to have been eagerly received there, and to have nothing more to do than renew the treaty concluded with Prince Dolgoruki: but what was his astonishment when the Prince Regent refused to receive the King's letter, and when Lord Castlereagh gave him to understand there could be no treaty between England and Denmark, unless as a preliminary article, Norway was ceded to Sweden. A few days after, Count Bernstorff received an order to return to Denmark."

Swedish Reply.—The instructions given to Count Bernstorff were drawn up by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Court of London was informed of this, and M. de Bernstorff returned as he went. Besides, the 32d Military Division was united to France, in the same manner that Pomerania was invaded, and true Frenchmen do not find it a great advantage to have in their Senate the Hamburghers, who, on their side, are not more flattered with this honour than the Tuscans, Romans, Genoese, and Piedmontese.

The Allies never thought that France could disappear. The Powers of Europe are interested in having France remain France. But it is clear that all Powers wish that the French Government should cease to disturb the repose of the world.

Moniteur.—" Baron de Kaas, while at Altona, experienced another scene of perfidy, equal to the first. The Envoys from the Allies came to his lodgings, and gave him to understand, that they renounced the cession of Norway, and that on condition of Denmark making common cause with the Allies, it should no longer be made a question; they conjured him to delay his departure.

" The reply of M. de Kaas was simple, —' I have my orders, I must execute them.' They told him the French armies were defeated; that did not move him, he continued his journey."

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The nation, this most thinking nation, seems to be filled, and, indeed, overflowing with joy, at the accounts received from the Continent of Europe, the principal item of which is, that the Emperor of Austria has, at last, openly declared war against France.——To attempt to dash this exhilarating cup; to attempt to excite a doubt in the public mind with regard to this event; to attempt to show, that it is not likely to be productive of the overthrow of Napoleon; to make such an attempt as this, is to ensure the censure, if not the execration, of all those who love to be deceived, who hug delusion as their greatest good; and these, in my opinion, form a decided majority of the people of this kingdom.——Notwithstanding this, however, I shall freely express my thoughts upon the subject: and I think, not only that Napoleon will not be overthrown by this new coalition of old Royal-families, but that he will defeat the armies of this coalition; that he will break up the coalition; that he will return in triumph to Paris, having scattered and subdued those who have now combined against him.——I pretend not to be a prophet; I pretend to no gift of second sight; I may be deceived; and if I am, I have no objection to its being clearly ascertained and well known that I have been deceived. I will qualify my opinion upon this subject with no hypothesis, with nothing conditional. I wish it to be known, and to be remembered, that I, at this moment, when every newspaper is open-mouthed in predicting the total ruin of Buonaparté, give it as my decided opinion, that he will beat and break up the coalition now formed against him; and that, like every other coalition heretofore formed against France, this coalition will end in having augmented the power and dominions of France.——Your *opinion*, the reader will justly say, is worth no more than mine or that of any other man. Give us your *reasons* for this opinion, and then we will listen to you; that is to say, if those reasons be good.——Agreed: and here they are.——Who are they whom I see composing this coalition? Why, the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia; to whom we must add, I suppose, the Crown Prince of Sweden.——The three former I have seen leagued together against Napoleon before, and I have seen him defeat them all three. As to Sweden, her army being commanded by a *Frenchman*, and a Frenchman, too, promoted by Napoleon himself, she, indeed, may be looked upon as something formidable; but still the force she brings is not very considerable, and her interests are openly at war with those of some of her Allies.——I can see, for my part, no cause whatever for any alteration to have taken place in the disposition or spirit of the people of any part of Germany since the last campaign; and we know very well, that during that campaign, the armies of France met with no obstacle whatever from the population of the countries through which they passed. In the battles which have been fought during this campaign, the French have been victorious; and I have never been able to discover any source whatever whence is to come the means of changing their fortune.——It is fresh in the recollection of every one, that the army of Napoleon was represented as being wholly annihilated. We know that the Russians and Prussians had many months to prepare for the reception of the enemy; and we also know, that with all their preparations, they were compelled to flee before that enemy, the moment he made his appearance in the field.——Upon what ground, then, is it, that I am to believe that this enemy is to be beaten when he renews the combat?——The power of Austria is very considerable; but Austria has territories to defend. The armies of Naples and of Upper Italy are in motion, and Austria will doubtless be pressed on that side, while she is sallying out on the other. To see Vienna once more in the hands of the French, would be much less surprising than to see a French army defeated by a German one.——When Murat and the Viceroy set off from the army of the North

on their return to Italy, our sagacious politicians told us, that they had incurred the displeasure of Buonaparté, and that it was likely that they would turn against him. —— We now find, that there was a reason for their departure. There can be little doubt that Napoleon suspected many months ago that things would take this turn, and there can be as little doubt of his being fully prepared for it. In the race of foresight and preparation, I will not believe that he has been out-run by any of the Powers leagued against him. I dare say, that he knew the part that Austria intended to act within a few hours of the time of its being known to the Emperor of Austria himself. To take him by surprise is no easy matter; and particularly when he has to deal with such enemies as those who are now opposed to him.——Besides, what security have we that the coalesced Powers will remain firm to their declarations and to their bargains with one another? It is not many months since we saw two out of three of these Powers actually fighting on the side of Napoleon against the third. They were sincere in their junction with him, or they were not; if the former, why should they not join him again? If the latter, upon what ground are we to place reliance on any of their engagements? —— The Governments of Austria and Prussia are now represented by us as being very wise and very virtuous; they being now fighting on our side, it would not be safe, perhaps, to call either their wisdom or their virtue in question; but if they be wise and virtuous now; if they be now guided by sound principles of morality and of policy, why are we to suppose that they were not guided by the same principles a year ago, when they were the allies instead of the enemies of Buonaparté?——In short, what confidence is to be placed in a coalition thus composed? ——Such a coalition must, from the nature of its materials, be a rope of sand. As long as success is on its side, it may hold together; but the moment that any serious reverse takes place, it must, from the nature of things, fall to pieces.——The genius is all on the side of Buonaparté. The skill in making war it is that in general ensures victory; and amongst all the Powers opposed to him, there is not one who can boast of a man who has shewn any skill in making war. —— If we wanted any proof of this; if we wanted any proof of the deep sense which those Powers have of their deficiency in this respect, it would be found in the appointment of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden to be Generalissimo of the armies of the Allies. This appointment fully bespeaks the fears as well as the state of humiliation of the old Powers of Europe. What! a man, who was only a few years ago a private soldier in the armies of France, made commander-in-chief of this famous alliance, which is to overset the power of Napoleon! This is the man, is it; this soldier of the revolution of France; this is the man; it is a *Frenchman*, who alone can be picked out as fit to oppose Buonaparté in the field; it is a revolutionary Frenchman, to whom the *deliverance of Europe* is at last committed! Is it possible, that the old families, and that the anti-jacobins can hold up their heads, while this fact is proclaimed to the world? Aye, and not only hold up their heads, but have the scandalous meanness to communicate the fact themselves, and with exultation too; and while they thus glory in their shame, to pretend that Buonaparté is about to fall under the effects of the spirit of such degraded opponents!——There is an article from Berlin dated on the twenty-seventh of July, and published by our news-papers with great exultation, which article, if they had any sense of shame left in them must mortify them to death. It gives an account of Bernadotte's arrival at Berlin, and of the reception he there met with.—— "The Prince Royal of Sweden arrived at "this capital on the 24th instant, and "alighted at the Royal Palace, where the "Princes and Generals were in waiting to "receive him. On the next day His "Royal Highness paid a visit to the Prince "and Princesses of the Royal Family, and "afterwards dined with Prince William "of Prussia, brother to His Majesty. In "the evening he appeared at the theatre, "where the public received him with the "greatest demonstrations of joy. Yesterday His Highness, accompanied by the "two Princes, Henry and William, and by "a numerous suite of Swedish, Russian, "English, and Prussian Generals, held a "review on the troops, and caused them "to perform several evolutions, at which "he expressed his perfect satisfaction to "the Commanders. He afterwards returned to the Palace, where he gave a "dinner of 60 covers, to which all the Generals were invited."——So, here we see him in a Palace giving a grand dinner; dining with the Princes of the blood; reviewing the troops; having Princes and Generals, Russian, Prussian, and *English*

in his suite! Here then we have found, at last, the deliverer of Europe, in the person of a *Frenchman*, who had been promoted by Buonaparté himself, and who made a conspicuous figure in the French revolution. That very revolution, to destroy the principles of which we commenced and carried on a long and bloody war. ——His Royal Highness has, it seems, issued a proclamation addressed to the soldiers of the combined army, in his quality of Generalissimo. We will first insert this proclamation, and then make a few observations upon it; for, really, the sight of such a thing is well calculated to astonish us, to say nothing of its contents.

PROCLAMATION.

"Soldiers!—Called by the confidence of "my King, and of the Sovereigns his Al- "lies, to lead you in the career which is "about to open, I rely for the success of "our arms on the Divine protection, the "justice of our cause, and on your valour "and perseverance.——Had it not been "for the extraordinary concurrence of "events which have given to the last "twelve years a dreadful celebrity, you "would not have been assembled on the "soil of Germany; but your Sovereigns "have felt that Europe is a great family, "and that none of the States of which it is "composed can remain indifferent to the "evils imposed upon any one of its mem- "bers by a conquering Power. They are "also convinced, that when such a Power "threatens to attack and subjugate every "other, there ought to exist only one will "among those nations that are determined "to escape from shame and slavery.—— "From that moment you were called from "the banks of the Wolga and the Don, "from the shores of Britain, and the "mountains of the North, to unite with "the German warriors who defend the "cause of Europe. ——This, then, is the "moment when rivalry, national preju- "dices, and antipathies, ought to disappear "before the grand object of the independ- "ence of nations.——The Emperor Napo- "leon cannot live in peace with Europe, "unless Europe be his slave. His pre- "sumption carried 400,000 brave men "700 miles from their country; misfor- "tunes, against which he did not deign "to provide, fell upon their heads, and "300,000 Frenchmen perished on the ter- "ritory of a great Empire, the Sovereign "of which had made every effort to pre- "serve peace with France.——It was to "be expected that this terrible disaster, "the effect of Divine vengeance, would "have inclined the Emperor of France to "a less murderous system; and that, in- "structed, at last, by the example of the "North and of Spain, he would have re- "nounced the idea of subjugating the Con- "tinent, and have consented to let the "world be at peace; but this hope has "been disappointed; and that peace which "all Governments desire, and which every "Government has proposed, has been re- "jected by the Emperor Napoleon.—— "Soldiers! It is to arms, then, we must "have recourse to conquer repose and in- "dependence. The same sentiment which "guided the French in 1792, and which "prompted them to assemble, and to com- "bat the armies which entered their ter- "ritory, ought now to animate your va- "lour against those who, after having in- "vaded the land which gave you birth, "still hold in chains your brethren, your "wives, and your children.——Soldiers! "What a noble prospect is opened to you! "The liberty of Europe, the re-establish- "ment of its equilibrium, the end of that "convulsive state which has had twenty "years' duration; finally, the peace of the "world, will be the result of your efforts. "Render yourselves worthy, by your "union, your discipline, and your courage, "of the high destiny which awaits you.

"CHARLES JEAN.

"*From my Head-quarters at Oranienburg,* "*August* 15, 1813."

Upon reading this proclamation one seems in doubt whether one is dreaming or actually awake!——His Royal Highness Bernadotte talks about the divine protection and the divine vengeance in the usual style. There is nothing new here; but really when he is talking about the rights of Sovereigns, the rights of States, the love of Peace, and the horror of shedding blood, he does make one stare! He arraigns his people in the style of ANACHARSIS CLOOTES, the orator of the human race; and really His Royal Highness seems to have collected his followers from no small part of the habitable globe. He says, that they are come from the banks of the Wolga and Don, from the shores of *Britain*, and the mountains of the North; and I believe it would puzzle His Royal Highness very much to tell whence the far greater part of them really have come. But the interesting fact is, that we here, at the end of a twenty years' bloody war against the revolution of France, see a French revolutionary soldier selected as the deliverer of

Europe from the power of his countrymen; and as if this were not enough, as if the cup of our humiliation were not yet full; as if the thing were to be made too flagrant to escape the eye of even the most undiscerning person in the world, His Royal Highness takes occasion in this very proclamation, to put upon record his opinion of the guilt of those Powers who invaded France in the year 1792! He tells his army, "that the same sentiment which "guided the French in 1792, ought to "animate the Allies." So that, here in the states of Prussia, is he addressing Prussian soldiers amongst others, and telling them that they ought to be animated with the same sentiment as that which opposed resistance to their own king at the beginning of the war. In short, he here justifies the French revolution; he here censures the coalition against France in 1792; and he does this in an address to Soldiers put under his command by Russia, Prussia, and England! This is the deliverer of Europe; this revolutionary Frenchman; this man, who, a few years ago, was a private soldier in the armies of France!——The old Powers of Europe have heretofore experienced great humiliation; but never until now, that I know of, has humiliation like this been heard of in the world.——How many volumes were written in England in reprobation of the French revolution! How many scores, how many hundreds, how many thousands of long-winded bombastical speeches, disgusting, ranting, lying speeches, were made against the revolutionists of France! The whole English nation, with very few exceptions, set upon the French people like a mob. And now, behold, here is a revolutionary Frenchman, chosen to be the Generalissimo of the allied armies, and who, in his proclamation to his soldiers, takes occasion to reprobate by implication, the conduct of those very kings, whose soldiers he is appointed to command!——But, to take another view of the matter, was there nobody but a *Frenchman;* nobody but an old French soldier, thought capable of the task of delivering Europe? Could not Germany, could not Russia, alas! could not England furnish a deliverer? There was the Duke of Cumberland, for instance; he was upon the spot, I believe. Why could he not have been chosen as the deliverer of Europe? If it was supposed that he had not had sufficient experience in war, there was his brother the Duke of York, our Commander-in-Chief, who has had a great deal of experience, and whose talents were not given him merely for the purpose of forming regiments here at home, which would be making him little better than a driller of soldiers. I ask again, why the Duke of York was not selected in preference to Bernadotte, who, though we now know him to be a most excellent man, and to be Prince Royal of Sweden, and the real legitimate heir to the crown of that country, is, nevertheless, a FRENCHMAN; a real, sterling, born and bred Frenchman? ——I do not like him the worse on that account, for my part; I like him a great deal better than I should if he was a Russian or a German; but what will those say to his appointment, who are everlastingly railing against Frenchmen? These are the persons who ought to hang their heads, or to give us some satisfactory reason, why all the old Powers put together could not produce a man so fit for this post as this old soldier of the French revolution.——What! has all the high blood ceased to flow? All the high blood! Is there none of the blood left in the veins of any of these numerous and powerful nations, now leagued against Buonaparté? What would Burke say of this, if he were now alive? If he were raised from the dead, would not shame, at the hearing of this news, and the reading of this proclamation, hurry him back into the grave, with all his essays against the French in his wallet?——I should like to hear the sentiments of John Bowles upon this subject. I should like to hear what John has to say upon the propriety of vesting Bernadotte with this command. At different epochs different deliverers have appeared in John's works. At one time there was the Duke of Brunswick, at another Marshal Clairfayt, at another General Wurmsur, at another the Arch-Duke Charles, at another the Duke of York, at another General Mack, and God knows how many dozens more; and now, after all, after the endeavours of all the royal and noble generals in Europe, out comes a Frenchman, a French revolutionary soldier, as the chosen instrument for performing the mighty work!——This work is not easy for any man to perform. I do not think that the Prince Royal will perform it; but, if he can, and with such a Noah's ark of an army, I shall allow him to be a most wonderful man, and shall always recollect that he is a FRENCHMAN.

TRINITY AND TITHES.——I insert below two Letters upon these subjects, to which I request the attention of my readers. I have nothing to add upon these subjects myself at present; but, when R. F. comes to the point upon the subject of Tithes (with regard to which, by the by, he seems to hang fire), I am his man. His definition of *right* may be very good, but, it may not be amiss to remind him that the words by which he has defined it, will also require a clear definition before he advances into his subject.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 2d September, 1813.

TRINITY.

SIR,—Notwithstanding I cannot altogether agree with you in opinion on the late Trinity Bill, I am much pleased with the *manner* in which you discuss the subject; and although you may be accused of "*selfishness*" on the one hand, and of imitating the "*ranting, roaring, bellowing Methodist*" on the other, it cannot fail to induce those liberal and extended views, which it is equally the duty of a public writer to promote, and the interest of a community to regard. Perhaps some of your readers, who, not having directed much of their attention to the influence of religion on the polity of states, and the general concerns of life, may suppose the discussion useless or uninteresting; but those who, on the contrary, have marked through ancient and modern history, that empires and families, the monarch and the peasant, have been alike affected by its dictates in almost every nation,—every age will hail even the faint glimmerings of that period, however distant, when the opposing dogmas of a subtle or deluded imagination shall cease to sow the seeds of discord—shall cease to deluge the world with human blood, and the amiable union of reason, science, and fair truth, reverse the declaration, "I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword."——Whether Mr. Smith were, or were not, actuated by laudable motives, or whether he has, or has not, accomplished a real good by the repeal of the penal statute affecting antitrinitarians, I am not now about to inquire; my object in the present epistle being to direct your attention, and through your Register, the attention of the public, *principally*, to what I conceive, a *partial* operation of the laws against those who have the hardihood and wickedness to deny any part of *Divine Revelation*. The pillorying and incarceration of Mr. Eaton, and the passing by unpunished any one who has the temerity to assert that the Bible contains "*forgeries and lies*," or that it only contains "SOME *divine truths*," appears to me not dealing out justice with an equal hand. Indeed, I have read in some very modern publications such wholesale abuse of the sacred Scriptures, that, the diction excepted, I will venture to say, was never exceeded by that infidel wretch Thomas Paine. The writers of these works, as well as the whole tribe of *Unitarians* and *Free Thinking Christians*, I know not for what reason, and by what means, have escaped prosecution, fine, and imprisonment. Surely it does strike an ordinary mind, that the operation of the existing laws on this head, has been either too lenient in the one case, or too oppressive in the other—in cases too, where the crime as to moral turpitude appears to be exactly alike. It would, I think, be well if some "*Honorable Member*" in the "*Honorable House*" would endeavour to bring in a Bill, defining as accurately as possible, to what extent an unbeliever may go in his avowed disbelief of the religion of the Bible; and whether, if couched in plain unvarnished language, or in the style of embellished erudition, it makes any, and what shades of difference in the crime. To say, for instance, bluntly, that St. Matthew, or the writer of that part of his Gospel, told a *lie*, where it is said, that Jesus was begotten by the *Holy Ghost*, and born of a *Virgin*; or to say, that the author merely committed a *mistake* in communicating an *unauthenticated tradition* to the religious world. A statute of the nature I am recommending, might mark almost the precise boundaries, in which infidelity may broach its pernicious principles. Its commanding and determining voice should say, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and *no further*," and, or at thy peril to exceed, "here shall thy proud waves be stayed." Paine, in his "Age of Reason," (oh! do not be horror-struck, Mr. Cobbett, because I have read Paine; I am not going to defile the pages of your orthodox journal, or subject you to a prosecution by citing any of his vulgar abuse of the sacred pages, but) Paine, if I recollect right, in his attempt to overthrow the Scriptures, employs all the coarsest epithets his vocabulary furnished him with, to render the writers and writings of the sacred books contempti-

ble and ridiculous; that it did not succeed, we are indebted to the proscribing hand of the *law*, for as to the antidote of "R. Watson, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Landaff, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge," that was, of course, superseded by the proscription of the baneful work itself To have given the "apology" of the *Right Reverend Father in God*, that chance of success, which it was, no doubt, calculated to obtain, "The Age of Reason" should, I think, have been permitted *free* circulation; for, although the worthy prelate has quoted many passages from the latter work, it is well known, that however honest the author might be in his quotations from the writings of another, without a reference to the context of those passages, it is not always easy to enter into the real meaning of the author quoted: and it would seem rather unfair not to allow him to speak for himself, or not permit him to explain himself more fully than a few isolated passages, selected too by an avowed adversary, and placed in the most disadvantageous point of view, admit. It is not, as you will perceive, my intention to defend the cause of Paine against the Bishop, but on reading the latter, I could not avoid being particularly struck with the apparent evasion with which he meets the arguments of his antagonist, on the subject of the miraculous conception, and I introduce it here the more readily, as much has been said during this discussion on that inexplicable subject; and I take this opportunity to concede to you, having omitted it in my last, that the *incarnation* and the *resurrection* are equally credible, as it respects their probability connected with the Divine Power, although, upon inquiry, it might turn out that the external evidence of the truth of the one, may not be so fully established as the other. The Bishop says, addressing himself to Paine, "you explain "at some length your notion of the misap-"plication made by Saint Matthew of the "prophecy in Isaiah, '*Behold a Virgin* "'*shall conceive and bear a Son?*' That "passage has been handled largely and "minutely by almost every commentator, "and it is too important to be handled su-"perficially by any one. I am not on the "present occasion concerned to explain it." After which he immediately states that the professed object of Paine, was not, to invalidate the truth of the fulfilment of the prophecy in this particular, but to prove that Isaiah was "a lying prophet, and an "impostor;" whereas, Paine expressly declares that he means only to shew that the passage is misapplied by making it refer to Christ and his mother. Indeed, the learned prelate acknowledges as above that Paine had *explained at some length*, his notion of the *misapplication* of the passage. I therefore think, that, instead of evading that point, and endeavouring to prove the fulfilment of the prophecy politically considered, namely, that Ahag was not *completely* destroyed by Rezin and Pekah, it would have been doing the cause of Christianity a service, had the Bishop disproved the arguments of the objector, respecting the application of the passage in question. This, Sir, shews that the best friends of religion, either through weakness or pride, injure the cause they take upon themselves to espouse. Could the readers of the "Apology," turn to the objection of the Infidel, and the biblical statement of the subject, they would be better qualified to judge of its merits than by reading the Bishop's pamphlet. I have often thought, that it would be a very desirable thing to republish both works together in one volume, *antithetically* arranged; by which the world would be enabled to compare the contending opinions of the two parties and judge of their respective merits. Perhaps, however, to republish the denounced work in any shape, would subject the compiler to a prosecution *ex officio;* but I would thank you, Mr. Cobbett, for your opinion on the subject, as having some leisure and inclination, I would readily engage in the proposed undertaking. But there are other impugners of revelation, who with classic elegance, and gentlemanly politeness, attack the scriptures, or deny their divine origin, and endeavour to invalidate their authenticity. Not to mention the *Humes*, and *Gibbons*, and *Tindalls* of the last century, we have those in our own times, who with no uncommon share of learning and philosophy, have denied revelation, and reviled its authors. To cite passages from these works would render this article too prolix for insertion in your Register; but I cannot refrain from quoting one from a modern work, entitled, "Materials for Thinking, "by W. Burdon," because of the subject with which that passage is connected, as it shews to what extent infidelity has been, and may be in some cases carried with impunity. Nay, I know of a more recent instance of escape from prosecution, in a case of writing and publishing a pamphlet on "The Necessity of Atheism." True,

the author being a student at the university of Oxford, did not avow his name; but the printer, whose name and address were regularly appended, might have been compelled to have given up the author, and both should according to law have been punished. The writer, however, in the fervour of his zeal to make proselytes to his Atheistic creed, acted with such unguarded indiscretion as to be at length discovered by his tutor, and by the proper assembly, convened for that purpose, was examined, found guilty of the fact, and expelled the university with another student, his associate and partner in the impious work. But to return to the Gentleman, who has supplied this "most thinking people," with some "materials" for thought: he says, on the above subject, that "The direct proof of a "future state, can only be derived from the "word of God, or a divine revelation; "but we have no revelation which does "not contradict both the evidence of our "senses and our own experience.——We "neither know, nor can know, the inten"tions of the Supreme Being, because we "are ignorant of his nature, and without "he is a man like ourselves, which the ig"norant generally conceive him, there can "be no such thing as a revelation of his "will; for we have not faculties to com"prehend a divine intelligence: a revela"tion from a being whose nature we are "unacquainted with, is a contradiction in "terms. Every religion has its bible, and "all are equally contrary to reason, and "equally indebted to credulity.——Reli"gion has done more harm than good to "mankind, because it has been the subject "of contention, rather than the parent of "peace." I could cite numerous other passages of a like tendency, but for the above reason must desist. But why, I would ask, is it, that such writers escape the punishment inflicted on another for the like offence? Is it, not on account of their having promulgated the same sentiments, but because they have conveyed those sentiments in a language more refined? I can scarcely suppose such to be the fact, as the practical illustration of such a distinction in the administration of justice would be a dereliction of those first principles which form the basis of all law. But as I cannot bring my mind to admit the truth of the supposition, I hope this letter may lead to something that shall either justify the apparent legal severity and indifference in this respect, or remedy the defect complained of by GULIELMUS,

Oxford, 25*th August*, 1813.

TITHES.

SIR,—In your Register of the 14th inst. you have done me the honour of inserting a letter which I addressed to you, and which contains some remarks occasioned by the discussion of the merits of Mr. Smith's Bill. I thank you for the insertion; it was candid on your part certainly, as my remarks might have an appearance of personality, which would have warranted its exclusion from your Register. You have again honoured my letter on the 21st inst., where it appears you think I have improperly accused you of abusing the Methodists; I am most willing the public should judge between us, whether I have been wrong or not in applying the term abuse to the strong language made use of by you when you spoke of that sect. In your Register of the 21st, you state "the reli"gion of the Methodist as being too despi"cable to be called by name, and *them"selves* lower in the scale of animal life "than any people you ever saw:" I really should not be much surprised if the public were to run into the same mistake with myself in thinking such language abuse. It sounds so like it, that notwithstanding your correction, I don't know by what other name to call it.——Allow me, however, to rebut one charge you have brought against the Methodists, which certainly cannot belong to them:—"Their "insolence and the cool manner in which "they consign over the rest of the world to "eternal flames, are sufficient to draw down "on them the scorn of every man of a just "way of thinking." If, Sir, you and I were to accompany each other to one of these Methodist's chapels, where the person might mistake me for a heretic, and you for a scoffing, sneering infidel, his whole soul would be roused, and we should not sit there long before he would endeavour to convince us of our danger, and alarm us by his red hot peals of eternal damnation, and the horrors of everlasting torments; and why is this to be treated as absurd? he believes what he asserts, and his honest endeavours "to pluck us as "brands from the burning" (though we might pity his mistakes) should command our respect for his sincere endeavours to effect our salvation.——The cool sort of damnation which is to excite so much contempt belongs not to them, but may rather be found in a certain church, where the priest is ordered to say or sing about fourteen times in the year that "he who be"lieves not in this creed shall everlastingly "perish." Here is something like "the

" cool manner of consigning over the rest " of the world to eternal flames," which you have ascribed as peculiar to the Methodists, and which " excites the contempt " and scorn of every person of a just way " of thinking;" and if from the manner in which this is usually said or sung, the suspicion which has existed in the minds of many, that the largest part of those who thus say or sing these anathemas do not believe them, the scorn and contempt you have placed at the door of the Methodists will be justly transferred elsewhere. Allow me also to remark, that the doctrines preached by the Methodists of various descriptions, and so much derided in your Political Register, are not very wide of those contained in the articles of the Established Church.——It cannot be unknown to Mr. Cobbett, that the Church of England is divided into two great parties, the one considering the Articles of their Church purely Calvinistic, the other Arminian; and that the Methodists are also divided principally into the like parties; the first, commonly called Whitfieldites, the latter Wesleians, neither of them having any great dislike to episcopacy, or communion with the original mother church; but dissent from her, that their doctrines may be preached with greater freedom to the lower classes of the people than the laws of the church will allow. I mention this to point out to Mr. Cobbett, that all the reviling, or that sort of language which I took for abuse of the Methodists, recoils on the Church (whose doctrines they profess to teach) with redoubled force. If, therefore, Mr. C. pours forth his batteries of ridicule, and sports his wit on the doctrines of Methodism, the people will not be long in discovering, that those doctrines and the Articles of the Church are the self-same thing; but the difference is in the preachers, the one preaching all their doctrines with a force and vehemence which will not admit of a doubt of their sincerity; and the other, with a coldness and indifference that awakens a suspicion that they say or sing damnation for the sake of the living they get by so doing. If Mr. C. does not wish to bring ruin on his own dearly beloved Church, it would be more prudent in him not to court such comparisons. Neither can Mr. C.'s conclusion be admitted, that Methodism *in the main*, destroys the morals of the people; that some and far too much indiscreet zeal has been exhibited by them, and had this tendency on individuals can not be denied. Yet must it be acknowledged, and it has happened within the compass of my observation, that many a wretched drunkard who has wallowed his Sundays in an alehouse, has become sober in his manners from the efforts of Methodism; and many persons have I known, who could not utter a sentence without a volley of the coarsest oaths, become discreet and decent in their language, fearing any longer to profane the name of the Most High.——The remaining remarks in the Register of the 21st, chiefly relate to Tranquillus, in whose controversy I have taken no share; but have no reason to doubt, that if he judged it expedient, he would reply to Mr. C.'s queries. If I was to suggest a reason why dissenters should not pay to the support of an establishment, it should be one which Mr. C. could not disapprove. It would be a quotation from the much admired Register of September last, where, after an annunciation, —" There are " no Tithes in France," it is added,— " Those who wish to have a priest pay " a priest, and the bishops have a moderate salary from the government. " Every one is free to follow that mode of " worship he likes best.—There are no religious tests in France. The Code Napoleon knows nothing at all of religious " distinctions."——By the manner and connexion in which this paragraph stands, no one can mistake the intention or meaning to be plainly this: that not a single individual ought to be forced to contribute to a National Establishment who disapproves of such establishment; and it follows of course, that the dissenters ought not in justice to pay by Tithes or any other means, to the support of a religion whose doctrines and discipline they disapprove.——I did certainly think in the Register of June the 5th, that you, Sir, had, from your mode of expressing yourself, become the apologist for that which you had previously denounced as a curse; and as I esteem consistency of character in an author of celebrity, one of his brightest ornaments, I felt all the regret I have expressed, on discovering what I considered inconsistent and versatile. I am glad, however, if in this instance, I have been mistaken; and shall rejoice, if, instead of an opponent in Mr. Cobbett, I have found an ally, whose emphatic language and cogent reasoning will again teach, " the most thinking people of " England that Tithes are a curse;" and whose talents will be employed in devising the most peaceable and just way of getting rid of them.——

Leaving the Methodists, Tranquillus, and the Consistency of Authors, I proceed to perform my promise, and attempt to prove that no man or set of men can have a right to enter the corn-fields, flock and poultry-yards of their neighbours,* for the purpose of taking the tenth thereof.

The first inquiry proper to be made is the meaning of the word Right, as upon the understanding of that term will depend the establishing of my position or not. The true meaning of the word Right, I find, on consulting the most approved authorities, to be *just claim;* and the question to be examined is, whether the Clergy or lay impropriators have a just claim to the tithe or not.——The arguments which have been advanced in defence of the tithe system, may be arranged under a few particulars, the examination of which will greatly facilitate our inquiries.——1st. *Divine Right—Charitable Contributions*, and Appropriations arising from the Gifts of those who possessed Estates—The Decrees of Councils and Popes—The Grant of Kings and Princes—and, lastly, the Law of the Land.——This examination must, however, be the subject of another Letter, if you should honour me again with a place in your Register for the insertion of these remarks.——I remain,

Yours respectfully,

R. F.

Marden, Aug. 27, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Swedish Reply

To an Article in the Moniteur of June 21, 1813.

(Continued from page 288.*)*

Swedish Reply.—It is notorious that M. de Kaas feigned being ill at Altona to wait for a reply to the proposals he had made the Generals of the Allies, and that the same pretext kept him at Harburg; but having heard of the battle of Bautzen, he forgot that he had promised to wait for a reply, and set off for Napoleon's head-quarters.

Moniteur.—However, on the 31st of May, an English fleet appeared before Copenhagen; one of the ships of war anchored before the town, and Mr. Thornton presented himself. He stated, that the Allies were going to commence hostilities, if, within forty-eight hours, Denmark did not sign a treaty, the principal conditions of which were, to cede Norway to Sweden, to immediately give up, *en depot*, the province of Drontheim, and to furnish 25,000 men to act with the Allies against France, and conquer the indemnities which were to be the portion of Denmark."

Swedish Reply.—There was no question of hostilities. Denmark was desired to reply in 48 hours, and so far from being menaced with an attack, an armistice was offered by General Hope, Mr. Thornton, the Russian Minister, and the Chancellor of Sweden. Rest is the first want of Europe; but this good cannot be obtained but by a peace founded upon those principles of eternal justice, which are the sole guarantees of the duration of governments and the happiness of the human race. It was to obtain this great end that it was declared to Denmark, if she would co-operate in it, her differences with Sweden should be adjourned till the general peace.

Moniteur.—" He at the same time declared, that the overtures made to M. de Kaas, on his journey to Altona, were disavowed, and could only be considered as military suggestions."

Swedish Reply.—No overture was made to M. de Kaas; we repeat that it was he who made overtures to the Generals of the Allies.

Moniteur.—" The integrity of Denmark is guaranteed by France."

Swedish Reply.—The States of Charles V. were guaranteed by the French Government, and the French Government invaded Spain. The French Government guaranteed Pomerania in 1809, and it invaded it in January 1812, in the midst of peace. Russia, England, and Prussia have given their consent to the uniting of Norway to Sweden. War will add the right of conquest. This right which the French Government has put so forward, will be more justly exercised, for Denmark putting in motion all her means to aid in enslaving the Continent, deserves to be abandoned by the great European family.

Germany will be free, and we may hope that in 1814 she will obey none but the German laws; but if the burst of patriotism, manifested on all sides, does not accomplish what independent nations expect from it, Norway at least united to Sweden, and free as Sweden, shall enjoy the benefits of which no continental event can deprive the North.——In fine, it is not by calling names that nations prove they are in the right.

FRENCH PAPERS.

ARMIES OF SPAIN.

Letter from General Rey, commanding at St. Sebastian, to his Excellency the Duke of Feltre, Minister at War, dated the 26th July, 1813.

" Monseigneur,—An Officer, bearing a flag of truce, presented himself this afternoon, to request information respecting several missing Officers. He appeared very uneasy respecting the fate of the Colonel of the Royal regiment, who was killed upon the breach. It is certain, that in the assault the English lost a Colonel, four Lieutenant-Colonels or Majors, and 42 Officers; that the number of sub-officers and soldiers is about 1,000 killed, wounded, or prisoners, all English, and near 300 Portuguese. The English speak of their Allies with contempt. This Officer confirmed what their prisoners had before said, that their eight best companies of grenadiers were totally destroyed on the day the assault took place. In the morning the enemy embarked 36 boats of wounded; he fired during the day a great number of shells; he only directed some howitzers against the houses set on fire, which made me presume he had commenced embarking his troops. The Officer bearing the flag of truce thanked us in the name of his General, for the care which he had seen us take of his wounded.——Half of the town is completely destroyed by fire, the greater part of the remaining houses are extremely damaged; we have not yet succeeded in extinguishing the fire; should the wind increase, the remainder of the town would be lost. The quantity of ammunition which the English, with their 45 pieces of artillery, constantly in action, consumed, is astonishing; the proximity of the sea and fleet could alone have supplied this consumption.——I continue to cause the streets of the town to be barricadoed by traverses, which I reckon upon defending foot by foot; if at any time I should be obliged to quit my first line, your Excellency may rely that the garrison of St. Sebastian will do its duty, and continue to give proofs of its devotion for our august Emperor. I pray, &c.

" (Signed) REY.

" P. S. I forgot to mention to your Excellency respecting the ladders with which the enemy's troops were furnished on their assault on the covered way; we are in possession of them."

From the Same to the Same, dated July 27.

" Monseigneur,—This morning, at four o'clock, visiting the advanced posts on the left with Colonel Sousson, who commands them, I perceived that several boats were leaving the sand batteries to join those cruizing, and I was immediately convinced that the batteries which had been battering in breach had been disarmed. I went to the land advanced posts, where the enemy had discontinued his works. The enemy no longer fired. I immediately decided upon reconnoitring his trenches, and, by a brisk movement, make him deploy, and inform myself of what he was doing. I therefore gave orders to two companies of the mountain chasseurs of the 3d battalion, to the voltigeurs of the 62d regiment, and to the sappers who were in the works, to rapidly advance to the trenches, and destroy or take all they encountered; the artillery at the same time received orders to protect the retreat of these detachments, and play upon whatever the enemy should send to succour the trenches. Thus, as I expected, the enemy did not expect to be attacked at this hour: the trenches were surprised, and all who were in them destroyed. The column which took the direction of the suburb of St. Catherine, advanced to the burned bridge, and the 2d to the burned houses in St. Martin. The result of this operation, which was conducted by the Chef de Battalion Blanchard with understanding and distinction, was complete. We took 381 English and Portuguese prisoners, of whom nine are officers; 140 English, who attempted to pass the river, were drowned; the artillery had a great effect; the enemy in less than an hour lost more than 1,200 men, that is to say, almost all that was in the trenches.——This affair does much honour to the garrison. The troops acted with the greatest vigour. The mountain chasseurs, the 62d, and the sappers, merit the highest praise. Lieutenant Dugar, of the mountain chasseurs, particularly distinguished himself by first entering the trenches; he was wounded. The enemy only fired with five pieces of artillery; one from Mount Julien, one from the old breaching battery, one at St. Bartholomew, and two in advance of St. Bartholomew. We have filled his trenches. The enemy has began re-embarking to raise the siege. This town merits a better fate. The wind having increased, we are using our endeavours to diminish its effect, and stop the fire. I pray, &c.

" (Signed) REY."

Paris, Aug. 25.—We have received in-

telligence from the Emperor, dated the 21st of August. His Majesty had left Goerlitz, and continued to enjoy the best health.

Wurtzburg, August 20.——Count Briol Schauenstein, Austrian Minister to our Court, set out on the 18th to return to Austria.

Frankfort, Aug. 21.—Baron de Hegel, Envoy from Austria to the Grand Duke of Frankfort, left this some days ago on his return to Vienna.

Frontiers of Saxony, Aug. 16.—A part of the troops who composed the camps established in the neighbourhood of Dresden, has left that town to proceed to the frontiers of Bohemia. The remainder is waiting orders to march.——General Count Durosnel, Governor of Dresden, has a numerous garrison under his orders. The magazines established in that town are abundantly supplied with provisions and warlike stores. At the departure of the last accounts from Dresden, the Officers of the General Intendance were upon the point of setting out for Leipzic; the Military Administrations were likewise ready to depart.——A great number of Aides-de-camp and Officers have left Dresden, with orders for the different corps stationed in Lower Lusatia, Silesia, and Franconia.——We have no news from Silesia.——A numerous corps d'armee, composed of chosen troops (the 9th division of the Grand Army), are at the present moment concentrating in the Saxon circle of Erzgeberg. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, who commands that corps, has just established his head-quarters in the town of Freyberg. This corps d'armee will immediately join the Army of Observation assembling in Franconia, under the orders of Marshal the Duke of Castiglione, the divisions of which lately marched into the ci-devant Principality of Bayreuth. ——The Saxon Government has just convoked a new Diet The Circles have been invited to send their Deputies to that town, where their meeting will take place on the 30th instant. This assembly is to consider of the means to provide for the extraordinary expenses of Government under actual circumstances

Dresden, Aug. 15.—His Majesty the Emperor and King set out to-day, at five in the afternoon, and took the route for Konigstein. Much cavalry, composing part of the 5th corps, to-day passed through our town, under the orders of General Millhaud. Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr has his head-quarters at Pirna.——Count de Narbonne arrived to-day from Prague, before the Emperor's departure.——The King of Naples arrived the preceding night, and yesterday accompanied his Majesty to the parade.

Dresden, Aug. 15.—Since yesterday all the troops in our town and neighbourhood have been in motion; parks of artillery, and convoys of ammunition, have set out for the frontiers; and the Imperial Guard holds itself in readiness to march.——Our town is now protected by a formidable line of defence, which extends from Giesshubert to Stolpe.——The harvest is excellent in all Saxony; large magazines have been established on all sides.——The Austrian Government has ordered all German strangers and others who are at Carlsbad, Toeplitz, and Egra, to immediately withdraw. ——The 30th of next month is the day appointed for the meeting of all the Deputies from Saxony. The King has appointed President of that assembly the Councillor of Finances, M. de Carlowitz.

Altona, Aug. 20.—The head quarters of the Prince of Hesse are now at S[illegible]k, but every thing announces that he is going to leave them.——Our troops are animated with an excellent spirit.

Augsburg, Aug. 19.—General Count de Wrede's head-quarters were, according to the last accounts, at Seinbach, near Branau; this corps d'armee is to be immediately reinforced by six or eight battalions of the line, which have hitherto remained in garrison.

Hamburgh, Aug. 18.—Yesterday, at eleven o'clock in the morning, General Count de Hogendorp, Governor of the place, went to the town-hall, where he had assembled the Municipal Corps, the Council of Prefacture, Members of the Chamber of Commerce, Ministers of the different religions, and the most respectable inhabitants. The Governor, after having spoken of the important circumstances in which we now are, addressed a discourse to the Assembly, in which, after having contrasted the odious revolt of the inhabitants of Hamburgh with the clemency the Emperor had shewn towards them, added, that he hoped that pardon which they could not have expected, would, in future, produce sentiments more compatible with their real interests, and that submission which subjects owe to their legitimate Sovereign; that he wished to believe that all the functionaries and respectable people would use their influence to propagate and support those sentiments among the people; and that the Ecclesiastics, in particular, would preach this doc-

trine in their temples.——The Governor concluded thus: "The preservation of this place is confided to me; I will answer for it to the Emperor: I will justify the choice with which his Majesty has deigned to honour me: I will render justice—exact justice to all the inhabitants who shall prefer well-founded complaints to me; but woe to those who shall contravene my orders; they shall be arrested and punished with all the rigour of military regulations."——The assembly appeared to be penetrated with this discourse: it saw the determined intention of the Governor to maintain public tranquillity in the town, and all those present promised to neglect nothing, that the Governor might find in the Hamburghers that submission, without which there exists no guarantee against disorder and anarchy.

Frontiers of Bavaria, Aug. 15.—We are assured that the order, in consequence of which the troops encamped at Nymphenbourg were put in march, arrived unexpectedly. It is said that General Wrede's head-quarters set out yesterday from Schwabingen, near Nymphenbourg, and will be provisionally transferred to Branau.

Rastadt, Aug. 16.—The military preparations continue in all the States of the Confederation of the Rhine. They are particularly active in Bavaria, where all the troops and moveable national guards, called moving Legions, are in motion.

Copenhagen, Aug. 16.—The Governor of the island of Bornholm having learned, that the Captain of the Swedish brig Ventalitet, which was cruizing between Bornholm and Christiansoe, prevented the Danish ships from reaching the latter port, ordered the Commandant of Christiansoe to demand an explanation on this subject from the Swedish Captain M. de Kronstadt, who replied, that he had orders to stop vessels between those two islands, and take the Danish ships.——The Governor, to maintain communications so necessary with the fortresses of Christiansoe, gave directions for acting against the Swedish brig. In consequence of this, Captain Lieutenant Wolf sailed on the 24th of July, from Christiansoe, with four gun-boats, when a cannonade took place between them and the Swedish brig.——The Swedish Captain sent a boat with a flag of truce, to ask, if war had been declared between Sweden and Denmark? The Lieutenant replied, that the Captain having declared that he would prevent communication between Christiansoe and Bornholm, he had on his side received orders to re-establish it. The cannonade lasted for some time. The Swedish brig fled, and our gun-boats re-entered Christiansoe.

Bamberg, Aug. 22.—The post from Vienna arrives, but we no longer receive that from Bohemia. Several following posts are now wanting. It appears that the Austrian Commanders who are upon the frontiers of the kingdom, have forbidden all communication with the exterior. We know that all strangers, subjects of the Confederation of the Rhine, who were taking the waters of Carlsbad and Toeplitz, in short, who were in Bohemia on any account, have received orders to leave it. We have already seen several of those strangers pass through our town on their return to their homes.——All the corps of the Army of Observation in Bavaria have received orders to advance, and are in march. We are assured that they will take new positions in the Upper Palatinate, and on the Bohemian frontiers.

AMERICAN PAPERS.

Official Particulars of the Attack on Hampton.

York County, Half-way House, June 28.

"Sir,—Although I have given you, by two communications, a partial account of the engagement with the enemy at Hampton, on the 25th instant, I will now, having it more in my power, beg leave to communicate to your Excellency a detail of the occurrences of the day.——At an early period of the morning, on the 25th instant, our Mill Creek patrol gave information, that from 30 to 40 British barges, filled with men, were approaching the mouth of Hampton Creek, by the inner channel, from the direction of Newport's Noose. Our troops were immediately formed on their encampment on the Little England plantation, south-west of, and divided from Hampton by a narrow creek, over which a slight foot bridge had been erected. In a very short time after, our Celey's patrol reported the landing and approach of a number of the enemy's troops in our rear. A little after five o'clock, several barges were seen approaching Blackbeard's Point, the headmost of which commenced a firing of round shot, which was immediately returned from our battery of four long 12-pounders. The enemy, intimidated by the quick and direct fire of our cannon, drew back and sheltered himself behind the

Point, and from thence continued to throw his round 12 and 18-pounders, accompanied by a great number of rockets, charged with combustible matter, which, with a very few exceptions, and those without injurious effect upon our detachment or encampment, either fell short of, or overreached their object.——For the space of three quarters of an hour, or more, during which time an exchange of discharges took place, without the enemy's doing any damage, our infantry troops were posted under cover of a high ditch, in front of our camp. During this period, many rockets and shot fell within our encampment. At this time our rifle company, which on the earliest information of the enemy's approach by land, had been dispatched to conceal themselves in the woods, near the road by which it was supposed the enemy was approaching, commenced a well-directed and destructive fire on the head of the invading columns. Being now well satisfied as to the attack on us from the land side, and discovering, from the timidity of the enemy in his barges, that no landing was intended to be made on our water position, and knowing that our rifle corps, from its great inferiority to the enemy, was in a very critical situation, I marched with the infantry under my command to the point of attack, in order to support it as well as to annoy the enemy in his approach, and prevent his making an attack on our rear, advantageous to his views, and in aid of his intention to surround and cut us off from retreat.——We advanced in columns of platoons, through a lane and an open cornfield, which led from our encampment to the enemy, and to the main and Celey's roads; and when in the field, within 200 yards of the gate opening into the Celey road and a thicket of pines, we were fired upon by the enemy's musketry, from a thick wood at the upper end of a field immediately bordering on the road. Upon this discharge, orders were given to wheel to the left into the line, and march upon the enemy. In this position we had marched not more than fifty yards when the enemy opened upon us two 6-pound field-pieces, loaded with grape and cannister-shot, and his machines filled with rockets of a small size. Upon this sudden, and to our whole detachment, totally unexpected attack with ordnance, I deemed it necessary to wheel again into columns, and gain, if possible, a passage through the gate defile, with a position in the woods immediately behind the ground occupied by the rifle corps, which kept the enemy in check in that quarter by its deadly discharges, under the direction of Captain Servant, who, with his brave officers and soldiers, acted in a manner worthy of veterans.——At this time Captain Cooper (a most vigilant, brave, and skilful officer), with his brave troop, although much worn down with the fatigue of patroling and other duties, were actively and closely engaged in annoying the enemy's left flank, and would have been cut off but for his superior judgment. The column was formed with all the celerity which the nature of the ground (a soft and newly-ploughed field), the advantageous situation of the enemy, aided by his sheltered position, and the partly disciplined experience of our troops would admit. During the time occupied by the change of position in our detachment, and its march through the defile, a continued fire on us was kept up by the enemy. On our reaching and passing the road into the wood, the grape-shot from a third field-piece commenced its fire on us, which, together with that from the two former, threw the platoons of our columns into confusion and retreat.——A few of our leading platoons, headed by Major Corbin and myself, wheeled promptly into the wood, and formed on the flanks of our riflemen, under a heavy and continued discharge of the enemy's cannon, musketry, and rockets. The action was now for a short time kept up with warmth and spirit, both on the part of the enemy, and of our riflemen and leading infantry platoons, commanded by Captains Shield and Herndon, with their subalterns in the first division of the battalions. Captains Ashby, Brown, Miller, and Cary, with Captain Goodall, of the United States regiment of artillery, who volunteered on this occasion, commanded the remaining divisions of the detachment, and acted with great courage and coolness.——In this sharp and trying contest, Major Corbin received in his left arm and leg two severe wounds, with a musket ball in the neck of his horse. My efforts, aided by the brave Adjutant Robert Anderson, and Lieutenant John P. Armstead, were directed to rally the rear and retreating platoons of the detachment, which were dispersing in every direction, while a large body of the enemy made an effort to outflank and cut off our retreat. It now became indispensably necessary for all our troops to retire, which they did under a continued but ill-directed fire from the enemy, who pursued for two miles with little loss on our part, while our men, oc-

casionally stopping at a fence or ditch at every fire, brought down one of the pursuing foe.——Captain Pry with Lieutenants Lively and Jones, and his brave and active matrosses, after slaughtering many of the enemy with his field-pieces, remained on the ground till surrounded, and when the enemy was within 60 or 70 yards of the fort, they spiked their guns, broke through the enemy's rear, and, by swimming a creek, made good their retreat without losing a man, taking with them their carbines, and hiding them in the woods. Too much praise cannot be given to this band of heroes.—— From accounts which can be most relied upon, the enemy landed, and had drawn up in battle array, at least 2,500 men. Their loss cannot be less than two hundred, and is believed to be half as many more. Our little force was 349 infantry and rifle, 62 artillery, and 25 cavalry. The loss on our part is seven killed, twelve wounded, one prisoner, and eleven missing, who are believed to be in the neighbourhood with their families.——To give you, Sir, an idea of the savage-like disposition of the enemy, on their getting possession of the neighbourhood, would be a vain attempt. Although Sir Sydney Beckwith assured me that no uneasiness need be felt in relation to the unfortunate Americans, the fact is, that on yesterday there were several dead bodies lying unburied, and the wounded not even assisted into the town, although observed to be crawling through the fields towards a cold and inhospitable protection.——The unfortunate females of Hampton, who could not leave the town, were suffered to be abused in the most shameful manner, not only by them, but the venal savage blacks, who were encouraged in their excesses. They pillaged, and encouraged every act of rapine and murder, killing a poor man of the name of Kirby, who had been lying on his bed at the point of death for more than six weeks, shooting his wife in the hip at the same time, and killing his faithful dog lying under his feet. The murdered Kirby was lying last night weltering in his bed!——I shall return to Hampton this evening or in the morning, with the troops under my command, and such reinforcements as may meet me, where we will endeavour to make another stand. The enemy evacuated the town at three o'clock yesterday morning.——I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

(Signed) "STA. CRUTCHFIELD.

"*His Excellency Governor Barham.*"

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 22, 1813.

Downing-street, Aug. 22, 1813.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received by Earl Bathurst, from Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, Aug. 11, 1813.

No particular change has taken place in the position of either of the contending armies on this frontier since I addressed your Lordship on the 4th instant.——I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the enemy's fortified post at Saragoza surrendered, by capitulation, to General Mina, on the 30th ultimo. He has taken there above five hundred prisoners, forty-seven pieces of cannon, a vast quantity of ammunition, arms, clothing, &c. &c.——The last accounts which I have received from Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck are of the 1st instant; he was then in the neighbourhood of Terragona——I enclose a return of killed and wounded, who were not included in the returns transmitted in my dispatches to your Lordship of the 1st and 4th instant.

Supplementary Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. from the 30th of July to the 1st August, 1813, *inclusive.*

14th Light Dragoons. 1 horse killed; 1 rank and file missing.—1st Hussars, King's German Legion. 1 Lieutenant, 2 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—3d or Buffs, 1st Batt. 1 Captain, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 drummer, 24 rank and file, wounded.—31st Foot, 2d Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 33 rank and file, wounded.—45th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 Lieutenant, 7 rank and file, wounded.— 57th Foot, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 19 rank and file, wounded.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 Staff, 3 serjeants, 11 rank and file, wounded.—66th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 Major, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 19 rank and file, wounded.—74th Foot. 1 Captain, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 35 rank and file. wounded.—88th Foot, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file wounded.—92 Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file missing.

Total British Loss—2 Captains, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Staff, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 153 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 6 rank and file missing.

British Officers killed, 30th July.

3d or Buffs. Capt. Walsh.—74th Foot. Capt. Whitting.

British Officers wounded, 30th July.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion. Lieut. Ilten, slightly.—3d or Buffs. Lieut. Colclough, ditto.—31st Foot, 2d Batt. Capt. Girdlestone,

Ensign William Smith, severely.—45th Foot. Lieut. Humfrey, ditto.—66th Foot, 2d Batt. Major Dodgin, slightly; Capt. Goldie (Major), Lieut. Hickin, severely; Lieut. Dobbin, slightly.—74th Foot. Lieut.-Col. the Hon. L. P. Trench, ditto; Capt. Moore (Major), Lieut. Pattison, Lieut. Duncomb, severely; Lieut. Tew, slightly.

1st August.

60th Foot. 5th Batt. Adj. Kent, slightly.

LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 31.

Downing-Street, Aug. 20, 1813.—A Dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has this day been received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, 18th August, 1813;

The enemy's detachment under General Paris, which had remained at Jaca since it retired from the Ebro, retired again from that place into France on the night of the 11th. A garrison of 800 men has been left in Jaca.——No movement has been made by the allied troops, nor any of consequence by the enemy, since my last report.——I have no recent accounts from Lieutenant General Lord William Bentinck.——I learn from General Mina, that Duroca surrendered on the 11th instant.

GOTTENBURGH MAILS.

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.

FIRST BULLETIN.

Head-quarters at Oranienburg, Aug. 13.

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince arrived here yesterday, and has fixed his head-quarters at this place.——The united army of Northern Germany, of which his Royal Highness has the command, occupies the following position:——A part of the 4th Prussian corps d'armee, which forms the reserve, under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Count Tauenzien, has its head-quarters at Muncheberg, and stretches its right wing towards Berlin.——The 4th Prussian corps d'armee, under Lieut.-Gen Von Bulow, has its head-quarters at Berlin, and in conjunction with Count Tauenzien's corps, forms the left wing of the allied army.——The Swedish army, commanded by Field-Marshal Count Von Stedingh, is assembling in the vicinity of Oranienburg, with its head near Spandau. The head-quarters are here. The first Swedish division is under the command of Lieutenant-General Skioldebrand, and the second under that of Major-General Baron Posse. This last division, together with a separate brigade detached from the third division, forms a corps commanded by Lieut.-General Baron Sandels. The whole Swedish force is in the centre of the Allied Army. The right wing consists of Russian troops, under the orders of Lieut.-General Baron Winzingerode, whose head-quarters are at Brandenburg. Lieut.-General Count Woronzow's corps belongs to this wing, with its head-quarters at Plaue.——A Prussian corps, under Major-Gen. Herschfeldt, is in front of Magdeburg.——It is connected by its left wing with the Russian army, and by its right with the corps of observation on the Lower Elbe, under Lieut.-Gen. Count Wallmoden. Its head-quarters are at Schweren, and its advanced posts reach from Lenzen to Dassau, and the middle towards Lubeck. Lieut.-General Baron Von Vegesack belongs to this corps d'armee; he has under his command 3,000 Swedish troops, 3,000 Prussians, and 3,000 Mecklenburghers.——Separate corps belonging to Count Tauenzien's army blockade Custrin and Stettin.——Major-General Gibbs has landed at Stralsund with a corps of 3,000 English troops.——General Baron Aldercreutz is at the head of the General Staff of the United Army of the North of Germany, and has under him the Major-General Baron Tarvast, and Count Gustav Lowenbjein, as Adjutant-General, to receive and forward orders.——The army is so disposed, that within a march and a half, upwards of 80,000 men can be in the line.——Whilst his Royal Highness on the 1st inst. in the forenoon was reviewing the troops, which are blockading Stettin, and causing them to manœuvre, and at the same time to threaten the fortress works, a howitzer was pointed at his Royal Highness; the grenade fell thirty paces behind him, and burst. His Royal Highness, who discovered some French soldiers creeping forwards before the outer-works, and whom the Cossacks, after the shot having taken place from the fortress, were on the point of attacking, caused the French Commandant to be called to him, and who accordingly appeared before his Royal Highness, accompanied by a Commissary at War. The Crown Prince mildly stated to him, that the Commanding Officer in Fort Prussia had broken the truce, and fired on his Royal Highness's escort, and added, "I might make you all prisoners of war, were I to command the cavalry to attack you, and you could not defend yourselves,

being without arms. The Officer made excuses, and expressed his sorrow for the accident. After his Royal Highness having conversed with him for a short time, he retired. The French soldiers expressed their hearty wishes for the restoration of peace, and to see an end put to the calamities of war. To judge from the preparations of the Allies at Stettin, it is to be expected that the fortress will be stormed on the conclusion of the armistice. By the zeal and industry of those officers who have the charge of supplying the army with provisions, it has not as yet suffered any deficiency. The number of sick is very trifling.

Second Bulletin of the Combined Army of the North of Germany.

Head-quarters, Potsdam, Aug. 16.

The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this city last night.——The army is concentrating.——At the expiration of unavailing negociations entered upon at Prague, the Armistice was denounced on the 10th by the Allies, so that hostilities may be renewed to-morrow. On the 11th, at one in the morning, Count Metternich delivered to the Count de Naabonne, at Prague, the Declaration of War by Austria against France.——[Here follows the Proclamation of the Prince Royal to the Combined Army.]

Third Bulletin of the Combined Army of the North of Germany.

Head-quarters, Charlottenburgh, Aug. 18.

The Prince Royal left Potsdam at three o'clock yesterday morning, and transferred his head-quarters to this place.——Repeated advices have been received, that the enemy's troops were assembling in force at Bayreuth and in the direction of Trebbin, to make a push on Berlin. His Royal Highness concentrated the combined army between that capital and Spandau. Nearly 90,000 combatants have arrived in that position since yesterday evening. Some corps have marched 10 German miles in 36 hours.——Lieut.-Gen. Baron de Winzingerode has made a reconnoissance on the right with 8 or 9,000 cavalry. He pushed forward as far as Wittenberg and Juterbock, on the left flank of the enemy, and made some prisoners, two of whom are Captains. The Bavarian Colonel Count de Sessel has been taken, with some cavalry. Lieut. de Vins, of the regiment of Hussars of Pomerania, attacked the enemy at Zesch, and took 52 men and 21 remount horses belonging to a regiment of Hesse Darmstadt cavalry.——The enemy, as far as it is yet known, has not passed the frontier, except with reconnoitring parties.——The French General of Division de Jomini, Chief of the Staff *of the army commanded by the Prince of Moskwa, came over on the 15th to the Allies,* and, passing through the army of General Blucher, proceeded to the Russian head-quarters. He has confirmed the intelligence of the Emperor Napoleon's project to attack the army covering Berlin.——General Blucher occupied Breslau on the 14th.

Copy of a Letter from the General in Chief, Barclay de Tolly, to the Prince of Neufchatel.

Reichenbach, 27th July (Aug. 8), 1813.

"Sir, the Major-General of the French Armies,——The negociations opened at Prague, for the re-establishment of peace between the Allied Courts and France, not having led to the object proposed by them, I am ordered to denounce the Armistice concluded at Pleiswitz on the 23d of May (June 4), and prolonged at Neumarkt on the 14th (26th) July. In conformity to the stipulations of the Convention, I commission the to carry this Declaration to the head-quarters of the French army; and also to announce, that hostilities will, in consequence, commence on the 5th (17th) of August, on the part of the Russian, Prussian, and Swedish armies. I regret exceedingly that circumstances impose upon me the fulfilment of so painful a duty towards your Serene Highness; but I nevertheless seize this opportunity of renewing to you the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) BARCLAY DE TOLLY.

PRUSSIAN EDICT FOR THE LEVY-EN-MASSE, &c. &c.

[*From the Berlin Gazette of July* 31.]

We, Frederick William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.——Beholding with satisfaction the perseverance and

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. XXIV. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 11, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Continental War.——This war has again begun, and, to all appearance, with more likelihood of failure on the part of the Allies than has marked the commencement of any former war on the continent, since the beginning of the French revolution. ——The London press talks a very different language, and foretells nothing but ruin to Buonaparté. The accounts of his success they treat as fables; they represent him as pressed with difficulties on all sides; they exult before-hand in his fall. The nation believes them implicitly, and it will not be undeceived until long after he shall have defeated and dispersed this new and grand coalition. This is my opinion. The end will show who is right, and who wrong; but I continue to believe, that the old Royal families of Europe, all united together, are not a match for the men who have risen up out of obscurity, during the last twenty years.——The Courier news-paper, in extolling what he calls the new tactics of the Allies, ascribes the change "to the *master* "*mind of Moreau, or of the Crown Prince.*" ——Reader, are you not astonished, that there should be men so destitute of all shame as to hold such language as this under such circumstances? Who are this Moreau and the Crown Prince? Why, they are two men, who long served under Buonaparté; one of whom has been exalted by him to be the successor of the King of Sweden; and the other, a man whose life he spared, when he stood accused of an offence against himself and against France. At any rate, they are two *Frenchmen.* Two Frenchmen they are, to whom we are now taught to look; two revolutionary Frenchmen, on whose wisdom and virtue we are taught to rely for the deliverance of Europe.——Is it come to this, at last? Is there nobody but Frenchmen capable of contending against Frenchmen? Is there no other nation able to furnish a General fit to take the field against the armies of France? If there be not, how are we to expect that these Frenchmen will be sufficiently supported; if there be, how are we to suppose, that the officers serving under these Frenchmen will act with a degree of zeal, necessary to success in such a cause? ——How often, reader, have you heard these news-papers abuse those persons who were inclined to think highly of the talents and courage of Frenchmen? For my part, I have frequently, notwithstanding the prejudices I had to encounter, expressed my admiration of the skill and valour of French officers. I have, indeed, spoken of them as being superior in these qualities to the officers of other nations, and I thought that their deeds warranted what I said. Most unmercifully have I been abused for this. I have been called the friend of France; the admirer of all that was French; and some have called me, not only the friend, but the spy of Buonaparté.——What, I wonder, will these miscreants now say, when they themselves have discovered, that it is perfectly proper; that it is for the interest and honour of all the old Royal families of Europe, that their armies should be committed to the command of one Frenchman in the field, and another Frenchman in the cabinet?——This step, on the part of the combined Sovereigns, fully justifies all that has ever been said in praise of the French revolutionary Generals. These Sovereigns have, in the selection of His Royal Highness Bernadotte and of Moreau, pretty plainly intimated to the world the want of capacity or of courage in their own Generals; for, if they did not look upon these Frenchmen as being more fit for command than their own Generals, what is the world to think of them for having made such a choice?——Upon the subject of Moreau the Courier observes, that its editor will be surprised, if that General's being with the Allies shall not have a *considerable effect upon the French* army. And what sort of an effect does this wise-acre imagine that this circumstance is likely to have upon the French army? Does he suppose, that the soldiers of the French army will go over from Buonaparté to join Moreau, a man who, at any rate, accepted of a pardon at the hands of him against whom he is now said to be assisting in carrying on

war? I do not now recollect the nature of the crime of which Moreau was accused; but this all the world knows, that Buonaparté, when he had him in his power, spared his life.——Besides, disfigure the fact as much as we please, Moreau, if he be in the army of the enemy, is fighting against France, to which, according to our own doctrine, he owes allegiance. I shall be told, perhaps, that he is only fighting against an *usurper*, but, we must now be very careful how we call people usurpers; for, after our news-papers had called Bernadotte an usurper in Sweden, we see that our own Government acknowledged him to be the lawful successor to the crown, and, in that quality, ceded to him an island, part of the old territory of France; part of the territory of the Bourbons, of whom, by the by, nobody now seems to speak. We must, therefore, be careful, I say, how we talk very loudly about usurpers.——If any *Swede* were found fighting in the army of Napoleon against the Crown Prince, we should not, I imagine, hesitate much to call him a traitor; and, I put it to the good sense of the reader, whether we ought to be much surprised if Moreau were regarded as a traitor by the army and the people of France.——For my part, I have no opinion that any good effect will arise to the Allies from putting themselves under the direction of these Frenchmen. The princes of the blood and the old nobility of France had commands in former coalitions: but, what figure did they ever make against a French army? Nay, we have not wanted run-away French revolutionary Generals to advise with. We have had the Dumouriers and the Pichegrus to give us their counsel in a war against Buonaparté; but our success in that war has been very moderate indeed. The fact is, that a French General seems to do best when he has Frenchmen under him.——The French Minister says, in his dispatches, that the circumstance of Moreau being with the enemy's army has excited universal indignation; but, our news-papers hold forth, that his conduct will be approved of by the French army, who, they seem to think, will be ready to go over to him.——There is a strange perverseness in this nation, or, rather, a strange propensity to be wilfingly deluded; or, it is impossible that the impostors of the press should venture to propagate hope upon such a foundation. Have we ever seen a single instance, in which a French army has followed a General that has gone over to the other side? Did La Fayette, Dumourier, Pichegru, Sarazin, or Moreau himself; did either of these, or all of these put together, ever find so much as a single platoon of Frenchmen to desert after them? We know the contrary; we know, that the French armies have given proofs of fidelity to their country, such as never were before given by any armies in the world, because no armies in the world ever before endured such hardships, such sufferings of all sorts, as have been endured by the armies of France since the commencement of the French revolution.——Why, then, are we to suppose, that the French armies will now be filled with disaffection, merely because Moreau is to be found in the army of the Allies; Moreau, who never was a man admired in France, who never gained much glory, and whose chief pretended merit consists in his having made a judicious *retreat.*——There are Generals enough in the army of the Allies, who have had abundant experience in that sort of war which consists of retreats. We ourselves could furnish them with a very experienced General or two in this way; and, therefore, as to Moreau, I look upon him as being of no benefit at all to the cause of the coalition.——It is worthy of remark, that Moreau comes from America, where he has deposited the wealth, which he acquired while in the armies of France.——He is, I believe, a citizen of America, and one may be allowed to express one's surprise how he came not to exert his military talents, in the war, in which his new country is engaged. The truth is, I dare say, that the government of America did not choose to employ him, much as we suppose them to stand in need of Generals. That government thought their army safest in the hands of their own native citizens, and really I think that, be the rest of their conduct what it may, they deserve our praise for this. ——Moreau comes, therefore, as a mere adventurer, as a mere speculator, into the army of the Allies, and I cannot conceive how it is possible that his presence in that army can be of any use to that cause. To boast of him as a great acquisition only proves the desperateness of that cause. It proves that the Allies have no confidence in their own Generals; for, if they had, it would be impossible that they should have so humbled themselves; that they should have made such an enormous sacrifice of their military character as to put their armies under the command of Frenchmen, and of revolutionary Frenchmen too.——It has been said, that, though Napoleon has

collected a great army together, still he is not so formidable as he used to be, because his soldiers have lost their former enthusiasm.——Those who tell us this do not condescend to produce any thing in proof of the truth of their assertion. They choose to assume, that such is the case, without attempting to show us the single instance in which any part of the French armies have discovered a want of enthusiasm.——They tell us that it must be so, because the French are *no longer fighting for liberty;* which is in contradiction to all that they formerly said; for they asserted, all along, that the armies of France were never fighting for liberty. They represented them as murderers, urged on by a love of plunder, and never acknowledged, that they were actuated by any better motive.——The truth is, that the people of France, are in their character a military people; the state of a soldier has always been honourable in France; a love of glory is innate in that people; a passion for dominion over other nations; a desire to be the first nation in the world, is the ruling passion with every human creature in France, where the very lowest of the people, however ignorant in other respects, seem to understand every thing relating to the glory of their country.——There is no doubt that the love of liberty, joined to the indignation which they naturally felt at seeing their country invaded, at seeing their lives threatened, because they chose to make a change in their government; there is no doubt but that these contributed greatly to the enthusiasm with which they fought at the beginning of the revolutionary war. But, when the French armies came to break out into Holland, Germany, Italy, and Egypt, which they did under the republican government, it was a love of glory, a love of dominion, a desire to see France the greatest nation in the world, that urged them on, and not a love of liberty, which by this time must have had a very feeble impression upon their minds.——It is not very easy, therefore, to assign a reason, why the French armies should have less enthusiasm now than they had during the last years of the republic. Nay, why should they have less enthusiasm than they had at the battles of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Moskwa, and many others, which have been fought since Buonaparté became an Emperor. At those battles, they were not fighting for liberty, but for the glory of France; or, if you will, for plunder. But, be the motive which carried them through those battles, and which covered the armies of France with immortal glory; be the motive which then actuated them what it might, it is impossible to produce any reason why the same motive should not actuate them now.——We are told of the cruelties of the conscription laws of France. We are told of the reluctance with which the conscripts go to the army. But we recollect very well, that from the beginning of the revolution the bodies and the property of people were put in a state of requisition. Yet that circumstance did not prevent those men who had arms put into their hands from fighting with enthusiasm.——One of the great causes of the excellence of the French army is, that all the commissions, all the posts of profit and of honour, are filled from the ranks of the army. There are no persons in the French army who have been made officers at once without having served as soldiers; the soldiers in the French army do not see strangers brought and put in command over them. Every man stands a fair chance of promotion according to his merits: and if a man do fall in battle, the survivors have at least a consolation in their constantly increasing chance of promotion. This is the great motive to deeds of valour; it is the great motive to individual exertion, and it is the union of the exertion of individuals that makes the strength of an army.——There can scarcely be an instance of a man serving in the French army, and in actual war, above four or five years, without becoming a commissioned officer. Only think of the value of this boon; only think of the encouragement to adventure in this lottery!——When this is considered, the hardships of the conscription almost wholly disappear. The young man, indeed, is taken from his home, and compelled to join the army; but, it is a profession, into which he enters, which has always been held honourable in France. He does not become degraded by the change. He does not become a poor, fallen, lost wretch, at whom his former mates shake their heads, and from whom they turn as the herd from the hunted deer. In France to become a soldier is to be raised, and not sunk in the scale of society. A private soldier in France thinks himself above those who were before his equals. A man is proud to say that he has been a soldier; and it is generally a recommendation to him rather than otherwise.——This was always the case in France even under the old government, when the commissioned officers con-

sisted exclusively of the nobility. When we are talking of the hardships of the conscription, we ought to take these circumstances into view: and above all things, we ought to recollect, that if a young man be compelled to share in the hazards of war, he comes to share also in all the profits and all the honours of the military profession. He does not come to be the underling for life; those who are to command him, have trod the same path before him: if he be exposed to hardship and danger, it is in the road to riches and honours.——This is above all others the circumstance which ought to be attended to when we are considering the motive to exertion in the French army: and for my part, I am unable to discover any motive to exertion in that army which does not now exist in as powerful a degree as it has heretofore existed.——Does the reader imagine, that an army thus constituted, is to be worked upon by language such as that which we see in the proclamations of Bernadotte and Moreau? Does the reader imagine that such an army is to be *talked* out of their warlike disposition? Does he imagine that the telling them that they are engaged in an unholy contest will slacken their zeal? Does he not think, that they will laugh most heartily at hearing Moreau invoking the aid of *Divine Providence*, on the side of the Russians and Prussians and Austrians for the independence of Germany?——The very language of the Allies seems to indicate a want of confidence in themselves. The Austrian General bids his soldiers be thankful that they are going into battle before God, who will not forsake the just cause. Bernadotte places great reliance on the Same Omnipotent Being; and even Moreau talks in the same style.——Now, we know, that Divine Providence has long been upon the side of Buonaparté, if we are to attribute success to that cause. I do not like to hear men, upon such occasions, invoking Divine Providence; because we know very well, that they seldom do it, except in cases where they have great doubt of success.——The Courier newspaper calls the proclamation of Moreau a *noble* document. It will be found in next week's Register, and if the reader recollects any thing of the kind more completely trash than this, I should be very much obliged to him if he would point it out to me. It may have suffered perhaps in the translation; but, in its English dress, it really does appear to be so senseless, such unmeaning stuff, that one cannot believe it to have been put together for any other purpose than that of announcing to the world, that this Frenchman was become a Russian Major-General, and the Chief of the Staff of the Allied Army.——They tell us of defeats of the French; of the brilliant success of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden; of the killing and wounding of French Marshals. This is announced with perfect confidence, and the people of England will believe it all as implicitly as they believe in the four Gospels, upon which they swear. Yet do I firmly believe, that not one single syllable of this news is true. That is nothing, however, as to the effect of these publications. The nation will believe them to contain truth, and as they will never be contradicted in the same papers through which they have passed, they will always be believed. They will be recorded in the minds of the people for truth, and the nation will be utterly surprised, by and by, to find, that, notwithstanding all these successes, the work of deliverance in Europe goes on very slowly.——The Morning Chronicle, which is the organ of the faction, which is out of place, is just as great a deceiver as the Courier, which is the organ of those that are in power. Nay, the former is, of late, become rather the worst of the two. It finds that its supporters are as eager for continuing the war as the other party, and, therefore, it falls into every thing calculated to give encouragement to a continuation of the war.——This being the state of the press, it is next to impossible, that the people of this country should get at the truth, or any thing like the truth, relative to the events of this campaign. We must prepare ourselves for more falsehood than ever before flowed even from the prostituted press of this country. Talk of the ignorance in which the people of France are kept! What impudence, what matchless impudence must these writers possess, to speak thus of the state of knowledge in France, while they themselves are knowingly filling the heads of the people of England with lies too ridiculous to be believed by any nation in the world, the English only excepted.——I believe, most firmly, that the people of France are truly informed as to almost every event of the campaign. I shall always bear in mind the honest, though dismal, account which Buonaparté gave of his retreat from Moscow. He discovered upon that occasion more greatness

of character than upon any other, except, perhaps, when, in order to remove the alarm of his soldiers, and to procure attendance upon his sick in Egypt, he went in person into the pest-house, and touched the bodies, and kissed the cheeks of those who were lying upon their beds, under the tortures of the *plague.* Here he shewed a greatness of character, surpassing any thing which is recorded of Alexander, of Scipio, of Hannibal, or of Cæsar; but even here he did not discover more real greatness of mind than he did in his Bulletin after his retreat from Moscow, where, in order to draw forth a new army from France, he frankly stated to his people all the hardships, all the miseries, all the mortality, of his former army; telling them in conclusion, that these events would have broken his heart, if he could have doubted for one moment, that France possessed the spirit to surmount the calamity.——When I look back to this Bulletin, and contrast it with accounts which I have seen given in other nations after failures in war, I cannot regard the people of France as being kept in ignorance of the events of war. Indeed I look upon the people of France as being, in this respect at least, fairly dealt with. I believe that they have true accounts laid before them, and this I take to be one of the causes of the great confidence which they seem to repose in their Emperor, and which confidence we see is not to be shaken by any events of war, however untoward. ——And are we to be persuaded that such a man, at the head of such a people, is to be overset by a motley army, an army of all nations, commanded too by men who are Frenchmen by birth, and who must be an object of envy with all the Generals who are compelled to serve under them? I have no doubt that Bernadotte and Moreau are brave and skilful men; I have no doubt that they are superior in these respects to all the Generals of the Allies (always excepting *our own*), but I am very sure that it is out of nature to suppose that they will be cordially obeyed. If they gain some little victories, the honour of such victories will be grudged them; if they experience defeat, the misfortune will be wholly thrown upon them. It appears to me impossible, that an army, constituted and commanded as that of the Allies will be, should be able to triumph over almost any army having an unity of motive and of character; and what am I to think, then, of the opinion of those, who expect this motley group to beat a French army, commanded by such a man as Buonaparté?——It is very true, that the coalition is fearfully extensive; that it includes one half of Europe, and a great deal more than one-half as to population and geographical extent. I allow, that the Allies are fighting upon ground very advantageous to them; but their risk is greater than ever; because, if they are beaten now, they are beaten for the *last time.* Buonaparté must now see, that he can put his trust in nothing short of the total ruin of the old Royal Families of the Continent. He must see, that either he, or those families, must fall. Indeed it always appeared to me, that he had no choice. That he must revolutionize all Europe, on the Continent, at least, or give up his own power. His existence as a great sovereign, is incompatible with the existence of any of the old governments of the Continent. It is impossible that they can ever cordially live at peace with a man who has so humbled and degraded them. He seems to have thought otherwise. He seems to have formed the design of making one amongst them, and, indeed, of following their example in keeping down his subjects. But this scheme has failed. They turn the tables upon him, call him despot, and endeavour to excite his people to insurrection against him. He will, therefore, now perceive the necessity of a return to a reliance on the revolutionary spirit, and will seek for the establishment of his power in the total extirpation of those ancient families, in whom he meets with such implacable enemies.——This coalition, therefore, holds forth to the world the prospect of one benefit, at least, namely, that of being the last.——It must be confessed that the old families may as well go on with the war as not. It affords them a chance, at least, of recovering their former splendour, while, on the other hand, certain destruction would await them. Like the aristocrats, at the beginning of the war against France, they may lose their all in the struggle; but, without continuing the struggle *now*, they must lose their all.——Those in this country, who exult so much at the formation of this coalition, do not seem ever to have taken a view of what would be the consequence of the total defeat of the Allies. This is a thing that they do not choose to look at, they do not choose ever to perceive it possible, that the situation of England may, in consequence of this coalition, become *worse* than it would have been, had the coali-

tion never taken place. This possibility does, however, exist; and, long after it is too late, I am persuaded the people of this country will perceive it. ——In the mean time, I wish, as far as my voice can reach, to put the public upon their guard against the falsehoods, which the daily press is now putting forth with regard to the war and its prospects.

Bristol Election.—Mr. Hunt, after having stood a contest, during the last election, at the city of Bristol, such as I believe, no man before ever stood; after having supported, in person a petition against the members returned, and, with infinite ability, asserted the rights of the people; after having done more, perhaps towards awakening the dormant spirit in that part of the country than was ever before done by any man; after all this, he has, it seems, had to contend with a person, who trumped up a charge against him for services during the poll, though he expressly stated, before the election begun, that he would pay no man a farthing for any expenses whatever. The reader will be glad to hear, that an action for debt, founded on this claim, failed, after a trial at the late assizes, before Sir Vicary Gibbs, one of the judges upon the western circuit.—— It is not a little curious, that Sir Vicary Gibbs should have been the judge upon this occasion; and it will certainly be a great disappointment to some people, not to say a great mortification to them, to learn, that he paid no small compliment not only to the ability but to the *moderation* of Mr. Hunt, who pleaded his own cause upon this occasion.——Mr. Hunt, at a meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, a year or two ago, made use of some expressions, respecting Sir Vicary Gibbs, which some of the envious miscreants in London chose to represent in the most odious light; indeed they spoke of them as indicative of a savage and blood-thirsty mind, and made use of uncommon exertions to convince Sir Vicary, that if he would but be so kind as to prosecute, he would not fail of success *for want of witnesses!* The clamour, which these envious wretches set up; the exertions they made to avenge themselves on Mr. Hunt, for having more talent and more courage than themselves, are beyond all description. They appeared to be exceedingly chagrined at not being able to get the fangs of the law stuck into the object of their base animosity; but what must their feelings now be upon seeing this same Mr. Hunt wind up his Bristol Election in the manner above described, and in receiving a compliment from the very person by whom they wished and endeavoured to cause him to be prosecuted!——I will here insert the account of the trial of this action, as I find it given in the Morning Chronicle of the eighth instant, and I will then add a few observations, which, perhaps, I ought to have made many months ago.——"Webb v. Hunt.—The pleadings having been opened, Mr. Jekyll observed, that the cause was of slight importance to any but the party immediately concerned; it was a yea or nay affair for about 60l. or 70l. which Plaintiff claimed for work done for the Defendant. Plaintiff was in the profession of the Law; the Defendant was a gentleman who had lately been Candidate for the Representation of Bristol. A day or two after the commencement of the poll, the Defendant was taken ill, and finding an Inspector of Voters necessary, he applied through a friend to the Plaintiff, who for thirteen days sedulously, laboriously, and faithfully performed his duty, and that even after the labours of the day, he consumed the evening in arranging business for the morrow. He would prove that the price usually paid for this office was five guineas a day, and that he executed his task even to the satisfaction of the opposite party.——Several witnesses were here examined to prove that the Plaintiff had acted as Inspector for Mr. Hunt during the election, but neither of them proved that he did not act as a volunteer.——Mr. Hunt, who conducted his own cause, said that Webb had been described as having laboured zealously at the Hustings, so much so as to be entitled to the approbation of the opposite party: it was true, for they had given him meat and drink; and he should be able to shew that he deserved it at their hands. The fact was, that he first entered the cause as a Volunteer; he should be able to prove that he over and over again declared himself as such, but he afterwards betrayed his colours. Gentlemen found that he had no hesitation in going into St. George's Chapel, and partaking of the enemy's provisions; he should be able to prove that he was first a Commissioner, and that his brother Commissioner told him, that if sixpence would gain the election, Hunt would not pay it, and that he replied, 'I am a 'Volunteer." He should also prove,

" that on the 13th day, Webb selected a " Secret Committee of six, to whom he administered a most solemn oath not to " divulge a certain secret; which secret " was, that as Hunt had declared he would " be at no expense, a great demand would " fall upon the proposer and seconder " (Lydiard and Bright), for the Hustings, " and that he expected to be paid three guineas a day for his services, and wished " to know who was to pay him; and upon " their hesitating, he said I will go no " more upon the Hustings;—that they replied, we are all voluntary agents, and " did not care whether he went or not. " He should also be able to prove that " Webb took upon himself the office of " Treasurer, and helped himself to such " cash as he could; and that he wrote to " various persons for subscriptions, and " probably received more than his due; " that he was the only person who made a " demand for services; that he first tried " the Committee—then he tried him; that " he said to one of the Committee, 'Let " 'us sell Hunt and his cause to the White " 'Lion, for there is no money to be got " 'here.'——Mr. Hunt then called his " witnesses; the first of whom, Mr. John " Allen, of Bath, stated, that about a " week before the election, Webb asked if " friend Hunt stood for Bristol; he (Webb) " had lived in Bristol as clerk, and knew " arts would be practised against him, and " he could make himself useful if employed. Witness told him he knew Hunt's " principles, and that spending money was " out of the question. Saw Plaintiff afterwards at Bristol at the Talbot; he was " taking down the names of voters; said " he was a Volunteer; next morning went " to see him; told him a Commissioner " was wanted; and Sheriff would pay a " guinea a-day; thought that was the " meaning of the Act of Parliament; told " him it would suit him better, knowing " of his recent misfortunes; said he was " glad he had found a friend in witness; " when checked about spending money, " Webb said money was coming in, and " could afford a bottle of porter; first time " heard of Webb's demand when the books " were asked for; he then said Hunt behaved d——d shabby, and he would not " give the books up. On a question from " Mr. Jekyll, witness said he was at the " same time a Candidate for Bath.—— " Lydiard, the next witness, said that he " had heard Webb declare, 'We are all " 'Volunteers.'—Webb proposed to witness to go over to the White Lion, where, " he said, they would be well paid for past " services.——Several other witnesses testified to the same effect; and after a reply " from Mr. Jekyll, for the plaintiff,—The " Judge summed up the evidence, observing, that the Defendant, although he " had not chosen to profit by the assistance " of the profession, and had therefore given " himself a great deal of unnecessary trouble, had nevertheless conducted his cause " with considerable modesty and good " sense. His Lordship expressed himself " in terms of indignation at the prostitution of an oath, and the 'trumpery secret;' " and was decidedly of opinion, that the " Plaintiff had not established his case.—— " The Jury, after deliberating about half an " hour, returned a verdict *for Defendant.*"

——My readers will recollect, that, when Mr. Hunt first offered himself for Bristol, I addressed some letters to the Electors of that City, in which I endeavoured to convince them, that Mr. Hunt was a more fit person to represent them in parliament than Sir Samuel Romilly. This endeavour brought upon me a torrent of abuse from various quarters. Several persons at Bristol wrote to me letters of remonstrance. Some of them, and particularly a Mr. Elton, took an opportunity, in the meanest way, to calumniate me in their meetings at Bristol. In short, such an uproar was made in consequence of my having dared to suppose, that Mr. Hunt was a more proper person to be a member of parliament than Sir Samuel Romilly, that I do not recollect, even in my uproar of a life, any thing to equal it.——The reader will be surprised, perhaps, to hear, that all the persons who remonstrated with me upon that occasion, and who lived at Bristol, and had an opportunity of witnessing the conduct of Mr. Hunt there, have, either to myself or to Mr. Hunt, retracted the substance, at least, of what they said against him.—— They had been misled, without doubt, or, at least, the greatest part of them, by the falsehoods of the conceited and envious wretches in London. When they came to see Mr. Hunt themselves, and to hear him, they saw that they had been deceived. They saw, too, I believe, that my opinion was correct, and that Mr. Hunt was the proper man to contend against the enemies of freedom in their city, where the struggle is such as to be encountered by no man of common courage.——The people of Bristol have now seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears what sort of

a man Mr. Hunt is: and I trust that, when another occasion offers, they will not fail to place him where he may render them and the country effectual service.——As to Mr. Elton, when I go to Bristol, I intend to ask him, whether the words which he uttered with respect to me, or which, at least, were published as his speech, were really uttered by him; and as to the envious miscreants, who call upon Sir Vicary Gibbs to prosecute Mr. Hunt, I will leave them to the enjoyment of their mortification.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 9th September, 1813.

TITHES.

SIR,—Being a second time honoured with a place in your Register of the 4th inst., I proceed to examine the different reasons usually brought in defence of the tithe system. 1st Divine right. In the present day to plead Divine right would be to insult the understandings of your readers; and the man who would claim his *right* to tithe, on this account, would be thought as absurd as if from divine right he should attempt to impose the ceremony of Circumcision. The argument used for the practice of the one might, with equal propriety, be applied to the defence of the other, both being of Jewish institution, and peculiar to the circumstances which that nation was placed in, are equally inapplicable to any thing under the Christian economy. Judge Blackstone, and most eminent writers on this subject, will not advise any claim to be set up on this account—common sense revolts at it, and without further notice it may be dismissed. 2d, Charitable contributions and appropriations arising from the gifts of those who possessed estates. These gifts and contributions, on examination, will be found granted for the support of the poor; and if tithes are claimed on this account, the appropriation ought to be abided by, or the *justice* of the claim falls to the ground. Whoever sets up this reason, or rather pretence for collecting of tithes, proclaims a fraudulent appropriation. It was this view of the subject that brought the 11th Henry VIIth to the relief of the poor, who were allowed to plead in *forma pauperis*, and recover in some instances their right to apply tithe to their own benefit, and agreeable to the will and wish of the original grantor; and as right or just claim cannot stand on fraudulent foundation it is wise to lay this on the shelf with divine right, and keep it out of sight as much as possible. ——3. The Decrees of Popes and Councils. Whoever will take the trouble to trace the history of the Decrees of Popes and Councils on the subject of tithes, will find it as great a compound of folly and fraud as has ever been exhibited in the darkened page of ecclesiastical history; one extract from Hume's History of England shall suffice to support this assertion: "Bounty for the "church atoned for every violence against "society, and the remorses of cruelty, "murder, treachery, and assassination, "were appeased, not by amendment of "life, but by penances, and servility to "the monks, and an abject and illiterate "devotion." How strange that a Protestant country who, on the legislature being disposed to grant some indulgence to the Catholic, should roar out no popery, and quietly submit to that *sanctified wrong*, that *very dregs of popery*, the tithe system; how much greater a reformer would Harry the Eighth have been, if instead of perpetuating this oppression, he had permitted to have remained the trifling ceremonies of the papal church, so much reprobated by Protestants, and released these realms from the *tithe curse*.——The brief history of the rise and progress of the tithe system through the dark ages of popery, is no other than this: the fears of the superstitious were operated upon by the craft of the priesthood, until kings were caught in the same trammels, and enforced and consolidated by their influence and edicts what the people had for a long season successfully resisted. When, therefore, those who plead for the tithe system consider the reasons already given as untenable, they proceed to entrench themselves under the "*Grants of kings and princes;*" one curious specimen of which I will, with permission, state for the benefit of your readers, the preamble runs thus: "because "through the providence of Divine mercy "we know it to be so ordered, and by the "churches published far and near, every "body has heard, that by the distributions "of *alms*, persons may be absolved from "the bonds of sin, and acquire the rewards "of heavenly joy. I, Stephen, by the "grace of God King of England, being "willing to have a part with them, who "by a happy kind of *trading*, exchange "heavenly things for earthly, and smitten "with the love of God for the salvation of "my own soul, and the souls of my father "and mother, and all my forefathers and

"ancestors, grant and confirm divers "things, tithes, and other things granted "to the church, &c.'" ——The pretence for this grant is the absolution from sins; and if indeed we did believe we could be absolved from our sins and obtain passports to Heaven, and partake of heavenly joys in consequence, and that for all our family also, one might be almost reconciled to paying *alms or tithes to the poor*; but no one believing any such thing, I should be glad to hear one good reason why the tithe system should exist when the benefits received in exchange no longer exist. It should also be observed, that it was still reckoned *alms for the poor*; and during those times when the priests were endeavouring to appropriate them to their own use, the greatest complaints were made, and one which will appear rather ludicrous to modern ears, is to be found from Wickliffe, our great reformer in the reign of Richard IId, "Ah, Lord God! where "this be reason to constrain the poor peo- "ple to find a worldly priest sometimes "unable both of life and cunning, in pomp "and pride, covetise, and envy, glutton- "ness, drunkenness, and lechery, in si- "mony, with fat horse and jolly, and gay "saddle and bridle, ringing by the way, "and himself in costly clothes and pelure, "and to suffer their wives and children "and poor neighbours to perish for hun- "ger, thirst, and cold, and other mis- "chiefs of this world: ah, Lord Jesu "Christ! sith within few years men paid "their tithes and offerings at their own "will, free to good men, and able to get "great worship of God to profit and fair- "ness of holy church, fighting on earth "why it were lawful and needful that a "worldly priest should destroy this holy "and approved custom, constraining men "to have this freedom, turning tithes "and offerings *to wicked uses.*" —— Here, Sir, you have one of the most ancient kingly grants, and one of the most emphatic complaints made by the celebrated Wickliffe; the object of this quotation is to shew this historic fact, that Tithes were granted by kingly decrees to *the poor, but were got hold of by the priest*, and the poor left in *the lurch.* Will any one say that the clergy have a right or just claim to the Tithe on account of ancient grants and decrees of kings and councils? I believe the history of the fraud of which Wickliffe complains, will drive them to seek more plausible reasons, and I do not wonder, if in your haste to apologize for the tithe system in your Register, June 5th, you declare,—"we need not go to the origin of tithe." Their history will not afford one single argument for right or just claim. It must be admitted, however, that the legislation of more modern date has sanctioned that which commenced in superstition and folly, and incorporated it with the law of the land. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, a great change took place in church affairs, but in general those who plead for church *dues*, as they are called, will not take their stand here. Most writers of this sort accusing Henry VIII. with sacrilege and robbery in all that he did. Admitting then, that tithes are the custom of the day, and the law of the land, does it follow that the claims are founded in justice: this would be admitting that every law that was made was just, a position that no one surely will attempt to defend. A few years since we heard of the right of traders in slaves, that their property and capital was embarked in this traffic, under the sanction of long continued custom, and the protection of the legislature; but the country and legislature being convinced of the injustice of the Slave Trade, *to their honour it was* abolished in defiance of the powerful interest brought forward in its support. We hear too of the *right* of borough mongers, the right of sinecure place-holders, both pleading the custom and connivance, if not the sanction of the legislature; but will any disinterested person pretend to say, that their claims are founded in justice, or that they have really a right or *just claim* to their present demands. The same may be said of tithe gatherers of every description. The history of the rise and progress of tithe, as well as the present claims of tithe gatherers, appear to my senses so completely founded in injustice, though the legislature may protect the tithe gatherer, as he has done the borough monger, and the slave trader, yet I cannot but think that the injustice of the tithe system is already so manifest to the public, that the period is not far distant when agriculture will be released from this intolerable burden. Not willing to occupy too large a share of your Register, I have deferred the consideration of your assertion contained in your Register of June the 5th, for another letter; and remain, Sir, yours respectfully, R. F.

Marden, Sept. 5th, 1813.

ALLEGIANCE.

Sir,—In addressing you a second time on the subject of naturalization, previous to

the principles contained in my first letter having been attempted to be answered, may by some be considered as prematurely occupying the valuable pages of your Register. But it appears to me, that the principles there laid down, require a stronger elucidation than what accompanied them; for, although they appear conclusive to *me*, they will be viewed as *assertions* only, by those who are not in the habit of tracing modes of legislation to their first causes.——When I addressed you last, your Register was not at hand, and the strong terms which you make use of in p. 163, had really escaped my recollection. You say, that unalienable allegiance, "generally speaking, is founded in nature as well as in law; for it appears not more unnatural for a son to raise the instrument of death against his mother, than for a citizen to bear a sword against the State wherein he has first drawn his breath." Had this sentence occurred to me, I certainly should have been more careful to elucidate the principles I contend for, and which appeared to me that all friends of rational freedom would applaud; but I am fearful of having Mr. Cobbett for an opponent, although the remaining part of his discourse inculcates so much moderation.——You will excuse me, Sir, at making a few observations on the above sentence of yours; and first, you say "*generally*." I wish you had given a definite opinion, and could have mentioned *all* the exceptions to your rule, or are they to be left to the *discretion* of *judges*, or *juries*, or *Secretaries of State?* or who is to be the judge in this great question? or is the *rank* of the person who expatriates to be the criterion of guilt? or can there be a positive law enacted with every exception fully defined? These considerations, together with the cases cited by you, shew what absurdities we may run into when there is a departure from true principles. The doctrine laid down by Mr. Locke may be made a rule without any inconsistent conclusion, it harmonizes in all its parts; and with the man who objects to it, I must beg to ascend a step higher in argument, for he must contend that man is *not born free;* but I should suppose, that none could be found, even in this age, of lack of principle, to contend for the natural slavery of man. It is not for me, Sir, in my search after *truth*, to be guided by *precedents*, they are the *worst* arguments of a *bad* cause, and never will be heeded by the philosopher or the patriot. I, no doubt, shall be told that this country did so and so, and another did this and that; but what is that to me? I am not inquiring what others *did*, but what they *ought* to have done; but by way of curiosity, I perhaps, may take the trouble of looking a little at the *foundation* of those governments, when no doubt I shall find them established in *conquest* or *priestcraft*, and instead of the rulers considering themselves as the *servants*, they became *masters*, and by degrees have degenerated into *tyrants*, and consider the people of no more account than their cattle; what the value of precedents from such countries is, I leave the discerning to judge—so much at present for the "law (or general usage) of nations."—Now, Sir, with regard to unalienable allegiance being generally "founded in nature," (here again we want the exceptions to the rule of that law of nature, and without which we shall come to a sorry conclusion) does any one suppose, that man has the propensity of the cat, attached to the dwelling more than to the inhabitant. It appears to me, that man is primarily attached to the society, to the comforts that surround him, and not to the place, merely on account of the place, but on account of his juvenile recreations being recalled to his mind on reviewing the place; remove the man's associates, and a dreary void appears; but Sir, you must observe that the attachment here explained is from *habit*, you certainly say *nature*, but here it must appear still clearer that I am right. I should be glad to hear it defined how much feeling for his native land, a man would have on being informed that he was born in England, but at the age of six months was conveyed to America, where he had been educated, and contracted connexions of various kinds; who is there that can suppose that that man can feel any attachment to this country? It appears to me, that to America that man would look with as much affection, as though he had been born there, and would consider himself bound by ties of kindred, if not by compact, to espouse the quarrels of that country.

The fact is, Sir, that man is not born a subject of any country, but subject only to his parents, nevertheless he must conform to the laws established in that society, until he arrives at years of discretion, when he becomes a free man, at liberty to choose what society or government he will belong unto; he is as free as his father was; and if his father was not free, neither was his grandfather; so that you see that unless you allow this liberty of man, you make all

men slaves to whatever laws may be in force in that state in which they happen to be born, because if not free to choose to what society they will belong, they cannot choose what laws shall govern them in their native land; for, in a natural view of the case, all lands are alike the creation of the same Lord, and man considers not where he was born, but what shall be most conducive to his comforts. It is not nature that determines the boundaries of countries. Rivers and mountains have no positive signs, that when you pass them you must consider yourself in a different country; they are boundaries of man's imagination, but from the *habits* of mankind for a series of years they are considered as *natural* lines of demarcation, but all mankind must be considered as the great family of one omnipotent God, and the land which he hath made as their inheritance, and as Pope hath well expressed it in his "Universal Prayer:"

"And binding nature fast in fate,
"Left free the human will."

Is it necessary, Mr. Cobbett, to say more to prove the natural liberty of man? and if he hath natural liberty, there is no power on earth that can take it away but by his own consent, which consent is obtained by his entering into society, and then he must be subject to the laws enacted by the majority of that society; and if this be the foundation of all legitimate government, how can a man be subject to that government to which he hath not given his consent? Although, Mr. Cobbett, I have agreed thus far in opposition to your apparent opinion, yet in the sentence following that which I have commented on, you say that you can never agree to the transfer of allegiance *a pleasure.* I am, therefore, not without hopes that we may agree upon this subject, and which must certainly be the case, provided you consider that an *express* consent *freely* obtained, must be the criterion of man's having become a member of any commonwealth. Your correspondent S. V. appears as if inclined to be satisfied with a declaratory law, even if that law prevents expatriation, so long as it permits not the natives of other countries being naturalized here; but, although I agree in the necessity of a declaratory law, I shall never be satisfied unless congenial with the liberty of man, which I cannot perceive can be in any other way than permitting the expatriation of the people of every country of the earth, unless they have voluntarily and expressly agreed to become members of the societies in which they were born, when, most certainly, that compact would be binding according to the principles laid down in my first letter.——I am, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

A Lover of Freedom.

Sept. 6, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Prussian Edict for the Levy-en-Masse, &c. &c.

(Continued from page 320.)

distinguished bravery with which our army has sustained until the present moment its struggle for our country, as well as the numerous efforts and sacrifices by which our faithful subjects have with the greatest emulation contributed in every manner to its defence, and to obtain the great results for which this struggle has been undertaken; we have firm confidence, that this public spirit, which has been manifested by all with so much glory, will never cool; and we build upon it principally our hope of success in our just cause, and of the permanent and solid establishment of all States, particularly that of Prussia.——We also perceive with pleasure the promptitude and zeal with which the Landwehr has been organized, and the levy-en-masse carried into execution; and behold with gratitude the attachments to our person, and to our country, by which the Prussian nation is particularly distinguished. In doing justice to these sentiments, we believe it to be our duty not to demand more efforts and sacrifices than necessity may exact, in order that business may suffer the least possible interruption, as upon that depends so essentially the welfare of our faithful subjects. We command them, in respect to the levy-en-masse, enjoined by the edict of the 21st April of the present year, as follows:—

Art. 1. The Levy-en-Masse shall continue and be enforced as already ordered: as the patriotism, however, which has been generally manifested induces us to think that every Citizen capable of serving is filled with an anxious desire to defend the country in case of danger, and will cheerfully obey the first summons to take up arms, if infirmities and old age do not prove obstacles to fulfilling so honourable a duty, we have made the following modifications:——2. There shall be formed out

of the Levy-en-Masse a Reserve, which being kept constantly at its full complement, may be sufficient to complete promptly the Landwehr. A particular ordinance will regulate the organization of this Reserve.——3. Moreover, in the country and in the towns which shall not contain 300 men fit for the service of the Levy-en-Masse, one-third of this number shall hold themselves ready, alternately, during one week, to enter in case of need on immediate service in mounting guard, and in fulfilling all the military and police functions that the Magistrate may require.——4. In the large cities where business is less compatible with the military service, and in which they may find more than 300 men fit for the service of the Levy-en-Masse, there shall be formed of the one-third which shall remain when the men engaged for the Landwehr shall be deducted, some permanent companies or battalions of citizens, who will make part of the Landwehr, but whose duty will be confined to the defence of the city. In those places where guards of citizens already exist, they will enter into those companies or battalions.——6. The Levy-en-Masse, as well as companies and battalions of arquebussiers and of burgess guard, will remain under the immediate orders of their respective commanders; but they will likewise be under the control of the magistrates of the police of the place or district.——8. The Ministers of Justice, without exception, as well as the Functionaries of the Police and of the Communes, with the exception of Provincial Councillors, will remain in the country on the approach of the enemy; but it is forbidden them to take any oath to obey him. All the other superior authorities, particularly all the administrative authorities, will retire: it is expected, however, that they will not withdraw until the last moment.——9. The Levy-en-Masse will be exercised and trained every Sunday and Holiday, and they will meet three evenings in each week for a like purpose.——10. The evacuation of a place, and the devastation of a district shall not be carried into execution without particular orders from the Military Governments, in case those measures shall be judged necessary. In conclusion, it is understood that it is the duty of every individual to deprive the enemy as much as possible of all means of subsistence.——We particularly recommend to our faithful subjects the observance of the above articles, and to keep in mind, that zeal when not regulated by discretion, is prejudicial to the cause it is intended to serve.

Given at Berlin the 27th July, 1813.

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

(Countersigued) HARDENBERG.

Breslau, July 19.

The Military Government judges it proper to recall to the mind of the inhabitants, the Cabinet Order of March 17, which is as follows :—

1. Every individual who, without being authorized by the Government, shall form or maintain any correspondence with the enemy, and communicate with him, either by writing or verbally.——2. Every individual who shall procure the enemy horses, arms, ammunition, or clothing.——3. Every man convicted of furnishing to the enemy forage or provisions, without having been compelled to do it by a military force which he is unable to withstand, shall, for every one of the above offences, be tried before a council of war, and if found guilty, be punished with death.

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 4, 1813.

Downing-street, Sept. 4, 1813.—A Dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received at Lord Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, August 25, 1813:

No movement of importance has been made by the enemy, or by the allies, since I transmitted my last report.——I have received reports from Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck to the 19th instant, copies and extracts of which I have the honour to enclose; from which it appears, that Marshal Suchet collected the troops under his command at Villa Franca on the 10th, consisting of from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, and Lord William Bentinck those he had within his reach in a position on the river Gaya, having suspended all the operations of the siege of Tarragona. His Lordship, however, was not satisfied with his position, which he could not occupy in sufficient strength, as he had not been joined by all the troops which he expected, and which was liable to be turned on both flanks. He therefore retired upon Cambrills without loss, in proportion as Marshal Suchet advanced, leaving Tarragona open, which place the French have

blown up and evacuated; and Marshal Suchet has again retired towards Barcelona. ——I beg to draw your Lordship's attention particularly to the enclosed report of Colonel Lord Frederick Bentinck, of the conduct of a detachment of the Brunswick hussars, in an affair with the enemy on the 15th.——I entirely approve of Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck's having retired, as he had not been able to collect his whole force, and did not consider himself sufficiently strong to fight a general action with the enemy.

Extract of a Report from Lord William Bentinck to the Marquis of Wellington, dated Cambrills, Aug. 16, 1813.

On the 3d the Duke del Parque's corps came up to Tarragona; as did the division of General Sarsfield on the 11th. General Elio could not spare the three regiments of the division of Migares, which I had requested him to send me.——On the 10th I heard that Marshal Suchet had returned to Villa Franca from Barcelona, and had brought with him five thousand men. The reports of the succeeding days, left no doubt of its being his intention to move forward; and on the 14th, I learned from the Baron d'Eroles and Colonel Manzo, that besides collecting all he could from the garrisons, he had been joined by Decaen with six thousand men.——In consequence of this intelligence, I suspended all operations for the siege of Tarragona, except the making of fascines, and landed neither artillery nor stores.——There was no position on the Gaya, as I had in my former letter supposed. There are only two carriageable roads across it, but they are at a distance of ten miles from each other. The river having no water in it, and being only impassable from the steepness of its banks, is passable for infantry every where. A corps placed in the centre could not reach either flank in time to prevent the passage of the enemy. General Whittingham, whom I had sent with his corps to the Cols of San Christina and Llebra, reported them not to be defensible with so small a force as we could allot to this object.——I had intended to have pushed on to the Llobregat. Suchet's army was at one time divided between Barcelona and Villa Franca, and its environs. A rapid movement might possibly have enabled me to fall separately upon his advanced corps, and to obtain possession of the ridge of mountains on this side the Llobregat before he could have time to bring up his troops from Barcelona. I could not execute this movement before being joined by Sarsfield, and previously Suchet had concentrated his force in Villa Franca and its neighbourhood. Suchet's force has been variously reported, from twenty to twenty-five thousand men.——The immediate vicinity of Tarragona offered a very good position in itself, but it may be completely turned by an enemy who, crossing the Cols, should approach Tarragona by Valls and Reus.——On the 14th Suchet moved a large corps upon Alta Fulla, but the road being close to the beach, the gun-boats prevented him from passing, if such were his intention.——On the 15th we drove back the posts on the Cols of San Christina and Llebra, and afterwards forced the corps at Brafia, by which they were supported, to retire. His whole army marched by this route.——Upon Suchet's continuing to advance towards Tarragona, I resolved upon retiring in the night; and the army arrived here this morning without any loss, and without receiving any molestation from the enemy. If there had been any fair chance of success, I would have given them battle.

Hospitalet, Aug. 19, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose the copy of a report which Lord Frederick Bentinck has made to me, respecting an affair which took place on the 15th, when the enemy were advancing towards Tarragona, and which terminated in a manner highly creditable to the Brunswick hussars, a part of which regiment alone was engaged with a very superior number of the enemy's cavalry.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. Bentinck, Lieut.-Gen.

Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G.

Camp, near Cambrils, Aug. 16, 1813.

My Lord,—In obedience to your directions, I marched yesterday afternoon, with the brigade of cavalry under my command, beyond Nulles and Villabella, and reconnoitred the enemy's column, which was advancing upon Valls. As soon as we began to retire, the enemy followed us both with cavalry and infantry, and a squadron of the 4th hussars pressed closely upon our rear-guard, formed by Captain Wulffen's troop of the Brunswick hussars, and attempted to charge and overpower it. The enemy was opposed each time with determined spirit and resolution; and Captain Ericheson, with his troop, being sent to the support of Captain Wulffen, the enemy

were driven back, with the loss of one officer killed, another officer wounded, and between twenty and thirty men left sabred on the field. Sixteen prisoners and eleven horses fell into our hands. I had sincere pleasure in observing the spirit displayed by the officers and men of the Brunswick hussars.—— Lieut.-Colonel Schrader, at all times zealous, was particularly useful on this occasion in restraining the impetuosity of his men.——Circumstanced as we were, with a strong column of the enemy far advanced upon our right flank, and two battalions of infantry (as I was informed by the prisoners) upon our left and rear, and in an enclosed country, I did not deem it prudent to pursue the advantage we had gained.——I regret to say that Cornet Radant, of the Brunswick hussars, was wounded and taken, and I subjoin a return of the remainder of the wounded and missing. ——I have the honour to be, &c.

FREDERICK BENTINCK, Colonel.

Wounded and Missing.

20th Light Dragoons. 2 privates, 2 horses, missing.—Brunswick Hussars. 6 privates wounded, 6 privates missing; 4 horses killed, 2 horses wounded, 2 horses missing.—Total loss. 1 officer, 13 privates, 16 horses.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieut.-General Lord William Bentinck, to the Marquis of Wellington, dated Hospitalet, Aug. 19, 1813.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the enemy blew up Tarragona last night, and have retired.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 4, 1813.

Admiral Lord Keith has transmitted to Mr. Croker dispatches from Captain Sir George Collier, dated from Passages the 27th and 28th ult. announcing that a successful attack was made upon the island of Santa Clara, at the mouth of the harbour of Saint Sebastian, at three o'clock on the morning of the 27th, by the boats of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant the Honourable James Arbuthnot, of His Majesty's ship Surveillante.——The boats were manned by the seamen and marines, and by a party of soldiers, under the command of Captain Cameron, of the 9th regiment.——The only landing-place was under a flight of steps, commanded by a small entrenchment thrown up on the west point, and completely exposed to the fire from grape of the whole range of works on the west side of the rock and walls of St. Sebastian's. These local circumstances enabled a very small garrison, of an officer and twenty-four men, to make a serious resistance, by which two of our men were killed, and one officer of the army, and another of the marines, and fifteen seamen and marines, were wounded.——The conduct of the officers and men was highly meritorious; each was anxious to be foremost. Lieut. Bell, of the royal marines, had the good fortune first to succeed in getting on shore, and was immediately followed by Captain Cameron, of the 9th, and Captain Henderson, of the engineers.——Sir George Collier further states, that the batteries against Saint Sebastian's had opened again on the morning of the 26th, and continued a terrible fire on the place to the date of Sir George's last communication. A new sailor's battery had been erected on the island of Santa Clara, by which the works of the place would be enfiladed.——The casualties in the breaching batteries were few, and of the seamen employed in them there had been but one wounded.

Return of Killed and Wounded of a Detachment of Seamen and Marines, at the Assault upon the Island of Santa Clara, on the morning of the 27th August, 1813.

Killed.—Isabella Transport. Nathaniel Adkin, second mate; William Foster, seaman.

Wounded.—Lieutenant Chadwick, 9th regiment; Lieutenant Raye, of the royal marines, belonging to His Majesty's ship Ajax.——Surveillante. William Waddy, seaman, dangerously; George Rex, corporal of marines, ditto; Thomas Cooke, private marine, ditto; Jas. Dinnacombe, private marine, ditto (since dead) James Collins, John Nowland, Robert Maxey, Wm. Smith, seamen, severely; James Russell, seaman, slightly.—President. James M'Creckan, seaman, severely; John Bluer, marine, slightly.—Revolutionnaire. None.—Ajax. 1 midshipman (name not reported).—Isabella Transport. George Hunter, seaman, dangerously, Henry Noble, seaman, badly.—Millbank Transport. John Segurtt, seaman, badly.

(Signed) JAS. ARBUTHNOT,
Lieutenant commanding Detachment.

Extract from the Manifesto of the Regency of Spain, relative to the conduct of the Nuncio of his Holiness in these Kingdoms, dated the 8th of July, signed L. De Bordon; Cardinal du Scala, Archbishop of Toledo, President.

The Regency would be wanting in the most essential of its obligations, if it did not put an end to the dangerous manœuvres of the Nuncio of his Holiness in these kingdoms, D. Pedro Gravina, Archbishop of Nicea. His political conduct has for a long time been such, that the Regency almost considers it necessary to excuse itself for its long forbearance; but while there was a

shadow of hope that he would discover his error, and not exceed the limits of his legitimate powers, the Regency believed it ought to respect the name and dignity of this prelate, and the representation of the Holy Father by whom he had been sent. ——The Regency, influenced by these powerful considerations, endeavoured to turn him from his purpose, first by arguments, and afterwards by remonstrances. Seeing the inutility of these, it intimated to him, though with great regret, that if he continued his rash conduct, it would see itself under the necessity of removing him from these kingdoms.* The Nuncio, however, obstinately continuing his former conduct, a conduct incompatible with the public tranquillity, and destructive of the authority of Government, the Regency saw itself under the harsh but indispensable necessity of carrying into effect the banishment threatened, and the occupation of his temporalities, as imperiously required by the sacred law for the preservation of the state and of individuals.——The tribunal of the Inquisition, introduced into these kingdoms by the Catholic Sovereigns Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, having been abolished by the Cortes, after a mature and deliberate examination, and re-established in its stead the law of the *Partidas;* and ordered, that the decree and manifesto, in which they explain the just and powerful reasons which had induced them to abolish that tribunal, should be read in all the parishes of the Monarchy at the celebration of High Mass, for the information of the people. The Nuncio pretended, that the Inquisition could not be abolished without the consent of his Holiness; and to that effect made a representation to the Regency on the 5th of March, writing at the same time to the Bishop of Jaen, and to the Chapters of the vacant sees of Granada and Malaga, declaring his opposition to the Decree and Manifesto, exhorting them to conform to his dictate, and charging them to proceed with the greatest reserve.——The Regency on the 23d of April, by the Minister of Grace and Justice, admonished the Nuncio not to exceed his authority, since any excess in that respect on his part would be contrary to the rights and privileges of the Crown; and to prevent any ill impression, published a manifesto, directed to the Prelates and Chapters, informing them of the conduct of the Nuncio.——The Nuncio, through the intervention of the Secretary of State, transmitted to the Government on the 28th of April, a note expressive of his surprise at this resolution, and that it had been communicated to him by the Minister of Grace and Justice, and not by the Secretary of State. This note was accompanied by copies of the letters, which he wrote to the Bishop of Jaen and to the Chapters of Granada and Malaga, and of an answer to the official note communicated to him by the Minister of Grace and Justice, which contains the following expressions, sufficiently strong to give offence to the Regency: "That he could not but believe that he was under an indispensable obligation to act as he had done in quality of Legate of the Pope, and in fulfilment of the duties of his ministry." "That though he wished nothing more than the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, and though it was contrary to his character to intermeddle in other subjects than those belonging to the duties of his legation, yet in ecclesiastical matters he was obliged to engage in that correspondence and communication which was required by the duties of his office." And, as if these words were not sufficient to offend the Regency, he adds, that "if the conduct of corresponding with the Reverend Bishops, and acting as he had before done, gave any offence to the Cortes, they might act as they thought proper relative to himself, as he believed that his conduct would merit the approbation of his Holiness, and that it would give him a great satisfaction to know, that in support of the character of his representative, his legate looked with the greatest indifference on his temporalities." He was answered in a dispatch of the 5th of May, that his surprise would have been just, if the note of the Minister of Grace and Justice had been in answer to his memorial of the 5th of March, which he presented as Nuncio; but that in this note that subject had only been mentioned incidentally and relatively to the letters which he had written as Archbishop of Nicea to the Bishops and Chapters, exhorting them to delay, and even refuse obedience to the Decree of the Cortes, and in reference to the expressions which had called the attention of the Cortes, and of which they applied for an explanation. In his answer of the 9th of May, he continued to insist on what he had before said, adding that he considered himself as obliged to maintain correspondence with the Bishops and Chapters, at once to receive from them their explanations and elucidations, and to exhort them to the fulfilment of their respective duties, and of the oath which they had taken to defend the rights of the Church and of the holy Apos-

tolic See; that such correspondence was necessary for the due discharge of his functions as Nuncio, and was authorized by the practice of all churches; that with this object the letters were addressed to the Bishops and Chapters, enjoining them secrecy for the maintenance of order and public tranquillity. The Nuncio adds, that the greater part of the Bishops, even those who were resident in Cadiz, had made known their opinion on this subject, in the hope, that as Legate of the Pope, he would take that part which he should judge proper, and that he had therefore been induced to give his advice and instruction to the Prelates and Chapters, which he had done in the manner suitable to his office, and that he should pursue the same conduct whenever similar subjects should be in question.——This declaration took away all hope, that the Nuncio would depart from his determination to offend against the rights and privileges of our captive King; and though the Regency was for a time restrained by its respect and reverence for the Pope, and the esteem and affection which it entertained for his Nuncio, yet, after having heard the opinion of the Council of State in defence of the imprescriptible rights and privileges of the Crown, it resolved, as authorized by the laws, and by the history of all Catholic Nations, to direct that the following Note should be communicated to the Nuncio:—

NOTE *from the Minister of State communicating to the Nuncio his removal from those kingdoms, and the occupation of his Temporalities in them.*

Senor,—The political conduct of your Excellency, in respect to the decree of the general and extraordinary Cortes, abolishing the tribunal of the Inquisition, obliged the Regency of the kingdom to adopt measures it considered necessary to ensure the fulfilment of its orders, and prevent the public tranquillity from being disturbed. At the same time, in order to prevent a repetition of what had taken place, his Highness made to your Excellency, through the Minister of Grace and Justice, the requisite communications; and intimated that if your Excellency did not desist from your design, his Highness would see himself under the necessity of making you quit the kingdom, and taking possession of your temporalities.——The reply which your Excellency gave on the 28th of April, in a note directed to the Minister for Grace and Justice, was a solemn declaration, that you were resolved and decided to act in the same manner in the use of the powers which you believed belonged to you. Your Excellency repeated a similar declaration in the note you were pleased to send me on the 9th of May, replying to mine of the 5th of the same month, in which I begged on the part of your Excellency an explanation of the official note of the 28th of April.——On a review of the whole, no reason presented itself to his Highness to doubt how he should act, and your Excellency also could not doubt of the issue of so disagreeable a business. His Highness nevertheless wished to hear the Council of State, in order to proceed with greater precision, and purposely let pass all that time he thought necessary, to see if your Excellency, considering the business with a calm and unprejudiced mind, would recal your above-mentioned Notes, and make a declaration contrary to their contents. This was his Highness's wish, as the only means of preventing the arrival of the hard extremity to which he saw himself forced in defence of the privileges of the Crown; but as neither this hope, nor any other means remain, he has ordered me to send you, as I have the honour of doing, the usual passport for your leaving these kingdoms, and to inform you that he would proceed to the occupation of your temporalities in them.——His Highness wishing to preserve to your Excellency, notwithstanding all that has happened, the consideration due to your dignity and representation, and likewise desirous that your Excellency should perform your voyage comfortably and conveniently, has ordered that the national armed frigate, the *Sabina*, should be prepared, as it is to convey your Excellency wherever you choose to proceed.——At the same time I communicate to your Excellency this resolution of his Highness, I have the honour to offer your Excellency my sincere wishes to serve you with the most prompt and obsequious attention.——God preserve your Excellency many years.

PEDRO LABRADOR.

Cadiz, July 7, 1813.

To the Nuncio of his Holiness.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——From the moment of the recommencement of this war, I was of opinion, and I expressed that opinion, that Buonaparté would defeat the Allies; that he would break up the coalition; and that he would then dictate terms to his enemies.——My reasons for this opinion I have given at length, and I have heard nothing, from any quarter, in answer to those reasons. It is impossible, however, to restrain one's indignation at viewing the endeavours which are used, by the press of both the political factions in this country, to prevent the people from coming at the real truth with regard to the prospects in the war, and even with regard to events which have actually taken place. The French Bulletins, which will be found in another part of this paper, give a complete history of the campaign up to the thirtieth of August; and from these Bulletins it appears, that the allied army, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, had been defeated by the French army under Buonaparté, with the loss of sixty thousand men, sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stand of colours. Is there any one in his senses who doubts of the truth of this statement? I do not believe that there is any such person in England, if he has been accustomed to compare the statements of the French Bulletins with the facts as they have afterwards proved to be. Indeed, none but those, whose wish, and, indeed, whose business it is, to deceive the people, can doubt of the truth of this statement on the part of the French.——If the statement be true, it appears to me, that very little further resistance will be made, by the Austrians at least. They have received such a blow at the outset as to sicken them. There will, doubtless, be more battles fought; and, it will be hard indeed, if our new friends, Bernadotte and Moreau, do not give us some little proof of their skill and courage; but I really do not expect that we shall ever hear of the grand French army meeting with a serious repulse. I expect to hear, that that army has been, with very few exceptions, as rapid in gaining victories as during any former campaign.——In the mean while it is right to notice (though, perhaps, it may produce no good effect) the frauds which have been practised in England, with a view of deceiving the people with regard to these important events.——During the former part of the last week, it was stated in the London news-papers, that Bernadotte had attacked the French army, had gained a great victory over it, and had killed one French Marshal and mortally wounded another.——This lie served to feed the thinking people of England for three days.——At the end of that time the French papers had come to hand, and had discovered, not only that Bernadotte had gained no victory at all, and had merely been able to stand his ground for a little while in the face of a mere detachment from the French army; but these papers also informed us, that the Allies had been defeated by the French, in the manner above stated.——The manner in which it was contrived to keep this latter fact from the public for three days, is very curious, and deserving of a particular account put upon record. There is nothing in which the people are more interested than in the means that are thus made use of to deceive them. They are constantly told of the deceptions practised upon the people of France. They are bidden to be proud of the freedom of the press, which exists in their own country; they are bidden to compare the political sunshine in which they live, with the darkness in which the people of France are kept. And, yet they are at the same time the most completely duped of any nation that ever existed in this world.——Not to suffer men to print at all upon the subject of politics and political news; this is not the way to deceive the people; this is not the way effectually to keep them in the dark as to the truth. The way to effect this purpose is to have a press, which the people shall regard as being free, and which, from the workings of various unseen wheels, from an influence flowing through numerous, obscure and intricate

channels, shall convey to the people falsehood instead of truth. He who knows nothing of any event that takes place, is in a better situation, in point of knowledge, than he who believes that which is false with respect to the events which take place. No knowledge at all is better than a belief that you know facts, of which you really know only the contrary.——The man who has lost a horse, which has been stolen, and taken towards the East, is in a worse situation from believing that the horse is gone towards the West, than he would be in, if wholly at a loss to guess which way his horse was gone. To leave hounds at a fault is much better than to call them off and put them upon a wrong scent.——These are almost self-evident propositions; and upon the principle on which these propositions proceed, we may, I think, safely affirm, that it would be better for a nation to have no press at all, than a press which feeds it with falsehoods.——A press which has no pretensions to freedom; a press, like that in France, which is well known, which is openly avowed, to be under the previous inspection of the government; a press, like the press in India, which can send forth nothing which has not first received the approbation of some officer under the government, who, sometimes, crosses out advertisements, if they relate to publications of which he disapproves.—I say, that a press like this is less mischievous, because less calculated to deceive, than a press which the people believe to be free, but which is, in fact, under the control of those, who find it their interest, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, to publish falsehood and not truth.——Such a press as this is the grand instrument of deception, of delusion, of producing in a nation a total perversion of the mind; and such a press now exists in England.——The people of France read the news-papers as publications made by the government; and, of course, they believe no more of them than they see supported by real acts and occurrences. They judge from the evidence of their senses; and accordingly they are not deceived. But the people in England, looking upon every editor of a news-paper as being at perfect liberty to say what he thinks, and more especially to publish true accounts of what is passing in the world; and the said people, not being able to get behind the curtain, to see the reason why editors of papers should prefer falsehood to truth, naturally believe all that they read; and, therefore, they are, as to political events, the most deceived people in the world.——There are certain documents, however, which, though calculated to circulate disagreeable truths, it would be impossible to suppress; because, through some channel or other, such documents, like the famous BOOK, would find their way into print, and this would totally blast the reputation of those news-papers, whose business it is, not only to promulgate falsehoods, but to cause them to be regarded as truths.——The way they go to work, therefore, when they get hold of one of these documents, is, to keep it back, in the first place, as long as they can; but this cannot be done for any considerable length of time. Seldom for more than *forty-eight hours*.——During this interval, they go to work with both hands, to weaken the effect of the document upon the public mind. With one hand they make a sort of summary of the contents of the document, in which summary they contrive to break down the document to about one half of its real force. To this summary they subjoin a commentary of their own, in which they endeavour to show, that the facts related in the document cannot be true; or, if true in part, only to a trifling extent.——At the same time, with the other hand, they introduce some piece of intelligence of a very favourable nature. This is, in general, intelligence wholly invented for the purpose. Hatched, as the saying is. It usually makes its appearance under the head of "SECOND EDITION," printed in enormously large letters, and gives an account of some very signal victory on our side.——The union of these two tricks weakens the effect of the adverse intelligence at its first going forth. The next day nothing is said of the good news announced in the second edition the day before. It passes, of course, uncontradicted, and, by a vast majority of the people, and it becomes recorded in their minds as true.——The writers of these news-papers; the literary impostors who play these tricks, know very well, that the well-informed part of the community regard them as most impudent and profligate scoundrels; but they also know, that ninety-nine persons out of a hundred are not well informed, and to a great part of the remainder they know that falsehood, even glaring falsehood, in the shape of good news, is more pleasing than truth, in the shape of bad news; and with this knowledge in their minds, they pocket the profit of their impudence, and laugh at the contempt of the sensible few.——If I

wanted any thing to convince me of the vast importance of the recent victories of Napoleon, I should find it at once in the tricks of these men, in announcing to the people the account of those victories.——The London press was in possession of the French Bulletins on Thursday, the ninth instant. It took very good care not to publish them till Saturday, the twelfth instant. In the mean while it was at work in the manner before described; and I appeal to every reader, who lives in a country town, whether he did not believe, during the whole of Friday and Saturday last, that the French army had been defeated by the Allies? Such, I will venture to say, was the general belief through the whole kingdom.——At last, on Sunday morning, the French Bulletins themselves reached the people in the country, at this distance from London. But, good use had been made of the lapse of time; for there were not only commentaries, the object of which was to show, that the French Bulletins could not be true; but there were victories hatched for Bernadotte, and Bulletins in his name, announcing such victories, and which victories appear to have been wholly invented for the occasion; it being manifest, that, in the slight affair in which he was engaged, he gained no victory at all. ——The typographical trick played off upon this occasion is worthy of notice.—— The whole mass of intelligence had for title, these words: "VICTORY GAINED BY "THE CROWN PRINCE—GREAT "BATTLE NEAR DRESDEN."—— Only observe this trick! It was a *Victory* gained by the Crown Prince; but, it was only a *great battle* near Dresden, though the impostor well knew, that, in half a minute from the reading of the title, every one must see, that this great battle ended in a most tremendous victory, gained by the Emperor Napoleon. But, half a minute was something! Half a minute was a great deal as to the intelligent reader; and, as to the mass of readers, they would take care (most thinking people as they are!) to carry the titles full in their minds while reading the whole of the intelligence. ——And yet, with these tricks daily under our eyes; with these at once impudent and sorry tricks constantly staring us in the face, and with the success of these impostors well known to us all, we have the shamelessness to pretend, that the people of France are less fairly dealt with than the people of England, with regard to political intelligence!——If I may be permitted to step aside for a moment, I will avail myself of it to observe, that in private concerns as well as public concerns, the English press is a base and mischievous deceiver. There are hundreds of men, who, without any fair pretensions to public esteem or admiration, have gained great celebrity; have become persons of great public consideration, and have even pocketed the profits of their reputation, in consequence of nothing but the judicious employment of their money with those who have the press in their hands.——I have in my eye a man, who, without one grain of talent, without one sentiment of honour, performing for years functions very little above those of a mere pimp, was regarded by the mass of the people of England as the man above all others distinguished for refinement in all the notions of the higher order.——A creature more completely devoid of real honesty, more puffed up with vanity, more weak in head or more hollow in heart, more worthy of the epithet of *dirty* put before his name, does not, perhaps, exist in the whole world; and yet, through the means of this detestable press, he was, throughout the kingdom, regarded as the profoundest of statesmen, and as the very pink of honour.—— It would be a curious thing to ascertain what is the actual amount of the money received at the different news-paper offices, in payment of the praises which they bestow upon individuals, or the inventions or property of individuals.——I do not mean what they receive for those honest puffs which the lottery proprietors and the venders of medicine put in the news-papers. There is nothing unfair in these. They are avowedly puffs; but what I complain of, are those paragraphs which appear as if written by the editor himself, and which begin with a "WE;" when, perhaps, he has never read them, or even seen them, they having been received at the office by the clerk, who, upon being paid the price of them according to their length, has sent them up stairs to the printer for insertion. ——This praise, as well of the dead as of the living, is actually to be bought in London by measure, as one buys woollens and linens. The clerk to a news-paper office has a *gauge*, by which he will tell, in a moment, the stated price of any article that you present to him.——There are, indeed, certain cases, where the *quality*, as well as the quantity, is taken into view. For instance, if the party praised be notorious and even proverbial for every species of villany, the price is high to obtain the

praise of his being possessed of every virtue. It would have cost Nicholson, who seems to have been a murderer by instinct, many hundred pounds, if he had had them, to obtain any thing like a decent apology for his conduct; and, perhaps, it did not cost a trifle to attribute to motives of wonderful delicacy Goldsmid's blowing of his own brains out, and to make it appear, that his corpse, in place of being buried in a cross road, was hardly sufficiently honoured by being deposited in the earth amidst the lamentations of the full congregation of the children of Israel.——And we are the people, are we, who have the effrontery to point the finger of scorn at the French people, on account of their being kept in darkness by the press!——To return to our subject; it appears, that Moreau has made his exit from this nether world. The Courier news-paper seems to lament this exceedingly, and so do I too; for I should have liked to see him live out the campaign, in order that the world might see how many soldiers of the French army would have gone over to him.——The French news-papers speak the voice of the government, or, they speak not at all. But all the papers, except the official paper, may *keep silence*, if they please. They are at liberty to refrain from speaking; and, therefore, I look upon the following article, which is taken from a French news-paper, as expressing pretty fairly the sentiments which the people of France entertain with regard to the conduct of Moreau.——"PARIS, SEPT. 5.—The Ex-"General Moreau arrived at Prague on the "20th August. Some people appeared to "doubt his arrival on the Continent, and "his connexions with the enemies of his "country. There can no longer be any "doubt on this subject. This Ex-General, "who has for a long time resided in America, has, without doubt, heard talk of "General Arnold, so celebrated in the "American revolutionary war, and who, "after having gloriously fought in the "ranks of his countrymen, conspired "against the Government of his country. "The conspiracy being discovered, the "traitor offered his services to the English, "who made use of him, by despising and "condemning him to inaction and oblivion. "The name of Arnold, dishonoured in "history, is never mentioned in America "without being accompanied by some disgraceful epithet, and children even only "pronounce it with execration.——Why "did not such an example deter the Ex-"General Moreau? But he chose rather "to throw off the mask, and by new steps "justify the opinion of all intelligent men, "whom his hypocrisy had not been able to "deceive. There he then has joined the "Russians and Prussians! This intelligence has dissipated all illusions respecting him. Public indignation is pronounced against him; it will pursue him "to the tomb, and deliver up his name to "the justice of posterity. In all times, in all "countries, the man who joined the enemies of his country, lost all his titles to "consideration, and did not even fail to "excite contempt in those who profited "by his treason. On this head, the sublime words of that model for French "warriors, the Chevalier Bayard, are "known. He was mortally wounded "fighting against the Imperials, at whose "head was found the Constable Bourbon, "who had basely sold himself to the enemies of France. The Traitor arrived "near Bayard, and seeing him ready to "expire, could not restrain his tears— "'Do not weep for me,' said the Chevalier, *without fear and without reproach*, "indignantly to him, 'weep for yourself "'for having betrayed your country and "'your oath.'"——These, I take it, are the real sentiments of the great body of the French people. They are not the sentiments of our newswriters, who while they commend the ripping out of the quivering bowels of Englishmen found fighting against England, bestow the loftiest praises on a Frenchman, who, after having been raised from poverty to riches in the armies of France, comes from America to Europe to volunteer his services in the armies of her enemies.——These gentlemen have surely never read the Holy Scriptures, which expressly forbid the using of *two weights and two measures*. No, these gentlemen never read the scriptures, or, they would remember that men are to be judged by the rules and maxims by which they judge others; and, if it be a crime worthy of the most terrible of deaths in an Englishman to fight against England, by what logic do they think the world are to be convinced, that it is a meritorious act; nay, even an act of patriotism in a Frenchman to fight against France?——They will say, perhaps, that Moreau does not like the government of France; and that he thinks that the man at the head of that government ought to be put down. In short, that it is not France that Moreau is fighting against, but against Buonaparté.——Indeed! and do you think

that an Englishman found fighting against England, would not be able to make the same sort of apology for his conduct? I will warrant it, that there is no man, amongst all those that have been executed by us for this crime, who would not have saved his life, if it could have been saved upon a similar plea. Decency, one would think, common decency would be sufficient, if we had any sense of it, to restrain us from praising this man's conduct; but if we are not to be restrained by that sort of feeling, surely we ought by a reflection on the danger which such an example might possibly have upon our own soldiers and sailors.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 14*th September*, 1813.

MR. ELTON TO MR. COBBETT.

SIR,

You complain of me, in your last Register, in a manner which seems to call for some explanation on my part. May I hope that you will not deny me a place in your columns? I think that you are scarcely justified, in characterizing my attack upon you as *mean:* I did not attack you, till I had tried to obtain redress, and failed. An appeal to the public was all I had left. You may reply, that I had no right to travel out of my way, in order to glean other matter of accusation against you. I have only to say, that I was acted upon by a sense of resentment for a supposed injury: and your observation of human nature must have shewn you, that no injury is so keenly felt, as that which comes from an unexpected quarter. I had been in the habit of reading your essays. I remember having defended your integrity at the table of the Lord Chief Justice in London. I had the highest opinion of your candour. I reposed myself on it, in full confidence, and was disappointed. As to the report of my speech, I do not consider myself as responsible for its verbal accuracy: as I take no notes of what I say in public: but he that is angry, has little choice of terms, or care about means. This is no excuse for a man, who deliberately brings a charge which he knows to be false; but, in anger, the judgment is warped: and we persuade ourselves of that which falls in with our resentments, and flatters the acerbity of our feelings. I did then, and do now, disapprove of certain of your papers. But, now that the irritation of the moment has passed away, I entirely acquit you of any improper motive. To the cause of this irritation it is scarcely necessary, now, to revert. That they who sent you the account of Sir Samuel Romilly's reception at Bristol, believed that this account was correct, I have no doubt: and I must do you the same justice. But I still think, that as I set my name to a different statement, you should have given it publicity. Discussion would have set all to rights Contradictions would have been reconciled: and the misunderstanding, arising from Sir Samuel's not being distinctly heard, would have been cleared up, without impeaching the veracity of a single human being. Some old Grecian has told us, that, "strife grows on strife." That you should strike again, when struck, was natural: and I do not resent your surmise, as to my hungering after patronage. So far from being the partisan of a club, I have withdrawn from that, into which I had been elected without solicitation on my part, because, although I believe the members, as individuals, to be sincere friends of liberty, I hold every thing of the nature of a club to be quite the reverse. You may reproach me, indeed, with a sort of neutralized activity as a politician: but, could you look behind the veil that divides a man from public life, you would see that I, like others, have my checks and entanglements. Yet though my arm be shortened, my heart and judgment are with the cause. I am free to confess, that I have not treated you with sufficient consideration; and I think that in other quarters, you have also been somewhat hardly used. The many excellent essays which you have written, fraught with the soundest political wisdom, might well be allowed to counterbalance occasional erroneousness of judgment, or intemperateness of feeling. I have, since, mentioned you in public with respect; while controverting some of your positions, relative to religion. It was on the occasion of a meeting, to consider of the expediency of propagating Christianity in India. I am one of those, who think that the experiment might be safely tried, of allowing the Scriptures silently to steal their way among the natives. Farther I would not go. I regretted that you should appear to countenance Paine's book. If you take religion from the people, what do you propose to give them instead? Neither laws, nor systems of philosophical morals, have the same mental influence and restraint. I see that one of your correspondents has,

since, doubted the effectiveness of Bishop Watson's answer to Paine: and, on reconsidering it, I admit that it is not, perhaps, a completely satisfactory answer. The man most qualified to refute Paine, and who, I am persuaded, would have fully refuted him, was Doctor Priestley: who offered to reason with Gibbon on the subject: an offer which the latter, not, I think, in the spirit of a philosopher, anxious for truth, declined. No man, perhaps, has gone more deeply than myself into the writings of those who deny revelation: yet I hold to christianity. Not to the christianity of mystical creeds and metaphysical catechisms, but to that, of which the historical and auxiliary evidences are enforced by Paley, and of which the nature and spirit are defined and illustrated by Locke. When Jesus asked, "dost thou believe?" he plainly did not mean, "dost thou believe the hypostatical union of three substances in the essence of the Godhead?" but simply, "dost thou believe that I am the Messiah—the *Anointed* of God?" I doubt the pertinency of the question. in regard to the different systems of christian faith, as to "which is the right?" Men were meant to differ on this question. Human nature has ever differed upon it. The *sects* of christianity do but reflect the *schools* of the ancient philosophy: and one of the strongest practical testimonies of the truth of Jesus is furnished by this very diversity of sects, which he, in the most explicit terms, foretold. Much of what is considered as essential in religion, is verbal quibbling. All may not agree in forms and dogmas; but all may agree in the essentials; which, as Jesus himself tells us, are "to love God and our neighbour." All christian systems may, therefore, be right, if rightly acted up to, though all differ. It seems to me, that you look at the reasonings of your Unitarian correspondent, rather through the spectacles of church-prejudice. I am astonished that you should resist so self-evident a proposition, as that the Bible is a mixed book: partly inspired, partly human. The inspired parts rest not on the twisting inferences of particular sectaries: they speak for themselves: they are prophecies. The state of the Jews is a living monument of the truth of these prophecies. Wherever we see a Jew, we see an evidence of christianity. As your late speculations have turned upon this subject, you will not, perhaps, judge these observations intrusive. I shall now no farther trespass on your valuable time, than to assure you, that an act of oblivion between us will give me pleasure.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES A. ELTON.

Belle Vüe, Clifton, 13th. Sept.

TITHES.

MR. COBBETT,—As R. F. intends sending you another Letter on Tithes, permit me to make a few observations, before you take the subject finally in hand. It was not expected that this gentleman would countenance the absurdities of the Methodists; their vulgar rant, and the matchless arrogance with which they consign the rest of mankind to endless misery. He commends their *sincerity;* but it certainly remains to be *proved.* But admitting their sincerity, it will not render their tenets or conduct less absurd. Their absurdities are still absurdities; their noise is still noise; and their arrogance is still arrogance; and not at all entitled to respect. It is observed that "drunkards and swearers are converted, fearing any longer to profane the name of the Most High." Different minds may attach different meanings to the word "profane," but, to my conception, if there be any such thing as profaneness, it is clearly shown in representing the Deity as the author of eternal torments to a large majority of the human race. What a monster of unrelenting cruelty! A matchless despot! An incomparable tyrant!—But if some are converted: pray, into what sort of beings are they converted? Not into independent, and honourable, and elevated minds; not into men of sense and reflection; but into slaves, who are influenced by base fear to give up their understandings to the government of a petty usurper, who assumes the title of an "Embassador from God," and who by the engine of terror, keeps the minds of his slaves in the grossest ignorance.—As to the subject of Tithes, you will agree with me, that R. F. has *not yet* produced a single reason *against* the right to take them. His remarks upon "Divine Right" and the "Decrees of Popes" might have been spared. There is no person in the nineteenth century who entertains such obsolete notions. Those who take tithes have better reasons to produce, of a modern date. He admits that it is sanctioned by "the law of the land;" if *law* means *right,* then the right is in the law; if *law* does not mean

right, then what does *right mean*? It means, says R. F., "just claim." But what does "just claim" mean? I suppose it means "right;" which leaves the subject precisely where it was in the beginning. The word "right" must be explained, by producing CASES, where the right of property is clearly established and admitted. Suppose I ask a man,—by what right he ploughs and sows his land? he will say,—"by the right of purchase." This then is a clear CASE. Suppose the same man, in return, asks me,—by what right I take his tithe? I will pay him in his own coin, and say,—"by the right of purchase." There is not a clearer subject under the sun than this. The *manner* may not be *expedient*, it may sometimes be *vexatious*, but the right is as clear as other rights of property. It remains with R. F. to *prove* the contrary. The tithe-gatherer, the borough-monger, and the slave-dealer are associated together, but the discerning mind can easily separate them. R. F. thinks the *injustice* of the tithe system already "*manifest* to the public." This is *begging* the question, not *proving* it. The proof of the injustice has never yet appeared to the public, unless by the public, Mr. R. F. means himself.—I remain, yours, &c.

G. G. FORDHAM.

Sandon, Sept. 13th, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.

Letter from the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo to his Excellency Don F. Xavier de Castanos.

Most Excellent Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your Excellency's dispatch, dated the 27th, enclosing the *Redacteur General* of that day, which contains a dispatch from the Minister at War, stating that you have been called on to fill the place of Counsellor of State, on which account you can no longer remain at the head of the 4th army, which the Government had confided to your Excellency. I had already received notice of this distinction, though not on the part of the Minister at War, nor on the part of the Government, and was absolutely ignorant of the motive. Whatever that may be, I cannot but lament a disposition which deprives me of the very useful assistance of your Excellency, and the nation of your services against the common enemy, at the very moment when they may be most important against the common enemy. I agree with your Excellency, that the manner in which this disposition has been made, and the reason assigned for it, is as injurious to the reputation of your Excellency, as prejudicial to the good of the service, though I am convinced, if the Regency had been informed of all the circumstances, it is much too just purposely to detract from the honour of a person who has merited so well of the public, without first consulting him, and too patriotic to deprive the nation of the services of your Excellency at such a time. I think, then, that justice requires that I should avail myself of this opportunity to inform your Excellency what I mean to represent to the Minister at War, for the information of Government, which is, that in reality only a small part of the 4th army was embodied, and that it was necessary to preserve separate the different divisions which compose it, for a variety of reasons, some relative to situation, and others to the regulations of finance, which it is necessary to enter into, but with which the Government is well acquainted: and that, in that case, your Excellency would be out of your place, by putting yourself at the head of any of the corps of the 4th army. But, without doubt, it has been forgotten that your Excellency, besides being General in Chief of the 4th army, is Captain-General at the same time of Estremadura, Old Castille, Gallicia, and other provinces, and that there is an obligation on your Excellency, which is absolutely necessary for the good of the service, that your Excellency should take the measures proper to re-establish the Spanish Authorities in the villages and districts which the enemy successively evacuated, in consequence of the operations of the army. This was the plan of conduct for your Excellency, on which we had agreed before passing the Agueda, in May last, and which your Excellency has constantly followed since we separated in Salamanca.——I am convinced that, considering the importance of the services rendered by your Excellency to the Government and the army, during this campaign, and the manner in which, through the whole of it, General Don Pedro Augustin Giron has commanded the army of Gallicia, the person of your Excellency could not be more advantageously employed than where it has been, and that if the Government had adverted to the necessity of discharging the obligations of Captain-General, by establishing order in so many provinces, during the rapid advances of the army, it would not have permitted the re-

putation of your Excellency to have been disparaged, from whatever motive, by removing your Excellency from the command of the Army, and calling you to the office of Counsellor of State.——God preserve your Excellency many years.

WELLINGTON, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

Head-quarters, Montreal,
June 30, 1813.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Sept. 1.—The military events which follow each other with rapidity, not allowing a detailed relation, we are authorized, whilst expecting them, to publish the following letter, addressed by his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

"Monseigneur,—I had the honour to write your Excellency yesterday, the 26th, and to announce to your Serene Highness, that the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies had marched to attack Dresden, under the eyes of their sovereigns, and that they had been repulsed at all points.——You will easily comprehend that the Emperor is occupied in such a manner, that it is impossible, at this moment, to give a detailed account of all the events which have taken place.——Hostilities commenced on the 17th. His Majesty entered Bohemia on the 19th, occupying the principal debouches at Rambourg and Gabel, and having marched his troops within twelve leagues of Prague. On the 21st he was in Silesia, beating the Russian and Prussian armies of General Sacken, Langeron, York, and Blucher, and forcing the fine positions of the Bober.—— Whilst the enemy still believed his Majesty in the depths of Silesia, he left a powerful army there, under the orders of the Duke of Tarente, made his guards march ten leagues a day, and arrived at Dresden, for some days threatened by an imminent attack.——His Majesty entered the town at nine in the morning, and immediately made his dispositions.——At three in the afternoon, the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by Generals Wittgenstein, Kleest, and Schwartzenberg, deployed 150,000 men, marching against the town. All the attacks were repulsed by the Old and Young Guard alone, who covered themselves with glory.——The enemy left 4,000 killed at the foot of our redoubts. We have taken 2,000 men, a flag, and several pieces of cannon.——This morning, at four o'clock, the Emperor was upon the ground: the rain fell in torrents; Marshals the Duke of Raguse and Bellune passed the bridge with their corps. At eight o'clock our attack commenced by a brisk cannonade. The enemy's extreme left was commanded by the Austrian Generals Ignace, Giuley, and Klenau, and separated from the remainder of the army by the valley of Plauen. The Emperor ordered it to be attacked by Marshal the Duke of Bellune, and by General Latour Mauberg's cavalry, under the orders of the King of Naples. We reckon among the trophies of this day 15,000 men, among whom are Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Metzko, two Generals of Brigade, many superior Officers, 20 pieces of cannon, and 10 flags.——During this time, General Vandamme, who had debouched by Koiregolun, seized upon the heights of Pirna, marched on both sides the Peterswalde road, and rendered himself master of the debouches from Bohemia, beating 15,000 men who presented themselves before him, and made a good number of prisoners.——At this moment all the roads of Peterswalde and Freyberg are intersected; the Russians and Prussians came by the road of Peterswalde, and the Austrians by that of Freyberg.——If the enemy's army, which is numerous, as it is composed of the Russian and Prussian corps, and of all the Austrian army, determines to retreat, it will necessarily suffer considerable losses; if it remains, there will be very destructive events tomorrow.——Since the affairs at Ulm, the French army never experienced worse weather, and more abundant rain. The Emperor has been exposed to it all day. He is this moment entering. The numerous columns of prisoners, pieces of cannon, and flags, which have been taken, are traversing the town. The inhabitants evince the most lively joy at the sight of these trophies. The Duke of Reggio was to be on the 23d or 24th at Berlin.——The Duke of Tarente drove the remains of the army from Silesia upon Breslau.——It is not a Bulletin which I address to your Serene Highness; but I thought it my duty to give you this important intelligence, his Majesty not having time to write; he is very well.——One circumstance will excite universal indignation; the Ex-General Moreau is with the enemy's army, in the suite of the Emperor of Russia, as a Privy-Counsellor. He has there thrown off the mask which for some years has not concealed him from intelligent persons. I cannot yet, Mon-

seigneur, send your Serene Highness the documents relative to the Austrian Declaration of War. In the midst of those events which succeed each other, I have not found a moment to place them before the Emperor. I am, with respect, Monseigneur, your Serene Highness's very humble and very obedient servant,

"The DUKE of BASSANO.

" *Dresden, Aug.* 27, *six p. m.*

"Our losses are inconsiderable; the affairs of yesterday and to-day have cost us no person of rank."

Paris, Sept. 5.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent, on her return from her voyage to Cherbourg, to day alighted at the palace of St Cloud at one o'clock in the morning. At noon the cannon announced her arrival in the capital.——Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated the 26th August:—" The enemies denounced the armistice on the 11th at noon, and stated that hostilities would commence on the 17th at midnight; at the same time a note from Count Metternich, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed to Count de Narbonne, gave him to understand Austria's having declared war against France.——On the 17th, the dispositions of the two armies were as follows:- The 4th, 12th, and 7th corps, under the orders of the Duke of Reggio, were at Dahme.——Prince Eckmuhl with his corps, to which the Danes were joined, encamped before Hamburgh, his head-quarters being at Bergedorf.——The 3d corps was at Leignitz, under the Prince of Moskwa's orders.——The 5th corps was at Goldsberg, under Gen. Lauriston's orders.——The 11th corps was at Loewenberg, under the Duke of Tarente.——The 6th corps, commanded by the Duke of Raguse, was at Bunzlac.——The 8th corps, under Prince Poniatowski, was at Zettau.——Marshal St. Cyr was with the 14th corps, the left leaning upon the Elbe to the camp at Kœnigstein, on both sides the great road from Prague to Dresden, pushing corps of observation to the debouches from Mauenberg.——The 1st corps had arrived at Dresden, and the 2d at Zettau.——Dresden, Torgau, Wittenberg, Magdebourg, and Hamburgh had each their garrison, and were armed and provisioned.——The enemy's army was, as far as could be ascertained, in the following position:—Eighty thousand Russians and Prussians entered, on the morning of the 10th, Bohemia, and were, on the 21st, to arrive on the Elbe. That army was commanded by the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, the Russian Generals Barclay de Tolly, Wittgenstein, and Miloradowitsch, and the Prussian General Kleist. The Russian and Prussian Guards formed a part of it, which, joined to Prince Schwartzenbourg's army, formed the Grand Army, and a force of 200,000 men. This army was to act on the left bank of the Elbe, by passing that river in Bohemia.——The Silesian army, commanded by the Prussian Generals Blucher and York, and the Russian Generals Sacken and Langeron, appeared to collect upon Breslau; it was 100,000 men strong.——Several Prussian and Swedish corps, and the insurrectional corps, covered Berlin, and were opposite Hamburgh and the Duke of Reggio. The force of the army which covered Berlin was estimated at 110,000 men.——All the enemy's operations were made under the idea that the Emperor would repass to the left bank of the Elbe.——The Imperial Guard left Dresden, marched on the 15th to Bautzen, and on the 18th to Goerlitz.——On the 19th the Emperor went to Zittau, and instantly ordered Prince Poniatowski's corps to march, forced the debouches of Bohemia, passed the great chain of mountains which separate from Bohemia to Lusace, and entered Gabel, whilst Generals Lefevre and Disnouettes, with a division of infantry and cavalry of the Guard, obtained possession of Rumbourg, cleared the neck of the mountains at Georgenthal, and the Polish General, Reminski, took Friedland and Reichenburg.——This operation was intended to disturb the enemy at Prague, and acquire certain information respecting their designs. We there learned what our spies had already informed us, that the *elite* of the Russian and Prussian army were traversing Bohemia, and uniting upon the left bank of the Elbe.——Our light troops pushed to within 16 leagues of Prague.——The Emperor was at Zittau, on his return from Bohemia on the 20th, at ten o'clock in the morning. He left the Duke of Belluno with the second corps at Zittau, to strengthen the corps of Prince Poniatowski. He placed General Vandamme, with the first corps at Rumbourg, to support Generals Lefevre and Desnouettes; these two Generals occupying the point in force, caused redoubts to be thrown up on the height which commanded the point. The Emperor took the road to

Laubau, in Silesia, where he arrived on the 28th, before seven o'clock in the evening. The enemy's army of Silesia had violated the neutrality, and passed through the neutral territory, since the 12th. They had on the 15th insulted all our advanced posts, and carried off some videttes.——On the 16th, a Russian corps placed itself between the Bober and the post of Speller, occupied by 200 men of the division of Charpentiere. These brave men, who were reposing themselves on the faith of treaties, flew to arms, passed through the enemy's centre, and dispersed them. They were commanded by the Chief of Division Guillernuie.——On the 18th, the Duke of Tarente gave orders to General Zucetic to take the small town of Lahn; he marched there with an Italian brigade; he bravely executed his orders, and caused the enemy a loss of upwards of 500 men. General Zucetic is an officer of distinguished merit. The Italian troops attacked the Russians, who were superior in number, with the bayonet. —— On the 19th instant, the enemy encamped at Zobten: a corps of 12,000 Russians passed the Bober, and attacked the post of Liebenicken, which was defended by three light companies.——Gen. Lauriston caused a part of his corps to take to arms; left Loewenberg, marched to the enemy, and drove him into the Bober. The brigade of General Lafette, of the division of Rochambeau, has distinguished itself.——Meanwhile the Emperor arrived on the 20th at Laubau, and at break of day on the 21st he was at Loewenberg, and caused bridges to be thrown across the Bober. General Lauriston's corps crossed the river at noon. General Maison, with his accustomed valour, beat down every thing that endeavoured to oppose his passage, carried all the positions, and drew the enemy fighting near to Goldsberg. He was supported by the 5th and 11th corps. On his left the Prince of Moskwa caused Gen. Saken to be attacked by the 3d corps, in front of Bunzlaw, overthrew them, put them to rout, and took some prisoners. —— The enemy put himself in retreat. An engagement took place before Goldsberg on the 23d August. General Lauriston was there at the head of the 5th and 11th corps. He had before him the Russians, who covered the position of Flensberg, and the Prussians, who extended themselves to the right on the road to Leignitz. At the moment when Gen. Gerard debouched to the left on Niederau, a column of 25,000 Prussians appeared at this point. He caused them to be attacked in the middle of the barracks of the old camp, which were forced at all parts; the Prussians essayed to make several charges of cavalry, which were repulsed every where; they were driven from their positions, and left near 5,000 dead on the field of battle, besides some prisoners, &c. On the right Flensberg was taken and retaken several times; at length the 135th regiment threw itself on the enemy, and entirely overthrew him. The enemy has lost at this point 1,000 dead and 4,000 wounded. The allied army retired in disorder, and in great haste towards Jauer. The enemy being thus defeated in Silesia, the Emperor took with him the Prince of Moskwa, left the command of the army in Silesia to the Duke of Tarente, and arrived on the 25th at Stotpen. The old and young guards, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, performed these 40 leagues in four days."

Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated 28th August:——"On the 26th, at eight in the morning, the Emperor entered Dresden. The grand Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by the Sovereigns, was before it; it crowned all the hills which surround Dresden, at the distance of a short league upon the left bank. Marshal St. Cyr, with the 14th corps, and the garrison of Dresden, occupied the entrenched camp, and lined with sharpshooters the fortifications which surrounded the suburbs. All was tranquil at noon, but to the skilful eye, this calm was the precursor of a storm; an attack appeared imminent.——At four in the afternoon, at the signal of the firing of three cannon, six enemy's columns, each preceded by 50 pieces of artillery, formed, and a few moments after descended into the plain; they marched towards the redoubts. In less than a quarter of an hour the fire became terrible. The fire of a redoubt being silenced, the assailants turned it, and made efforts at the foot of the fortifications of the suburbs, where a good number met death.——It was near five o'clock, a part of the reserves of the 4th corps was engaged. Some shells fell in the town—the moment appeared pressing. The Emperor ordered the King of Naples to march with General Latour Mauberg's cavalry upon the enemy's right flank, and the Duke of Treviso to march against the left flank. The four divisions of the Young Guard, commanded by Generals Dumoutier, Barroe, Decouz,

and Roquet, then debouched, two by the gate of Pirna, and two by the gate of Plauen. The Prince of Moskwa debouched at the head of Barroe's division. Those divisions overthrew every thing before them; the fire immediately got to a distance from the centre to the circumference, and was soon driven back upon the hills. The field of battle remained covered with dead, cannon, and wrecks. — General Dumoutier is wounded, as are likewise Generals Boyeldieu, Tyndal, and Combelles. The officer of artillery, Beranger, is mortally wounded; he was a young man of great hopes. General Gros, of the Guards, was the first to throw himself into the ditch of a redoubt, where the enemy's sappers were already at work; in cutting down the palisades he received a bayonet wound. ——The night became dark and the fire ceased, the enemy having failed in his attack, and left upwards of 2,000 prisoners on the field of battle, which was covered with dead and wounded.——On the 27th the weather was dreadful, and the rain fell in torrents. The soldiers had passed the night in mud and water. At nine o'clock in the morning we could plainly perceive the enemy, lengthening his left, and covering the heights which were separated from his centre by the valley of Plauen.——The King of Naples departed with the corps of the Duke of Belluno and the division of cuirassiers, and debouched on the road of Freyberg to attack this left wing. He performed it with the greatest success. The six divisions which composed this wing were broken and scattered. The half of them, with their colours and cannon, were made prisoners, and amongst the number are several Generals.——In the centre a brisk cannonade fixed the enemy's attention, and some columns shewed themselves ready to attack him on his left.—— The Duke of Treviso, with General Nantsouty, manœuvred in the plain, with his left to the river and his right to the heights. ——Marshal St. Cyr's corps joined our left with the centre, which was formed of the Duke of Ragusa's corps.——At about two o'clock in the afternoon the enemy decided on making his retreat; he had lost his grand communication with Bohemia on his left and right wings.——The result of this day is 25 to 30,000 prisoners, 40 pair of colours, and 60 pieces of artillery.——We may reckon that the enemy has lost 60,000 men. Our loss in killed, wounded, and taken amounts to 4,000 men.——The cavalry has covered itself with glory. The Etat-Major of the cavalry will publish the details, and mention those who have distinguished themselves. The young guards have merited the praises of the whole army. The old guards had two battalions engaged, its other battalions were kept in reserve in the village, to be at disposal. The two battalions which were engaged beat down every thing before them.——The city of Dresden ran great risks of danger.——The conduct of the inhabitants has been such as we should expect from an allied people. The King of Saxony and his family remained at Dresden, and have shewn the example of confidence."

Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the Army, dated the 30th Aug.: —"On the 28th, 29th, and 30th, we followed up our success; Generals Castix, Doumere, and D'Oudinarde, of General Latour Mauberg's corps, have taken 1,000 caissons, or waggons, of ammunition, and collected many prisoners. The villages are full of the enemy's wounded: we already reckon 10,000 of them.——The enemy, according to the report of prisoners, had eight Generals killed or wounded.——The Duke of Ragusa has had several affairs of advanced posts, which attest the intrepidity of his troops.——Gen. Vandamme, commanding the first corps, on the 25th debouched by Koenigstein, and on the 26th took possession of the camp at Pirna, of the town, and of Hoendorf. He intercepted the grand communication from Prague to Dresden. The Duke of Wertemberg, with 15,000 Russians, was charged with observing the debouche. On the 28th, General Vandamme attacked and defeated him, took 2,000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and drove him into Bohemia. The Prince of Reuss, General of Brigade, an officer of merit, was killed.——On the 29th, General Vandamme took a position upon the heights of Bohemia, and established himself there. He caused the country to be scoured by different parties of light troops, to obtain intelligence of the enemy, annoy him, and seize upon his magazines. ——The Prince of Eckmuhl was, on the 24th, at Schwerin. He had had no affair of consequence. The Danes had distinguished themselves in several trifling affairs. The opening of the campaign has been most brilliant, and allows us to form great hopes. The quality of our infantry is much superior to that of the enemy."

Paris, Sept. 7.—Her Majesty the Em-

press Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated Sept. 1.——"On the 28th August the King of Naples and Duke of Belluno slept at Freyberg, the 29th at Liehlenberg, the 30th at Zittau, the 31st at Saydo.——The Duke of Ragusa, with the 6th, slept on the 28th at Dippoldiswalde, where the enemy abandoned 1,200 wounded; on the 29th at Falkenham, and the 31st at Zennwald.——The 14th corps, under the orders of Marshal St. Cyr, was on the 28th at Maxen, the 29th at Reinhordt Grumma, the 30th at Dillersdorf, the 31st at Lielman.——The 1st corps, under General Vandamme, was on the 28th at Hollandorf, and the 29th at Peterswalde, occupying the mountains.——The Duke of Treviso was in position on the 28th and 29th at Pirna.——General Pagal, commanding the cavalry, has made some prisoners.——The enemy retired to the position of Dippoldiswalde and Altenberg. His left followed the Plaun road, and fell back by Tharandt upon Dippoldiswalde, not being able to retreat by the Freyberg road.——His right could neither retire by the causeway of Pirna, nor that of Dolma, and therefore retired upon Maxen, and from thence upon Dippoldiswalde. All that there were of partisans or detached were cut off.——The Russian, Prussian, and Austrian baggage got entangled upon the causeway of Freyberg; several thousand carriages were taken there. Arrived at Altenberg, where the road from Toeplitz to Dippoldiswalde became impracticable, the enemy took the resolution of abandoning more than 1,000 carriages of ammunition and baggage. This grand army re-entered Bohemia, after having lost part of its artillery and baggage.——On the 29th Gen. Vandamme passed, with eight or ten battalions, the neck of the grand chain, and marched upon Kulm; he there met the enemy, 8 or 10,000 strong; they engaged him; not finding himself sufficiently strong, he made his corps d'armee descend; he would have soon overthrown the enemy. In place of re-entering, and again placing himself upon the heights, he remained and took a position at Kulm, without guarding the mountain; this mountain commanded the only causeway; it is high. It was only on the 30th that Marshal St. Cyr and the Duke of Ragusa arrived at the debouche from Toeplitz. General Vandamme only thought of closing the road against the enemy, and taking all. *To a flying army, a bridge of gold must be made, or a barrier of steel opposed.* He was not strong enough to oppose this barrier of steel.——However, the enemy perceiving that this corps d'armee of 18,000 remained alone in Bohemia, separated by high mountains, and that all the others were at the foot of the mountains on the other side, saw that he was lost, unless he defeated it; he conceived the hope of successfully attacking it, its position being bad.——The Russian guards were at the head of the army, which fought in retreating; to them were joined two fresh Austrian divisions. The remainder of the enemy's army joined them as it debouched, followed by the 2d, 6th, and 14th corps. These troops reached the 1st corps.——General Vandamme showed a good countenance, repulsed all the attacks, penetrated all that presented itself, and covered the field of battle with dead. Disorder increased in the enemy's army, and it was with admiration seen what a small number of men can do against a multitude, whose *morale* is weakened.——At two in the afternoon, the Prussian column of General Kliest, cut off in its retreat, debouched by Peterswalde, to endeavour to penetrate into Bohemia; it met no enemy, arrived upon the top of the mountains without resistance; it placed itself there, and there saw the affair which was going on.——The effect of this column upon the rear of the enemy decided the business.——General Vandamme immediately marched against this column, which he repulsed; he was obliged to weaken his line at this delicate moment. Fortune turned; he nevertheless succeeded in overthrowing General Kleist's column, who was killed; the Prussian soldiers threw away their arms, and precipitated themselves into the fosses and woods. In this strife, General Vandamme disappeared. It is supposed he was killed.——Generals Carboneau, Dumonceau, and Philippon, determined to profit of the moment to withdraw, part by the great road, and part by the cross roads, with their divisions, by abandoning all the *materiale*, which consisted of 30 pieces of artillery, and 300 waggons of all kinds, but bringing away all the horses.——In the situation in which affairs were, they could not have acted better. The killed, wounded, and prisoners may carry our loss in this affair to 6,000 men. It is thought that the enemy's loss cannot be less than from 4 to 5,000 men.——The first corps rallied half a league from the field of battle on the 14th corps. A list of the losses of this catastrophe, owing to a warlike ardour badly calculated, was made

out. General Vandamme merits regret—he possessed a rare intrepidity. He died upon the field of battle, a death worthy of envy to every brave man."

Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence from the army, dated Sept. 2:——On the 21st of August the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, entered Saxony, and on the 22d marched against Dresden, with from 180 to 200,000 men, having an immense *materiale*, and full of hope, not only of driving us from the right bank of the Elbe, but even of marching upon the Rhine, and nourishing the war between the Elbe and the Rhine. In five days it has seen its hopes confounded; 30,000 prisoners, 10,000 wounded fallen into our power, which makes the number amount to 40,000; 20,000 killed or wounded, and as many sick in consequence of fatigue and the want of provisions (it has been five or six days without bread), have weakened it nearly 80,000 men.——It does not now amount to 100,000 men under arms; it has lost more than 100 pieces of cannon, entire parks; 1,500 ammunition and artillery waggons, which were blown up or fell into our hands; more than 3,000 baggage waggons, which it has burnt, or we have taken; there were 40 colours or standards. Among the prisoners there are 4,000 Russians. The ardour of the French army, and the courage of the infantry, fixed every one's attention.——The first cannon fired from the batteries of the Imperial Guards, on the day of the 27th, mortally wounded General Moreau, who had returned from America to enter the Russian service."

Dresden, Aug. 31.—According to the report of his valet-de-chambre, General Moreau was wounded by a cannon ball, near the entrenchments established before Dresden. On the 27th, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was conveyed to Noethlitz, where both his legs were amputated below the knees. After the amputation, he asked for something to eat and a cup of tea. Three eggs and some tea were offered him, but he only took the tea. About seven o'clock he was placed in a litter, and in the evening conveyed to Passindorf by Russian soldiers. He passed the night in the country-house of M. Tretschejr, Grand Master of Forests. He only took in this house another cup of tea: he complained much of the pain he suffered.——On the 28th, at four in the morning, he was carried by Russian soldiers from Passindorf to Dippoldiswalde, where he took a little white bread and a glass of lemonade, in the house of the Baker Watz. An hour after he was conveyed near the Bohemian frontiers. Russian soldiers carried him in the body of a coach.

Report from the Minister at War to his Majesty the Emperor, dated Aug. 9.

Sire,—You are informed of the events which have taken place in the North of Spain, since the month of June last, determined upon conferring the command of your armies in the Peninsula on his Excellency the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia. As soon as he was at their head, military affairs in the Peninsula considerably ameliorated. The enemy's audacity was arrested, and his projects defeated. Forced for the moment to raise the siege of Pamplona, the English lost many men in the attack they sustained, and were witnesses of the destruction of the works and magazines they had established near that place. A short time after the enemy re-embarked his besieging artillery, and for some time suspended the siege of San Sebastian, and left at the foot of that town a great number of soldiers, who in vain attempted to clear the breach.——But, Sire, notwithstanding this favourable circumstance, and although the armies of Arragon and Catalonia, which have not ceased being victorious, may expect fresh successes from the concentration of their forces, it is impossible to dissimulate the necessity of sending to the armies of Spain reinforcements, which may put them in a condition to defeat the designs of the English, who can daily receive fresh recruits. The factious exultation which the English have succeeded in exerting in the Peninsula, will present to our troops fresh obstacles to overcome; and placing the armies of Spain in a condition to surmount them all, and resume the superiority which is natural to them, can no longer be delayed.——I have already submitted to your Majesty the different demands made to me by Marshals the Dukes of Dalmatia and Albufera, to obtain reinforcements which have become indispensable.——I now have the honour to propose to your Majesty to order a levy upon the conscription in the departments in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees.——The inhabitants of those departments, animated with love for the country, and feeling of what importance is

principally to them the defence of that frontier, will, I have no doubt, make with ardour the new efforts which circumstances demand. There is no one in the South, who is not penetrated with those sentiments, and who is not ready to make the greatest sacrifices, should they be necessary, to support the glory of France and defend the territory. Already have the Basques, without being called upon by your Majesty, taken arms of their own accord, and marched against the enemy. On all sides on this part of the empire the wishes of the inhabitants, executed by general interests, call for the measure I propose to your Majesty, and all are convinced of the absolute necessity of it. I in consequence propose to your Majesty to order that there shall be made on those departments a levy of 30,000 men, to reinforce the armies in Spain.

The Minister at War,
(Signed) The Duke of Feltre.

Motives of the Projets for the Senatus Consultum.

Monseigneur Senators,—When in December last I pointed out at this tribunal the English Cabinet as the fomenter of war, your wisdom acknowledged its truth, which later events, if possible, have rendered more evident.——Deceived in the hopes it had conceived upon the success of our enemies in the North; frightened, as it always is, at the sight of negociations, they thought alone of war; England has been as prodigal in that part of the world of intrigues and promises, as in the South she has been prodigal of reinforcements and sacrifices.——Obliged to give way to the superiority of number, and to the advantages of maritime commerce, our armies in Spain have need of reinforcements. Prudence will not admit of any alteration being made in the imposing dispositions made on the side of Germany; dispositions upon which alone the most just hopes are founded, and which, under the direction of the Emperor, guarantee the most profound security, and, if needful, the most brilliant success.——It belongs, then, to the Southern departments to add to the *corps d'armée* which defend them, the necessary forces.——In the last war, a glorious example was given, when the enemy landed upon the ancient territory of Belgium.——The citizens armed themselves to admiration, and leaving their families and occupations, marched in crowds against the English, who were soon obliged to retire before this army.——Now the gallant Basques, and all the brave inhabitants of the Pyrennees and neighbouring departments, animated with devotion and fidelity, with zeal and courage, have spontaneously offered themselves, at the sound alone of the enemy's approach towards the North of Spain.——But the Emperor does not intimate that it will for a length of time be necessary to make use of this generous movement. He judges it better to take, in those departments, a certain number of men from the Conscriptions of 1814 and previous years, to enter into the skeletons of the armies. The Senatus Consultum which we bring you, fixes the number at 30,000. It will be sufficient to arrest the success of which the enemy has too soon boasted, to resume with him that attitude proper for France—to attain and prepare that moment in which England will no longer dispose, for the devastations of the Spains, the treasures of Mexico, that she tears from them, and with which she feeds her commerce in both Indies, prolongs her monopoly in Europe, supports in it her exhausted credit, pays men whom she has corrupted, and those fatal subsidies to the cabinets she misleads."

HELIGOLAND MAIL.

Prince Von Schwartzenburgh's Order to his Army, given on the 17th Aug.

"The great day is arrived! Brave warriors! our country relies on you! Hitherto, every time that she called upon you, you justified her confidence.——All the endeavours of our Emperor to restore the long-wanted peace to Europe, and to fix the peace and welfare of the empire, which is inseparable from the peace and welfare of our neighbours, on a solid basis, were in vain. Neither constant patience, nor pacific representations, nor the confidential reliance of the other belligerent powers in the Emperor's councils and measures, in short, nothing could bring the minds of the French Government to moderation and reason.——On that day on which Austria loudly declared herself for the cause of justice and order, she likewise took on herself to combat for the greatest of all blessings. We do not singly undertake this combat. We stand in the same ranks with all that Europe has to oppose of greatness and activity, against the powerful opponent of her peace and liberty.——Austria, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, England, Spain—all join

their united endeavours for the same end, for a well-founded and durable peace, a reasonable distribution of strength among the different States, and the independence of every single power.——It is not against France, but against the domineering power of France out of her own borders, that this great alliance has raised itself.——What may be performed by the resolution and constancy of nations, has been proved to us by Spain and Russia;—what may be performed by the united force of so many powerful States will be shewn in the year 1813.——In such a holy war we must more than ever preserve those virtues by which our armies have rendered themselves conspicuous in so many former wars. Unconditional willingness to sacrifice every thing for our Monarch and native country—great equanimity in good or unfavourable times—determination and constancy in the field of battle—moderation and forbearance towards the weak;—those great qualities must always be found in us.——Brothers in arms! I have lived in your ranks all those years which I have devoted to my country's service; I know I honour in you the brave men who conquered a glorious peace, and those who are following their footsteps.——I rely on you! I am chosen from amongst you by our Monarch, and his gracious favour has placed me at your head; his confidence, jointly with yours, are my strength.——In what manner every individual is to be useful to the whole will be fixed by the sphere of action allotted to him; but in every appointment, in every situation, in every decisive moment, always to do his duty to the utmost of his power. Such is the destination which must make us all equal, and elevate us all to the same glorious point. The Emperor will remain with us, for he has confided the utmost to us—the honour of the nation—the protection of our native country, and the security and welfare of posterity.——Be thankful, warriors, that you are going into battle before God, who will not forsake the just cause, under the eye of a paternal and feeling Monarch, under the eyes of your grateful fellow-citizens, and in the sight of all Europe, which expects from you great deeds and great happinesses after long sufferings. Remember, you must conquer that you may justify this expectation. Combat as it becomes Austrian warriors to do, and you will conquer.

(Signed) "CHARLES,
"Prince of Schwartzenburgh,
"Field-Marshal."

GENERAL ORDERS.

"*Groswitsch, Head-quarters, Aug.* 17, 1813.

"The sanguinary struggle for our independence is resumed; all the efforts of our illustrious Ally, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and our own, to obtain a durable peace, without any further bloodshed, have proved fruitless. The design was, that we should have groaned under the ignominious yoke for a long time to come. To arms, therefore, ye valiant Russians, Prussians, and Germans! Our power is formidable, as it possesses both energy and a large numerical force. His Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles is Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Austrian army, who have made common cause with ours. Courage in battle, united with perseverance, must infallibly prevail.——In the name of his Majesty the King of Prussia, as General in Chief of the Allied Army,—The Russian Major-General, and Chief of the Etat Major,

"MOREAU."

AUSTRIAN DECLARATION AGAINST FRANCE.

Manifesto of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The Austrian Monarchy has been compelled by its situation, by its various connexions with the other Powers, and its importance in the Confederacy of European States, to engage in most of those wars which have ravaged Europe for upwards of twenty years. Throughout the progress of these arduous struggles, the same political principle has invariably directed his Imperial Majesty. A lover of peace, from a sense of duty, from his own natural feelings, and from attachment to his people; free from all ambitious thoughts of conquest and aggrandisement; his Majesty has only taken up arms when called by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, by an anxiety for the fate of contiguous States inseparable from his own, or by the danger of beholding the entire social system of Europe a prey to a lawless and absolute Power. To promote justice and order have been the object of his Majesty's life and reign; for these alone have Austria contended. If, in these frequently unsuccessful contests deep wounds have been inflicted on the Monarchy, still his Majesty had the consolation to reflect, that the fate of his empire had not been hazarded upon needless and violent enterprises; that all his decisions

were justifiable before God, his People, his Contemporaries, and Posterity.—Notwithstanding the most ample preparations, the war in 1809 would have brought the State to ruin, had not the ever-memorable bravery of the army and the spirit of true patriotism which animated all parts of the Monarchy overbalanced every adverse occurrence. The honour of the nation and its ancient renown in arms, were happily upheld during all the mischances of this war; but valuable provinces were lost; and Austria, by the cession of the countries bordering upon the Adriatic, was deprived of all share in maritime commerce, one of the most efficient means of promoting her industry; a blow which would have been still more sensibly felt, had not at the same time the whole Continent been closed by a general and destructive system, preventing all commercial intercourse, and almost suspending all communication amongst nations.——The progress and result of this war fully satisfied his Majesty, that in the obvious impossibility of an immediate and thorough improvement of the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was to its very foundation, the exertions of individual States in their own defence, instead of setting bounds to the general distress, would only tend to destroy the little strength they still retained, would hasten the fall of the whole, and even destroy all hopes of future and better times. Under this conviction, his Majesty foresaw the important advantage that would result from a peace, which, if secured for some years, might check this overgrown and hitherto irresistible power, might allow his Monarchy that repose which was indispensable to the restoration of his finances and his army, and, at the same time, procure to the neighbouring States a period of relaxation, which, if improved with prudence and activity, might prepare the way to more fortunate times. Such a peace, under the existing circumstances of danger, was only to be obtained by an extraordinary effort. The Emperor was sensible of it, and made this effort: for the preservation of the empire, for the most sacred interests of mankind, as a security against immeasurable evils, as a pledge of a better order of things, his Majesty sacrificed what was dearest to his heart. With this view, exalted above all common scruples, armed against every misconstruction of the moment, an alliance was formed, which was intended by a sense of some security to reanimate the weaker and more suffering party, after the miseries of an unsuccessful struggle, to incline the stronger and victorious one to a course of moderation and justice, without which the community of States can only be considered as a community of misery.——His Majesty was the more justified in these expectations, because at the time of the consummation of this union the Emperor Napoleon had attained that point of his career when the preservation of his conquests was a more natural and desirable object, than a restless struggle after new possessions. Any farther extension of his dominions, long since outstretching their proper limits, was attended with evident danger, not only to France, already sinking under the burden of his conquests, but even to his own real personal interest. What his authority gained in extent, it necessarily lost in point of security. By an union with the most ancient Imperial Family in Christendom, the edifice of his greatness acquired in the eyes of the French nation, and of the world, such an addition of strength and perfection, that any ulterior scheme of aggrandizement must only weaken and destroy its stability. What France, what Europe, what so many oppressed and despairing nations earnestly demanded of Heaven, a sound policy prescribed to the triumphant Ruler as a law of self-preservation—and it was allowed to hope that so many great and united motives would prevail over the ambition of an individual.——If these flattering prospects were destroyed, it is not to be imputed to Austria. After many years' fruitless exertions—after boundless sacrifices of every description, there existed sufficient motives for the attempt to procure a better order of things by confidence and concession, when streams of blood had hitherto produced nothing but misery and destruction; nor can his Majesty ever regret that he has been induced to attempt it.——The year 1810 was not yet closed, the war still raged in Spain, the people of Germany had scarce been allowed a sufficient time to recover from the devastations of the two former wars, when, in an evil hour, the Emperor

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—The intelligence from the continent, though greatly disfigured; though full of falsehoods and misrepresentations; though, in some sort, invented for the purpose of deceiving the people of this country, does certainly lead one to believe, that the difficulties of Napoleon are become very great, now that he is opposed by *Frenchmen* and *democrats*. Formerly, there were scarcely any thing worthy of the name of a battle between him and the German and Russian armies; but now that these armies are under the command or direction of Frenchmen, they appear to have become troublesome to him, if not formidable.——It appears, therefore, to have been wise in the allied Sovereigns to call these democratic Frenchmen in to their assistance; and if they should finally succeed in protecting themselves against Napoleon, they will, I dare say, think very little of the loss of their honour, compared with the gaining of safety.——History will record, that after twenty years of war against the French, these old royal families of Europe called in Frenchmen to their assistance; and, if the events should be so, that they saved themselves, for a time, at least, by this device. It will be recorded, that their armies were beaten to a mummy, while they were commanded by themselves, or by their own native Generals; but that these same armies, put under the direction of Frenchmen, became triumphant, or, at least, became capable of resisting the armies of France.——It will not, to be sure, be very much to the honour of the old and high-blooded families, to have it recorded, that they were preserved at last by the skill and courage of a couple of old French grenadiers, who had quarrelled with their country; this fact will not contain a very high eulogium on the high-blooded race; but, no matter; they have been reduced to such a state, that mere safety, the mere enjoyment of life and a tolerably fair quantity of victuals and drink, are all that they can reasonably hope for; and, if they now secure these, by the means of the war, in which they are engaged, history will have too much justice to forget, that they will owe it to the skill and the courage of revolutionary Frenchmen.——If Napoleon should finally experience serious reverses; if victory should, at last, abandon his sword; I do not believe that she will; but if she should, just history will tell future generations, that she never deserted him till he allied himself by marriage to the old families of Europe.——I remember a friend of mine, a true jacobin, as we are called, observing at the time when Buonaparté was married to his present wife, that this was enough to make one seriously doubt of his sincerity through the whole of his revolutionary career. He observed, that it was an impolitic step; that he ought to have married the poorest girl in all France, if she was the prettiest. Pretty if possible; but by all means poor. He said, that the marrying into one of the old royal families betrayed a sneaking after high blood; betrayed a smattering of that sort of disposition which induces a man to quit a commoner in the street, when a lord makes his appearance; that it betrayed a hankering after pedigree, and coronets, and, in short, that it argued a total want of that mode of thinking absolutely necessary to the man whose final purpose is to destroy the unjust pretensions of birth.——History will record, if Buonaparté should suffer defeat; if this great captain should, at last, be beaten by those who formerly fled before him like dust before the wind, history will record that victory deserted him, from the moment he married a *Princess*, and thereby, most audibly proclaim to the world, that he had deserted, and set himself openly against, the principles of jacobinism.——For my part, proceeding upon the notion which prevails in our late special prayers and thanksgiving, which attribute all victories to the immediate instrumentality of Divine Providence, I shall have no hesitation in attributing any defeat which Napoleon may experience, to his having married a niece of the old Queen of France. I shall have no scruple in looking upon his defeat as a judgment upon

him for this act of treason against the cause of democracy.——Mind, reader, I do not believe he will be defeated, but if he be, I think it is perfectly fair to ascribe his defeat to this cause.—The truth is, that since his matrimonial connexion with the House of Austria; since he became bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh, of the most haughty of all the royal families upon the face of the earth, those who before thought, that, at bottom, he was still well disposed towards the liberties of mankind, have no longer entertained that opinion; have looked upon him as a mere member of the old families; and, in their wishes with regard to the result of the war, in which he has been engaged, have turned merely upon the point of whether his success or his failure would be most likely to operate in favour of the people of Europe, generally; leaving all considerations, with respect to himself, wholly out of the question.——This is the way in which I look at the matter now; my belief is, that he will finally beat his enemies. What my wishes are, I myself really do not know. I have, indeed, no wish upon the subject, because, I cannot tell what is at bottom, the intention of Buonaparté.——He has made the situation of the people of France very happy, compared with what it was under the old government; but, still, the bringing of an Austrian Princess to domineer over that people whom he had assisted to rescue from the insulting domination of the family of Austria, does make one fear, that he had brought his mind to re-establish, and to perpetuate a despotism in France.——If we make up our minds to the belief of this, we cannot hesitate for a moment to wish for his overthrow; and, particularly, as his fall might possibly give rise to a return, on the part of the French people, to the principles of the outset of the revolution.——This is what the aristocrats never seem to think of. They are always dreaming of putting down Buonaparté as a jacobin; and yet they are always calling him a despot. They do not seem to consider that there are certain governments, which are kept in countenance by the despotism of Buonaparté; and, that, there must yet be, in France, a great number of persons who would rejoice at an opportunity of re-establishing, or of trying to re-establish the republican form of government. ——If this could be done, without any risk of introducing even a worse government than that of Buonaparté, there is no man, who wishes to see mankind happy and free, who would not wish for the downfal of this husband of the Austrian Princess, who no longer professes to fight for the liberties of mankind, but merely, for what he calls his rights, as a sovereign.——There is one reflection, which, in the progress of this war, always comes to comfort us; namely, that let who will fall, of the parties upon the continent, there is very little for any friend of freedom to regret.——After all, however, though I see, in the recent occurrences, something to make me believe, that the war will be greatly prolonged, I am firmly persuaded, that the result will be in favour of the Emperor Napoleon; because I can see no reason for believing that the people of France are indisposed towards him; and, experience has taught us, that the people of France are more than a match for all the nations upon the continent.——The official accounts from Sir Charles Stewart inform us that Moreau had both his legs shot off in the first action in which he was engaged. Sir Charles Stewart says, that towards the middle of the day, General Moreau, in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia on the operations, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the ball going through his horse. Sir Charles Stewart adds, that this was "an *equal* loss *both* to the good cause and to the profession of arms."——It has been before remarked that our diplomatic men are famous for the use of that figure of rhetoric, called *tautology*, of which we have here, a very beautiful specimen; for I defy any man living to tell me what is meant by the sentence here quoted. Yet, I dare say, Sir Charles Stewart has been taught the learned languages as well as the person who drew up the Prince Regent's letter to Lord Wellington.——As to the fate of Moreau, which Sir Charles Stewart states it is impossible to regret too much, the French papers ascribe it to the anger of Divine Providence against him; while we, doubtless, shall regard it as a trick, which the devil has been permitted to play off against the good cause. But, it were much to be wished, as I observed upon a former occasion, that we had, served out to us in print, something to enable us to make a distinction between the victories which God gives to the righteous, and those, which, for the wisest of purposes, though to us unknown, the devil is permitted to gain for the wicked. We have it laid down to us, in an unqualified manner, that God is the giver of all victory, and, we now and then put up our thanks in a particular form of

words, for some particular victory. On the other hand we are regularly informed that the clergy and the people in France sing praises to the same God as the giver of the victories which their Emperor obtains; and, as we have very good authority for believing that the Emperor does sometimes obtain victories, we are placed in the danger of believing, that, during, for instance, this present campaign, God sometimes fights on the side of Buonaparté, and sometimes on the side of the allies, giving one a lift one day, and the other a lift another day. This is a sort of belief which ought not to be suffered to exist. It ought to be clearly explained to the people, that God is always on the side of the righteous: and that, when the righteous are beaten, it is through the influence of the devil, who, as I observed before, for purposes infinitely wise, but wholly unknown to us, is permitted to have power in certain cases.—— This matter should be clearly explained to the people, who for want of it, may be led to believe Buonaparté, when he says, that it was Divine Providence that caused the legs of Moreau to be shot off. Why the devil was permitted to prevail upon this occasion, I cannot pretend to say, any more than I can why he was permitted to torment holy Job in ancient days. Sir Charles Stewart says that this event caused more than ordinary sensibility and regret throughout the allied army, which clearly shews that Moreau was looked upon as of great value to the cause. It is therefore of great consequence, that the people should see clearly, that the event was the devil's work; and I again call upon those whose profession it is to instruct us in these matters, to see clearly how it is, that this event, as well as every other untoward event in the war, is ascribable to the influence that I have so often mentioned.——I shall take my leave for the present of this subject with observing, that all the old tricks of the news-papers are playing off upon this occasion; and I beg the reader to watch them with attention.

Mr. Elton.——On the former part of this gentleman's letter, inserted in my last, I shall not notice; but the latter part, where he speaks of the dispute about religion, I must notice.—He says that he regrets, that I appeared to countenance Paine's book. I do not know what Mr. Elton may take for *appearances*; but, I am quite sure that he never heard me utter one syllable in praise of Paine's book. I have often said that I had seen no answer to it, worthy of being called an answer. Mr. Elton himself admits, that Bishop Watson's answer to Paine is not complete and satisfactory; and I will go a little further, for I am ready to declare, that a more miserable attempt at answering never was or can be made in the world; and I say that the bishop garbled and misquoted the book after it was suppressed, and after there was little chance of the garbling and misquoting being detected. Mr. Paine might be wrong, for any thing that I know; but, looking upon it merely as a set of arguments and statements, I say that it has not been answered by any one, who has attempted to answer it, as far, at least, as my observation has gone. Many persons have abused the author. One of them called him a "*nincompoop;*" but, no answer, as far as I have read, was ever given to him.—— Mr. Elton, while he accuses me of countenancing Paine's book, says that it appears to him that I have looked at the reasonings of the Unitarians "through the spectacles of *church prejudice.*" This is very curious indeed, that I should be, at one and the same time, a bigotted churchman, and a disciple of Paine.——Mr. Elton tells us, "that men were *meant* to *differ*" as to the christian faith."——Does he really mean to say, that God, in sending his Son into the world to teach mankind how they might be saved from eternal damnation; that is to say, to teach them how they might avoid living to all eternity in flames of fire; does Mr. Elton mean to say, that when God sent his only Son to teach men thus, to teach them a certain faith, by which faith they were to be so saved; does he mean to say, that God, having this great object in view, really meant, that men should differ in opinion as to this faith? If Mr. Elton does mean this, he and I do not believe in the same God; for I worship no God that has done his best, as Mr. Elton's God has, to set mankind together by the ears, and who, unhappily has but too well succeeded. I am really afraid, that Mr. Elton has mistaken the devil for God, and that the former is become the object of his adoration.——It is said in the New Testament, that there is but *one faith;* and yet Mr. Elton would make us believe, that God meant that there should be as many faiths as there are colours in the rainbow.——Another subject of surprise with Mr. Elton, is, that I should "resist so self-evident a proposition, as that the Bible is a *mixed* book: partly

inspired, partly human."——What Mr. Elton calls self-evident has never yet been even made evident to me, by any course of reasoning that I have heard.——It is never pretty to assert a thing to be self-evident as soon as you discover that you are unable to prove it to be true. Nothing can be easier than this; but be it known to Mr. Elton, that there are very few self-evident propositions; and as to this, which he wishes me to regard as such, it is a proposition which I believe to be false.——I will never listen to any man who tells me that the Bible is partly inspired and partly human, unless he will distinctly point out to me those parts which are inspired, and those parts which are not inspired.——If a man, upon my presenting him with a parcel of peas or beans, were to say, "these are mixed, partly one sort, partly another sort."—Are they? say I; be so good as to shew me, then, which are of one sort, and which are of the other sort.——If he declines, am I still to believe him? Why should I believe him? He has no proof of what he says; and what should I think of him, were he still to call his assertion a self-evident proposition?—No, the book must be taken altogether. The whole of it arises from inspiration, or none of it does. To believe the contrary is the most inconsistent thing in the world; for, it is making every individual a judge of what he is to believe, and what he is not to believe. The whole may be regarded as inspired by different persons; and by the same persons differently classed, the whole may be believed to be false.—Mr. Elton tells us that the inspired parts, are the *prophecies.* So, then, the *historical* part, is not inspired? It was some *mere man*, was it, who recorded the account of the creation; of the proceedings in the garden of Eden; of Eve; of the Devil; of the fig-leaves; of Cain and his murder, and his mark and his marriage; of Noah and his ark, and his guests and his dove; of Lot and his wife; of Onan and his sisters; of Balaam and his ass: of Job and his wife; of Solomon and his mistresses; of Jonas and his whale; and of many other persons and things, which I cannot, now, particularly mention?——It was some mere man, was it, who wrote the account of all these, and also, of the virgin and her child, and of the crucifixion and the resurrection? These parts of the Bible, Mr. Elton would have us believe, are the works of *mere man;* and yet he has the conscience to find fault with Paine, who only took the liberty to treat them as the productions of mere man, and to express his disbelief of them accordingly.——If the book be a *mixed* book, let some one point out the particular parts which we are to look upon as inspired. But this is what no one attempts to do. On the contrary, the whole is called the "Word of God;" the "Holy Scriptures." As such the book is published; as such it is sent forth to the world; as such it is received by the people.——My opinion upon this matter is expressed in one short sentence, thus: He who does not believe that Balaam's ass spoke to her master and remonstrated with him on his base cruelty in beating her, *does not believe the Bible.*——Whether Mr. Elton be a *believer* he will, perhaps, tell me in his next letter.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 23d *Sept.* 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Report made by the Conde de Bournonville, in the name of the Special Commission.

Monseigneur,—Messieurs, the Ministers at War and Orators of Government, have sufficiently demonstrated, by their respective Reports, the imperious necessity of reinforcing our armies acting in the Peninsula; so that there remains for me little to add to the means of conviction which have been so clearly developed. The wise precautions taken by the Emperor, previous to his departure for the Grand Army, to cover all the ports and dock-yards of the empire, have naturally forced England to give up her grand projected maritime expeditions, and, in short, all those kinds of attacks upon all those points of so great importance. England, which intrigues much, and hazards little, has not dared to compromise her land troops, by sending them to fight with the Russian and Prussian phalanxes. She feared reverses, which she took care to prevent, and which would have been irreparable to her. In this conjuncture, and in order to appear to do something for the Powers she has put in motion, the Cabinet of London preferred mixing the English troops with the Spanish and Portuguese bands, sure in being able to withdraw them without inconvenience, and according to her interests; and from that, this sudden increase of considerable forces, which have determined our armies to make

retrograde movements, of which the Minister at War has informed you; and those bands, encouraged by some ephemeral successes, have carried their audacity to the height of investing the forts of San Sebastian and Pamplona.——Already were parallels traced, trenches dug, and a breach was about to be practicable at San Sebastian, when the brave garrison, by its murderous vollies, forced the enemy to disappear, and re-embark his park of artillery.——On the side of Pamplona, if our success has not been so brilliant, the English have not been less annoyed in his works, which have in part been filled and the army has shown a rare intrepidity. But all those bands may daily be increased by others; their pretended success published from one end of Spain to the other, may bring a crowd of proselytes; the hopes of taking those two places, and making a bulwark of them for their piracies, may draw all the banditti; all those circumstances united, demand the adoption of a prompt levy, so as to place our armies in the Peninsula in a situation to resume their former attitude.——His Imperial Majesty and King, who appreciates the generous movement of his brave subjects of the Pyrenees, does not think fit to make a too prolonged use of them, and has thought it better to take in those departments a certain number of men from the conscriptions of 1812, 13, 14, and former years, and, if necessary, incorporate them into the skeletons of the army.——The Senatus Consultum, which I have just had the honour of reading to you, fixes the number at 30,000, and your Special Commission unanimously proposes it for your adoption.

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.

Fourth Bulletin.

Potsdam, Aug. 21.—It announces the position of the Crown Prince's army from Potsdam to Trebbin and Belitz; that the enemy had, under Oudinot, 20,000 men at Luckenvalde. Some affairs of advanced posts had taken place.——General Walmoden reports, that two battalions of Lutzow had been attacked near Launburgh, on the 11th and 12th, by six battalions, but they had been repulsed.

Fifth Bulletin.

Ruhlsdorff, Noon, Aug. 24.—All the reports of the secret agents having announced on the evening of the 21st August, that the Emperor Napoleon was concentrating the corps of the Dukes of Reggio and Belluno, and Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, forming more than 80,000 men, in the environs of Bareuth, and every thing announced on the part of his troops a rapid march upon Berlin, the Prince Royal made the following dispositions:——The third Prussian corps, commanded by Bulow, placed two divisions between Hernersdorf and Klein Berin. One division already occupied Mittenwalde, and another Trebbin, in order to mask the whole movement. The 4th Prussian corps under Tauenzel united at Blankenfelde. The Swedish army left Potsdam on the 22d, at two *a. m.* proceeded upon Saarmund, passed the defiles and took post at Ruhls dorff. The Russian army followed the Swedish army, and took post at Gutergatze. General Czernicheff guarded Beletz and Treanbortzen with 3000 Cossacks and a brigade of light infantry.——The secret agents announced that the Emperor Napoleon was to pass by Luckau to proceed to Bareuth. General Czernicheff executed his orders with his usual intelligence, and carried alarm and uneasiness to the rear of the enemy's columns. General Hinchfeldt, who had received orders to proceed from

(To be continued.)

AUSTRIAN DECLARATION AGAINST FRANCE.

(Continued from page 384.)

Napoleon resolved to unite a considerable portion of the North of Germany with the mass of countries which bore the name of the French Empire, and to rob the ancient free commercial cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and shortly after of their commercial existence, and with that, of their means of subsistence. This violent step was adopted, without any even plausible pretensions, in contempt of every decent form, without any previous declaration, or communication with any other Cabinet, under the arbitrary and futile pretext, that the war with England required it.——This cruel system, which was intended to destroy the commerce of the world, at the expense of the independence, the prosperity, the rights, and dignity, and in utter ruin of the public and private property of all the Continental Powers, was pursued with unrelenting severity, in the vain expectation of forcing a result, which, had it not fortunately proved unattainable, would have plunged Europe for a long time to come into a state of po-

verty, impotence, and barbarity.——The Decree by which a new French dominion was established on the German coasts, under the title of a thirty-second Military Division, was in itself sufficiently calculated to raise the suspicions of the adjoining States, and it was the more alarming to them as the forerunner of future and greater dangers. By this decree it became evident, that the system which had been created in France (although previously transgressed, yet still proclaimed to be in existence), the system of the pretended natural limits of the French Empire, was, without any further justification or explanation, overthrown, and even the Emperor's arbitrary acts were in the same arbitrary manner annihilated. Neither the Princes of the Rhenish Confederacy, nor the kingdom of Westphalia, no territory, great or small, was spared, in the accomplishment of this dreadful usurpation. The boundary drawn apparently by blind caprice, without either rule or plan, without any consideration of ancient or more recent political relations, intersected rivers and countries cut off the middle and southern States of Germany from all connexion with the German Sea, passed the Elbe, separated Denmark from Germany, laid its pretensions even to the Baltic, and seemed to be rapidly approaching the line of Prussian fortresses still occupied on the Oder; and so little did this act of usurpation (however powerfully it affected all rights and possessions, all geographic, political, and military lines of demarcation) carry with it a character of determinate and complete accession of territory, that it was impossible to view it in any other light than as a forerunner of still greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and the Emperor Napoleon the absolute Ruler of the Continent.——To Russia and Prussia this unnatural extension of the French territory could not fail of producing the most serious alarm. The latter, surrounded on all sides, no longer capable of free action, deprived of every means of obtaining fresh strength, appeared hastening to its dissolution. Russia, already in fear for her western frontier, by the conversion of the city of Dantzic, declared a free city by the treaty of Tilsit, into a French military port, and of a great part of Poland into a French province, could not but see, in the advance of the French dominion along the sea coast, and in the new chains prepared for Prussia, the imminent danger of her German and Polish possessions. From this moment, therefore, the rupture between France and Russia was as good as decided.——Not without deep and just anxiety did Austria observe the storm which was gathering. The scene of hostilities would in every case be contiguous to her provinces, which, owing to the necessary reform in the financial system which had cramped the restoration of her military means, were in a very defenceless state. In a higher point of view, the struggle which awaited Prussia appeared still more doubtful, as it commenced under the same unfavourable conjuncture of affairs, with the same want of co-operation on the part of other Powers, and with the same disproportion in their relative means, consequently was just as hopeless as all former struggles of the same nature. His Majesty the Emperor made every effort in his power, by friendly mediation with both parties, to avert the impending storm. No human judgment could at that time foresee that the period was so near at hand, when the failure of these friendly attempts should prove more injurious to the Emperor Napoleon than to his opponents. Thus, however, it was resolved by the wisdom of Providence.——When the commencement of hostilities was no longer doubtful, his Majesty was compelled to have recourse to measures which, in so unnatural and dangerous a conjuncture, might combine his own security with just considerations for the real interests of neighbouring States. The system of unarmed inaction, the only neutrality which the Emperor Napoleon, according to his own declarations, would have permitted, was by every sound maxim of policy wholly inadmissible, and would at last have proved only a vain endeavour to shrink from the approaching trial. A power so important as Austria could not renounce all participation in the interests of Europe, nor could she place herself in a situation in which, equally ineffective in peace or war, she would lose her voice and influence in all great negociations, without acquiring any guarantee for the security of her own frontier. To prepare for war against France would have been, under the existing circumstances, as little consonant with equity as with prudence. The Emperor Napoleon had given his Majesty no personal ground for hostile proceedings; and the prospect of attaining many beneficial results by a skilful employment of the established friendly relations, by confidential representations, and by conciliatory councils, had not yet been abandoned as hopeless. And with regard to the immediate

interest of the State, such a revolution would inevitably have been attended with this consequence—that the Austrian territory would have become the first and principal seat of war, which, with its well-known deficiency of means of defence, could, in a short time, have overthrown the Monarchy.——In this painful situation his Majesty had no other resource than to take the field on the side of France. To take up arms for France, in the real sense of the word, would have been a measure not only in contradiction with the duties and principles of the Emperor, but even with the repeated declarations of his Cabinet, which had, without any reserve, disapproved of this war. On the signature of the treaty of the 12th March, 1812, his Majesty proceeded upon two distinct principles: The first, as is proved by the words of the treaty, was to leave no means untried which might sooner or later obtain a peace; the other was to place himself internally and externally in a position, which, if it should prove impossible to effect a peace, or in case the turn of the war should render decisive measures in this part necessary, would enable Austria to act with independence, and in either of these cases to adopt the measures which a just and wise policy should prescribe. Upon this principle it was that only a fixed and comparatively small part of the army was destined to cooperate in the war; the other military resources, at that time in a state of readiness, or that still remained to be prepared, were not called forth for the prosecution of this war. By a kind of tacit agreement between the Belligerents, the Austrian territory was even treated as neutral. The real end and views of the system adopted by his Majesty could not escape the notice of France, Russia, or any intelligent observer.——The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic powers, conducted by a Captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature. The illusion of glory carried the Emperor Napoleon into the heart of the Russian Empire; and a false political view of things induced him to imagine that he should dictate a peace in Moscow, should cripple the Russian power for half a century, and then return victorious. When this magnanimous constancy of the Emperor of Russia, the glorious deeds of his warriors, and the unshaken fidelity of his people, put an end to this dream, it was too late to repent it with impunity. The whole French army was scattered and destroyed: in less than four months we have seen the theatre of war transferred from the Dnieper and the Dwina, to the Oder and the Elbe. ——This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations in Europe. The Confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring States. Prussia, whom report had long declared determined to risk all, to prefer even the danger of immediate political destruction to the lingering sufferings of continued oppression, seized the favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the Allies. Many greater and smaller Princes of Germany were ready to do the same. Every where the ardent desires of the people anticipated the regular proceedings of their Governments. Their impatience to live in independence, and under their own laws, the sentiment of wounded national honour, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, broke out in bright flames on all sides.——His Majesty the Emperor, too intelligent not to consider this change of affairs, as the natural and necessary consequence of a previous violent political convulsion, and too just to view it in anger, was solely bent upon securing, by deep digested and well combined measures, the real and permanent interest of the European Commonwealth. Already, in the beginning of December, considerable steps had been taken on the part of the Austrian Cabinet, in order to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to quiet and peaceful policy, on grounds which equally interested the world and his own welfare. These steps were from time to time renewed and enforced. Hopes had been entertained that the impression of last year's campaign, the recollection of the fruitless sacrifice of an immense army, the severe measures of every description that would be necessary to replace that loss, the decided disinclination of France, and of all those nations connected with her, to a war, which, without any prospect of future indemnification, exhausted and ruined her internal strength; that lastly, even a calm reflection on the doubtful issue of this new and highly imminent crisis, would move the Emperor to listen to the representations of Austria. The tone of these representations was carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, serious as the greatness of the object, moderate as the desire of a favourable issue,

and as the existing friendly relations required.——That overtures flowing from so pure a motive should be decidedly rejected, could not certainly be foreseen. But the manner in which they were received, and still more the striking contrast between the sentiments entertained by Austria and the whole conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, to the period of these unsuccessful endeavours for peace, soon destroyed the best hopes that were entertained. Instead of endeavouring by a moderate language to improve at least our view of the future, and to lessen the general despondency, it was on every occasion solemnly declared, before the highest authorities in France, that the Emperor would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word, or that should make any pretension to the arbitrarily incorporated provinces.——At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not even appear to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the Emperor Napoleon, *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.* ——These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace which this Cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other Courts, in a false and highly disadvantageous light. The Sovereigns united against France, instead of any answer to Austria's propositions for negociation, and her offers of mediation, laid before her the public declarations of the French Emperor. And when in the month of March, his Majesty sent a Minister to London, to invite England to share in a negociation for peace, the British Ministry replied, "that they would not believe Austria still entertained any hopes of peace, when the Emperor Napoleon had, in the mean time, expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war;" a declaration which was the more painful to his Majesty, the more it was just and well founded.——Austria, however, did not, upon this account, cease to impress in more forcible and distinct terms, the necessity of peace, upon the mind of the Emperor of France; directed in all her measures by this principle, that, as all order and balance of power in Europe had been destroyed by the boundless superiority of France, no real peace was to be expected, unless that superiority were diminished. His Majesty in the mean time adopted every necessary measure to strengthen and concentrate his armies; sensible that Austria must be prepared for war, if her mediation were not to be entirely unavailing. His Imperial Majesty had moreover been long since persuaded, that the probability of an immediate share in the war would no longer be excluded from his calculations. The actual state of things could not be continued; of this the Emperor was convinced; this conviction was the mainspring of his actions, and was naturally strengthened by the failure of any attempt to procure a peace. The result was apparent. By one means or the other, either by negociation or by force of arms, a new state of things must be effected.——The Emperor Napoleon was not only aware of the Austrian preparations for war, but even acknowledged them as necessary, and justified them in more than one instance. He had sufficient reason to believe that his Majesty the Emperor, at so decisive a period for the fate of the whole world, would lay aside all personal and momentary feelings, would alone consult the lasting welfare of Austria, and of the countries by which she is surrounded, and would resolve nothing but what this great motive should impose as a duty upon him. The Austrian Cabinet had never expressed itself in terms that would warrant any other construction; and yet the French did not only acknowledge that the Austrian mediation could only be an armed mediation, but declared, upon more than one occasion, that Austria, under existing circumstances, ought no longer to confine herself to act a secondary part, but should appear in force upon the stage, and decide as a great and independent Power. Whatever the French Government could either hope or fear from Austria, this acknowledgment was of itself a previous justification of the whole intended and hitherto adopted measures of his Imperial Majesty. ——Thus far were circumstances developed when the Emperor Napoleon left Paris, in order to make head against the progress of the Allied Armies. Even their enemies have done homage to the valour of the Russian and Prussian troops in the sanguinary actions of the month of May. That, however, the result of this first period of the campaign was not more favourable to them, was owing partly to the great numerical superiority of the French force, and to the universally-acknowledged military talents

of their leader, and partly to the political combinations, by which the Allied Sovereigns were guided in all their undertakings. They acted under the just supposition, that a cause like the one in which they were engaged, could not possibly be confined to themselves; that sooner or later, whether successful or unfortunate, every State which still preserved a shadow of independence, must join their confederacy, every independent army must act with them. They, therefore, did not allow further scope to the bravery of their troops than the moment required, and preserved a considerable part of their strength for a period when, with more extended means, they might look to the attainment of greater objects. For the same cause, and with a view to the developement of events, they consented to the Armistice.——In the mean time the retreat of the Allies had for the moment given an appearance to the war, which daily became more interesting to the Emperor, from the impossibility, if it should proceed, of his remaining an inactive spectator of it. The fate of the Prussian Monarchy was a point which peculiarly attracted the attention of his Majesty, feeling, as the Emperor did, that the restoration of the Prussian Monarchy was the first step towards that of the whole political system of Europe, and he viewed the danger in which she now stood, as equally affecting himself. Already, in the month of April, had the Emperor Napoleon suggested to the Austrian Cabinet, that he considered the dissolution of the Prussian Monarchy as a natural consequence of her defection from France, and of the continuation of the war, and that it now only depended upon Austria to add the most important and most flourishing of her provinces to its own State; a suggestion which shewed distinctly enough, that no means could properly be neglected to save that Power. If this great object could not be obtained by a just peace, it was necessary to support Russia and Prussia by a powerful co-operation. From this natural view of things, upon which even France could no longer deceive herself, his Majesty continued his preparations with unwearied activity. He quitted, in the early part of July, his residence, and proceeded to the vicinity of the scene of action, in order the more effectually to labour at the negociation for peace, which still continued to be the object of his most ardent desires; and partly to be able the more effectually to conduct the preparations for war, if no other choice should remain for Austria.——A short time before, the Emperor Napoleon had declared, "that he had proposed a Congress to be held at Prague, where Plenipotentiaries from France, the United States of North America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and the other Allied Princes on the one hand, and on the other, Plenipotentiaries of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish Insurgents, and the other Allies of this hostile mass, should meet, and lay the ground-work of a durable peace." To whom this proposition was addressed, in what manner, in what diplomatic form, through whose organ it could have been done, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian Cabinet, which only was made acquainted with the circumstance through the medium of the public prints. How, too, such a project could be brought to bear—how, from the combination of such dissimilar elements, without any generally acknowledged principle, without any previously regulated plan, a negociation for peace was to be set on foot, was so little to be comprehended, that it was very allowable to consider the whole proposition rather as a play of the imagination, than as a serious invitation to the adoption of a great political measure.——Perfectly acquainted with all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered whether this distant and difficult object was not rather to be attained progressively; and, in this opinion, had expressed herself both to France, and to Russia and Prussia, upon the subject of a Continental Peace. Not that the Austrian Court had misconceived, even for a moment, the necessity and importance of an universal peace among all the great Powers of Europe, and without which there was no hope of either safety or happiness, or had imagined that the Continent could exist, if the separation of England were not invariably considered as a most deadly evil! The negociation which Austria proposed, after the alarming declaration of France had nearly destroyed all hopes of England uniting her endeavours in the attempt to procure a general peace, was an essential part of the great approaching negociation, for a general and effective Congress for peace; it was intended, as preparatory to this, to draw up the preliminary articles of the future treaty, to pave the way by a long Continental Armistice to a more extended and durable negociation. Had the principle upon which Austria advanced been other than this, neither Russia nor Prussia, bound by the strongest ties to England, would certainly ever have listen-

ed to the proposals of the Austrian Cabinet.——After the Russian and Prussian Courts, animated by a confidence in his Majesty, highly flattering to the Emperor, had already declared their concurrence in the proposed Congress under the mediation of Austria, it became necessary to obtain the formal assent of the Emperor Napoleon, and to determine upon what principles the negociations for peace were to be carried on. For this purpose his Imperial Majesty resolved, towards the end of the month of June, to send his Minister for Foreign Affairs to Dresden. The result of this mission was a Convention concluded upon the 30th June, accepting the mediation of his Imperial Majesty in the negociation of a general, and if that could not be effected, of a preliminary Continental peace. The city of Prague was fixed upon for the meeting of the Congress, and the 5th of July for the day of its opening. In order to obtain a sufficient time for the negociation, it was determined by the same Convention that the Emperor Napoleon should not give notice of the rupture of the Armistice which was to terminate on the 20th of July, at that time existing between himself and Russia, till the 10th of August; and his Majesty the Emperor took upon himself to obtain a similar declaration from the Russian and Prussian Courts.——The points which had been determined in Dresden, were hereupon imparted to the two Courts. Although the continuation of the Armistice was attended with many objections, and with much serious inconvenience to them, the desire of giving to his Imperial Majesty another proof of their confidence, and at the same time to satisfy the world that they would not reject any prospect of peace, however confined it might be, that they would not refuse any attempt which might prepare the way to it, overcame every consideration. The only alteration made in the Convention of the 30th June, was, that the term of the opening the Congress, since the final regulations could not so soon be determined, should be deferred until the 12th of July.——In the mean time his Majesty, who would not as yet abandon all hopes of completely terminating, by a general peace, the sufferings of mankind and the convulsions of the political world, had also resolved upon a new attempt with the British Government. The Emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business, by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time, under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the Emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions at that particular period afforded just reason to believe that a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude.——During that interval their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia had nominated their Plenipotentiaries to the Congress, and had furnished them with very decisive instructions. On the 12th July they both arrived at Prague, as well as his Majesty's Minister, charged with the concern of the mediation.——The negociations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th of August, except in the event of their assuming such a character as to induce a confident hope of a favourable result. To that day the Armistice had been extended through the mediation of Austria: the political and military situation of the Allied Sovereigns, the condition of the countries they occupied, and their anxious wish to terminate an irksome period of uncertainty, prevented any further extension of it. With all these circumstances the Emperor Napoleon was acquainted; he well knew that the period of the negociations was necessarily defined by that of the Armistice; and he could not moreover conceal from himself how much his own determination would influence the happy abridgment and successful result of the pending negociations.——It was therefore with real sorrow that his Majesty soon perceived not only that no serious step was taken by France to accelerate this great work, but, on the contrary, it appeared as if a procrastination of the negociations, and evasion of a favourable issue, had been decidedly intended. There was, indeed, a French Minister at the place of Congress, but without any orders to proceed to business, until the appearance of the first Plenipotentiary.——The arrival of that Plenipotentiary was in vain expected from day to day. Nor was it until the 21st July that it was ascertained, that a demur which took place on settling the renewal of the Armistice between the French and Russian and Prussian Commissioners, an obstruction of very subordinate importance, having no influence whatever upon

the Congress, and which might have been very easily and speedily removed by the interference of Austria, was made use of as the justification of this extraordinary delay. And when this last pretext was removed, it was not until the 28th of July, sixteen days after that appointed for the opening of the Congress, that the first French Plenipotentiary arrived.——Even in the very first days after this Minister's arrival, no doubt remained as to the fate of the Congress. The form in which the full powers were to be delivered, and the mutual explanations should be conducted, a point which had already been treated by all parties, became the object of a discussion which rendered all the endeavours of the mediating Power abortive. The apparent insufficiency of the powers intrusted to the French Negociator, occasioned a silence of several days. Nor was it until the 6th of August that this Minister gave in a new Declaration, by which the difficulties with respect to forms were by no means removed, nor the Negociation by one step brought nearer to its object. After a useless exchange of notes upon every preliminary question, the 10th of August arrived. The Prussian and Russian Negociators could not exceed this term; the Congress was at an end, and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined, by the progress of this Negociation—by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace—by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his Majesty examined the great question in dispute—by the principles and intentions of the Allies, wherein the Emperor recognized his own—and finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception.——Not without sincere affliction, and alone consoled by the certainty that every means to avoid the war had been exhausted, does the Emperor now find himself compelled to action. For three years has his Majesty laboured with unceasing perseverance to effect, by mild and conciliatory measures, real and durable peace for Austria and for Europe. All his endeavours have failed; there is now no remedy, no recourse to be had but to arms. The Emperor takes them up without any personal animosity, from a painful necessity, from an irresistible duty, upon grounds which any faithful citizen of his realm, which the world, which the Emperor Napoleon himself, in a moment of tranquillity and reason, will acknowledge and justify. The necessity of this war is engraven in the heart of every Austrian, of every European, under whosoever dominion he may live, in such legible characters, that no art is necessary to distinguish them. The nation and the army will do their duty. An union established by common necessity, and by the mutual interest of every Power that is in arms for its independence, will give due weight to our exertions, and the result, with the assistance of Heaven, will be such as must fulfil the just expectations of every friend of order and of peace.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1813.
WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Sept. 14, 1813.

Major Hare has arrived at this Office with Dispatches, addressed to Earl Bathurst, by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, of which the following are copies:—

Lezaca, Sept. 2, 1813.

My Lord,—The fire against the fort of San Sebastian was opened on the 26th of August, and directed against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face, against the demi-bastion on the south-eastern angle, and the termination of the curtain of the southern face.——Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham had directed that an establishment should be formed on the island of Santa Clara, which was effected on the night of the 26th; and the enemy's detachment on that island were made prisoners. Captain Cameron, of the 9th, had the command of the detachment which effected this operation, and Sir Thomas Graham particularly applauds his conduct, and that of Captain Henderson, of the royal engineers.——The conduct of Lieutenant the Honourable James Arbuthnot, of the royal navy, who commanded the boats, was highly meritorious, as likewise that of Lieutenant Bell, of the royal marines.——All that it was deemed practicable to carry into execution, in order to facilitate the approach to the breaches before made in the wall of the town, having been effected on the 30th of August, and another breach having been made at the termination of the curtain, the place was stormed at eleven o'clock in the day on the 31st, and carried. The loss on our side has been severe. Lieut.-General Sir James Leith, who had joined the army only two days before, and Major-Generals Oswald and Robinson were unfortunately wounded in the breach; and Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, of the royal engineers, was killed by a musket ball at the mouth of

the trenches. In this officer, and in Lieut.-Colonel Crawford, of the 9th regiment, his Majesty's service has sustained a serious loss.——I have the honour to enclose Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham's report of this operation, in which your Lordship will observe, with pleasure, another distinguished instance of the gallantry and perseverance of His Majesty's officers and troops, under the most trying difficulties. ——All reports concur in praise of the conduct of the detachment from the 10th Portuguese brigade, under Major Snodgrass, which crossed the river Urumea, and stormed the breach on the right, under all the fire which could be directed upon them from the castle and town.——The garrison retired to the castle, leaving about two hundred and seventy prisoners in our hands; and I hope that I shall soon have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that we have possession of that post.——Since the fire against St. Sebastian had been recommenced, the enemy had drawn the greatest part of their force to the camp of Urogne, and there was every reason to believe that they would make an attempt to relieve the place.——Three divisions of the 4th Spanish army, commanded by General Don Manuel Freyre, occupied the heights of San Marcial, and the town of Irun, by which the approach to San Sebastian by the high road was covered and protected, and they were supported by the 1st division of British infantry, under Major-Gen. Howard, and Major-General Lord Aylmer's brigade, on their left, and in the rear of Irun; and by Gen. Longa's division encamped near the Sierra de Aya, in rear of their right. In order to secure them still further, I moved two brigades of the 4th division on the 30th to the Convent of San Antonio, one of which (Gen. Ross's) under Lieut.-General the Honourable Sir Lowry Cole, moved up the same day to the Sierra de Aya, and the other, on the morning of the 31st, leaving the 9th Portuguese brigade on the heights between the Convent and Vera, and Lezaca.——Major-General Inglis's brigade of the seventh division was moved on the 30th to the bridge of Lezaca; and I gave orders for the troops in the Puertos of Echalar, Zugarramurdi, and Maya to attack the enemy's weakened posts in front of those positions.——The enemy crossed the Bidassoa by the fords between Andara and the destroyed bridge on the high road, before day-light on the morning of the 31st, with a very large force, with which they made a most desperate attack along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops on the heights of San Marcial. They were driven back, some of them even across the river, in the most gallant style, by the Spanish troops, whose conduct was equal to that of any troops that I have ever seen engaged; and the attack having been frequently repeated, was upon every occasion defeated with the same gallantry and determination. The course of the river being immediately under the heights on the French side, on which the enemy had placed a considerable quantity of cannon, they were enabled to throw a bridge across the river, about three quarters of a mile above the high road, over which in the afternoon they marched again a considerable body, which, with those who had crossed the fords, made another desperate attack upon the Spanish positions. This was equally beat back; and at length, finding all their efforts on that side fruitless, the enemy took advantage of the darkness of a violent storm to retire their troops from this front entirely.——Notwithstanding that, as I have above informed your Lordship, I had a British division on each flank of the 4th Spanish army, I am happy to be able to report, that the conduct of the latter was so conspicuously good, and they were so capable of defending their post without assistance, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the enemy to carry it, that finding that the ground did not allow of my making use of the 1st or 4th divisions, on the flanks of the enemy's attacking corps, neither of them were in the least engaged during the action.——Nearly at the same time that the enemy crossed the Bidassoa in front of the heights of San Marcial, they likewise crossed that river with about three divisions of infantry in two columns, by the fords below Salm, in front of the position occupied by the 9th Portuguese brigade, I ordered Major-General Inglis to support this brigade with that of the 7th division under his command; and as soon as I was informed of the course of the enemy's attack, I sent to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie to request that he would likewise move towards the Bidassoa with the 7th division; and to the light division, to support Major-General Inglis by every means in their power. Major-General Inglis found it impossible to maintain the heights between Lezaca and the Bidassoa, and he withdrew to those in front of the Convent of San Antonio, which he maintained.——In the mean time Major-General Kempt moved one brigade of the

light division to Lezaca, by which he kept the enemy in check, and covered the march of the Earl of Dalhousie to join Major-Gen. Inglis.——The enemy, however, having completely failed in their attempt upon the position of the Spanish army on the heights of San Marcial, and finding that Major-General Inglis had taken a position from which they could not drive him, at the same time that it covered and protected the right of the Spanish army, and the approaches to San Sebastian by Oyarzun, and that their situation on the left of the Bidassoa was becoming at every moment more critical, retired during the night.——The fall of rain during the evening and night had so swollen the Bidassoa, that the rear of their column was obliged to cross at the bridge of Vera. In order to effect this object, they attacked the posts of Major-General Skerritt's brigade of the light division at about three in the morning, both from the Puerto de Vera and from the left of the Bidassoa. Although the nature of the ground rendered it impossible to prevent entirely the passage of the bridge after daylight, it was made under the fire of a great part of Major-General Skerrit's brigade, and the enemy's loss in the operation must have been very considerable.——While this was going on upon the left of the army, Mariscal de Campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Echalar, on the 30th and 31st. Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie made General Le Cor attack those in front of Zugarramurdi, with the 6th Portuguese brigade, on the 31st; and the Honourable Major-Gen. Colville made Colonel Douglas attack the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Maya, on the same day, with the 7th Portuguese brigade. All these troops conducted themselves well.——The attack made by the Earl of Dalhousie delayed his march till late in the afternoon of the 31st; but he was in the evening in a favourable situation for his further progress, and in the morning of the 1st, in that allotted for him.——In these operations, in which a second attempt by the enemy to prevent the establishment of the Allies upon the frontiers, has been defeated, by the operations of a part only of the Allied Army, at the very moment at which the town of St. Sebastian was taken by storm; I have had great satisfaction in observing the zeal and ability of the officers, and the gallantry and discipline of the soldiers.——The different reports which I have transmitted to your Lordship from Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, will have shewn the ability and perseverance with which he has conducted the arduous enterprise intrusted to his direction, and the zeal and exertion of all the officers employed under him.——I fully concur in the Lieut.-General's report of the cordial assistance which he has received from Captain Sir George Collier, and the officers, seamen, and marines under his command, who have done every thing in their power to facilitate and ensure our success. The seamen have served with the artillery in the batteries, and have upon every occasion manifested that spirit which is characteristic of the British navy.——I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of Mariscal de Campo Don Manuel Freyre, the Commander in Chief of the 4th Spanish army, who, whilst he made every disposition which was proper for the troops under his command, set them an example of gallantry, which having been followed by the General Officers, Chiefs, and other Officers of the regiments, ensured the success of the day. In his report, in which I concur, the General expresses the difficulty which he finds of selecting particular instances of gallantry, in a case in which all have conducted themselves so well; but he has particularly mentioned General Mendizabal, who volunteered his assistance, and commanded on the height of San Marcial; Mariscal de Campo Losado, who commanded in the centre, and was wounded; Mariscal de Campo Jose Garcia de Paredes, the commanding officer of the artillery; Brigadiers Don Juan Diaz Porlier, Don Jose Maria Espoleta, Don Stanislas Sanchez Salvador; the Chief of the Staff of the Fourth Army, and Don Antonio Roselly; and Colonels Fuentes Pita, the commanding engineer, Don Juan Loarte, of the regiment de la Constitution, and Don Juan Uarte Mendia.——Major-General Inglis, and the regiments in his brigade of the seventh division, conducted themselves remarkably well. The 51st regiment, under Colonel Mitchell, and the 68th, under Lieut.-Colonel Hawkins, covered the change of position by the troops from the heights between the Bidassoa and Lezaca to those of San Antonio; and these corps were distinguished.——Throughout these operations I have received every assistance from the Adjutant-Gen. Major-Gen. Pakenham, and the Quarter-Master-Gen. Major-Gen. Murray, and all the officers of the staff, and of my own family.——I transmit this dispatch by Major Hare, Acting Assistant-Adj.-Gen. with this army, attached to Lieutenant-General Sir

Thomas Graham, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's protection. ——I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

P. S. I enclose a return of the killed and wounded in the operations of the 31st ult. and 1st instant; and returns of the loss before San Sebastian, from the 28th July to the 31st of August.

Oyarzun, Sept. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—In obedience to your Lordship's orders of the preceding day, to attack and form a lodgment on the breach of St. Sebastian, which now extended to the left, so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at eleven o'clock *a. m.* yesterday; and I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success.——The column of attack was formed of the second brigade of the fifth division, commanded by Major-General Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments as per margin,* and having in reserve the remainder of the fifth division, consisting of Major-General Sprye's Portuguese brigade, and the first brigade under Major-General Hay, as also the fifth battalion of Cacadores of General Bradford's brigade, under Major Hill; the whole under the direction of Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, commanding the fifth division. ——Having arranged every thing with Sir James Leith, I crossed the Urumia to the batteries of the right attack, where every thing could be most distinctly seen, and from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.——The column, in filing out of the right of the trenches, was as before exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape-shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the horn-work, which did great damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops in advancing to the attack. There was never any thing so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach; without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of the streets; so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which it could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by entrenchments and traverses, in the horn-work, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain.——Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge: and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musketry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties from being able to form a lodgment for the troops, exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was particularly directed, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions; and, at all events, a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain. ——In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with Colonel Dickson, commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it; passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of a part of Major-General Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the 1st battalion, 13th regiment, under Major Snodgrass, over the open beach, and across the river, and of a detachment of the 24th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style, under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and Lieute-

* One hundred and fifty volunteers of the light division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, of the 52d regiment; four hundred of the first division (consisting of two hundred of the brigades of Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke; of one hundred of the light battalion, and one hundred of the line battalions of the King's German Legion), under Major Robertson; and two hundred volunteers of the fourth division, under Major Rose, of the 20th foot.

nant-Colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. I ought not to omit to mention, that a similar offer was made by the 1st Portuguese regiment of Brigadier-General Wilson's brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fearon; and that both Major-General Bradford and Brigadier-General Wilson had, from the beginning, urged most anxiously the employment of their respective brigades in the attack, as they had had so large a share in the labour and fatigues of the right attack.——Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the horn-work.——It fell to the lot of the 2d brigade of the fifth divisions, under the command of Colonel the Honourable Chas. Greville, to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the 3d battalion of the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Barnes, supported by the 38th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain, about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained, after a severe conflict; and the troops on the right of the breach, having about this time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours, under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained.——It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession.——Though it must be evident to your Lordship, that the troops were all animated with the most enthusiastic and devoted gallantry, and that all are entitled to the highest commendation; yet, I am sure, your Lordship will wish to be informed more particularly concerning those who, from their situations, had opportunities of gaining peculiar distinction; and, as the distance I was at myself does not enable me to perform this act of justice from personal observation, I have taken every pains to collect information from the superior Officers. Lieutenant-General Sir J. Leith justified, in the fullest manner, the confidence reposed in his tried judgment and distinguished gallantry, conducting and directing the attack, till obliged to be reluctantly carried off, after receiving a most severe contusion on the breast, and having his left arm broken.——Major-General Hay succeeded to the command, and ably conducted the attack to the last. Lieutenant-General Sir J. Leith expresses his great obligations to Major-Generals Hay and Robinson (the latter was obliged to leave the field from a severe wound in the face), and to Lieut.-Colonels Berkeley and Gomm, Assistant-Adjutant-General, and Assistant-Quarter-Master-General of the 5th division, for their zealous services during this arduous contest. He warmly recommends to your Lordship's notice, his Aid-de-Camp, Capt. Belches, of the 59th foot; and, in conjunction with Major-General Hay, he bears testimony to the highly meritorious conduct of Captain James Stewart, of the 3d battalion Royal Scots, Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Hay; and he recommends to your Lordship's notice, Major-General Robinson's Aid-de-Camp, Capt. Wood, 4th foot, as also Captains Williamson and Jones of that regiment; the former was severely wounded in the command of the 4th, following the forlorn hope in the best style, and remaining long after his wound. Captain Jones succeeded to the command of the brigade, and conducted it with great ability.——Sir James Leith likewise particularises Captain Taylor, 48th regiment, Brigade-Major, to the 1st brigade, and Lieutenant Le Blanc, of the 4th foot, who led the light infantry company of the regiment, immediately after the forlorn hope, and is the only surviving officer of the advance.——Major-General Robinson unites his testimony of praise of Captains Williamson and Jones, and Lieutenant Le Blanc, above mentioned. He likewise commends highly Captain Livesay, who succeeded to the command of the 47th foot, on Major Kelly's being killed, and kept it till wounded, when the command devolved on Lieutenant Power, who ably performed the duty, as also Captain Pilkington, who succeeded to the command of the 59th on Captain Scott's being killed, and retained it till wounded, when the command of that battalion fell to Captain Halford, who led it with great credit, and also Brevet-Major Anwyll, Brigade-Major of the 2d brigade.——Major-General Hay having now the command of the 5th division, mentions in terms of great praise the excellent conduct of Major-General Sprye, commanding the

Portuguese brigade, and the very distinguished gallantry of Colonel de Regoa, and the 15th Portuguese regiment, under his command, and of Colonel M'Crae, with the 3d Portuguese regiment; and Major-General Sprye mentions in terms of high praise, Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, commanding the 8th Cacadores, and Major Charles Stuart Campbell, commanding the 3d regiment in Colonel M'Crae's absence on general duty; and he expresses his great obligations to Captain Brackenburg, of the 61st regiment, his Aid-de-Camp, and to Brigade-Major Fitzgerald. Major-Gen. Hay speaks most highly of the services of Colonel the Honourable C. Greville, of the 38th, in command of the second brigade, and of the conspicuous gallantry of Lieut.-Colonel Barnes, in the successful assault of the curtain, with the brave battalion of the Royal Scots, and also of the exemplary conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, of the 9th foot, and Lieut. Colonels Miles and Dean, of the 38th, and all the officers and troops engaged; and he expresses himself as most particularly indebted to the zeal, intelligence, and intrepidity of Brigade-Major Taylor, and Captain Stewart, of the Royal Scots, acting as his Aid-de-Camp, formerly mentioned.——Major-Gen. Hay likewise expresses his great satisfaction with the gallant and judicious conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Cooke, commanding the detachment of Guards; of Lieut.-Colonel Hunt, commanding the detachment of the left division, who was severely wounded; and of all the other officers and troops of the detachments.——Major-General Hay conducted the division along the ramparts himself, with the judgment and gallantry that has so often marked his conduct.——I have now only to repeat the expressions of my highest satisfaction with the conduct of the Officers of the Royal Artillery and Engineers, as formerly particularized in the report of the first attack. Every branch of the artillery service has been conducted by Colonel Dickson with the greatest ability, as was that of the engineer department by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, till the moment of his much-lamented fall at the mouth of the trenches. Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne succeeded to the command, and is anxious that I should convey to your Lordship Sir R. Fletcher's sense of the great merit and gallantry of Captain Henderson, in the attack of the island on the morning of the 27th ultimo; and of the persevering exertions of Majors Ellicombe and Smith, in pushing forward the operations of the two attacks—the latter officer having had the merit of the first arrangements for the attack on the right.——Lieutenant-Col. Burgoyne was himself wounded, and only quitted the field from loss of blood; but I am happy to say he is able to carry on the duty of the department.——The conduct of the navy has been continued on the same principle of zealous co-operation by Sir George Collier; and the services Lieutenant O'Reilley, with the seamen employed in the batteries, has been equally conspicuous as before.——Your Lordship will now permit me to call your attention to the conduct of that distinguished officer, Major-General Oswald, who has had the temporary command of the fifth division in Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith's absence, during the whole of the campaign, and who resigned the command of the division on Sir James Leith's arrival on the 30th ultimo.——Having carried on, with indefatigable attention, all the laboriors duties of the left attack, no person was more able to give Sir James Leith the best information and assistance. This Sir James Leith acknowledges he did with a liberality and zeal for the service in the highest degree praiseworthy, and he continued his valuable services to the last, by acting as a volunteer, and accompanying Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith to the trenches on the occasion of the assault. I have infinite satisfaction in assuring your Lordship of my perfect approbation of Major-General Oswald's conduct ever since the fifth division formed a part of the left column of the army.——I beg to assure your Lordship that Colonel Delancy, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bouverie, Assistant-Adjutant-General, attached to the left column, have continued to render me the most valuable assistance, and that the zeal of Captain Calvert, of the 29th regiment, my first Aid-de-Camp, as well as that of the rest of the officers of my personal staff, entitle them all to my warmest and perfect approbation.——Your Lordship has, with an attention extremely grateful to

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRICE OF BREAD.——In spite of all our boasting of being in an *enlightened state*, my opinion is, that, in few countries does ignorance, profound ignorance, as to all matters, only a little complicated, prevail so completely as in this.——Who could imagine, that, at this day, an opinion should prevail, that laws, that *compulsion* is necessary *to cause bread to be sold at the proper price?* Yet, this opinion does prevail, and such laws are in existence and acted upon too. Nay, some people go further in their notions in this direction; and seem to wish for new and more rigorous laws upon the subject.——An article, in the Courier of the 23d of September, would almost make one believe, that there was not a grain of mere common sense left in the nation.——I will insert it, and then make a few remarks upon it.——" PRICE " OF BREAD.—According to the statement " of the Lord Mayor on Wednesday last to " the Bakers and Dealers who then assem- " bled at the Mansion-House, the public " might reasonably have expected a further " fall in the assize of Bread this week. " The average price of wheat was then " (last week) stated to be 89*s.* 7¼*d.* and " the average price of flour 89*s.* 1*d.*; so " that in justice to the public, the average " price of flour ought not to have exceeded " 74*s.* per sack this week, nor even so high " as 74*s.*, there having been a further de- " cline of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the price of wheat at " Mark-lane. Surely the Bakers cannot be " *so lost to their own interest*, or to what " is *due in strict justice from them to all* " *ranks of society*, as to stop at home, and " by that means expose themselves to the " mercy of such *avaricious machinations*. " —Bread, if assized from flour at 74*s.*, " would be 1*s.* 1½*d.* per quartern loaf; and " although the returns to the Mansion- " house this week are made to average at " 89*s.* 0¼*d.*, they, under all circumstances, " ought not to have averaged at more than " 74*s.* His Lordship has, therefore, given " notice to the Bakers' Company of his in- " tention to fix the price of Bread next week " from the average of wheat, unless pre- " vented by a fall in the price of flour." ——It is very hard to say what this wiseacre would drive at! He talks of " *avari-* " *cious machinations*;" but, on the part of *whom?* The *flour-dealers*, it would seem. The *millers*, I suppose, and those who sell their flour for them.——What a brutish notion! To suppose it possible, that so many hundreds, so many thousands of persons, who, from the very nature of the case, *must be rivals in trade*, should agree together, should plot and contrive, should combine and co-operate, to raise, or keep up, the price of the article, in which they deal; and, that they should do this, too, without a *possibility* of gaining, in the end, any thing by such combination!——It requires only common sense, and a very moderate portion of it, to see, that such a combination is out of nature; that it is, in short, *impossible*; and, that no better reason can be given for a combination amongst millers than for a combination amongst mercers or drapers. Every miller, or seller of flour, is desirous to *sell*; it is his object to turn his flour into money; as much money as he can get, to be sure; but, he must sell, and, if he will not sell at the price which the price of wheat warrants, his neighbour will, and the former must then come down to his neighbour's price.——How many instances do we see of this daily? Who can doubt, who has either eyes or ears, that every thing of this sort will regulate itself to a hair?——Well, but let us, for sake of argument, allow *the possibility* of a combination of all the flour-sellers in this island; and, then, let me ask, what they could possibly *gain* by their combination? More money for their flour, do you imagine? That must be their object, of course; but, that object they could not possibly secure by their combination; unless in a case, where the flour, at a period subsequent to the combination, should be *sent out of the country*, and to some *market wholly new*.——Let us suppose, that there are only ten millers in a country, and that, by a combination, they raise the price of flour 10*s.* a sack, on the 1st of October. What would be the consequence of

that? Why, that less of their flour would be sold, than would be sold, if it were not so dear by 10*s.* a sack. Supposing it to be 70*s.* a sack, they would sell only six sacks, where they would have sold seven sacks, if the price had been 60*s.* a sack; for, their rising their price would not add to the means of purchasing their commodity.——The effect of this would be an accumulation of flour upon hand; and, in the end, they would have in their store-houses more flour than the whole of their capital would answer, flour being made out of an article, which always was, and always must be, a *ready-money* article.——Where are the millers to find money to keep up such a combination as this? Was there ever a notion more perfectly barbarous?——Well, but, at *last*, they must sell. They cannot keep by them this amazing accumulation of flour for ever. They may keep it till they lose the value of it in interest of their money; but, they must sell at *last;* and, whenever they do sell, they must, by their own act, so lower the price, as to make the diminution of price then equal to the enhancement caused by their combination before.——But, supposing all this reasoning to be erroneous. Supposing it possible and easily practicable for all the millers and owners of flour to combine; supposing people to have the means of purchasing as much dear flour as cheap flour; supposing the consumption not to be at all dependent upon the price; and supposing, that, in the end, the millers gain greatly by combining together to keep up the price of flour. Supposing all this, we must not stop here, but must go on to suppose them able to raise flour to ANY *price that they please.* If the millers (suppose there to be only ten in the kingdom) are able, by the means of combination, to raise, or keep up, flour 10*s.* a sack, why should they *stop there?* Is that the length of tether which is allowed to a miller's conscience? It is, I imagine, avarice that this combination is ascribed to; and, does avarice content itself with a seventh, when it might, at pleasure, take a second, or more? What, let me ask, is it, then, which thus checks the *conscience* of these *unconscionable* men? Why do they not demand 50 pounds or 100 pounds for a sack of flour, seeing that by their *machinations* they are able to get 70*s.* instead of 60*s.*——I wish the wiseacre, who has written in the Courier, would answer these questions.——The truth is, that, if the millers, by combination, or by any other means, could gain as much as they pleased, or, even an immense profit by their trade, we should soon see many *new millers.* There would soon be two millers where there is now only one. Every hill and every rivulet would have its mill.——This is so clear, that one is almost ashamed to state it in a serious tone; but, really, the ignorance which we witness upon these matters, justifies observations which men usually address to nothing but mere children.——The *Assize of Bread* in London is a relick of the barbarous ages. Men believed that the blood of a duck, which knavish priests exhibited to them in a phial, was part of the blood that issued from the hands and feet of Christ; they believed this, at the time when the assize of bread in London was established by law; and the former really appears to me to have been as good a proof of their wisdom as the latter.——Why not an assize of *meat* as well as of *bread?* Why not an assize of every thing that we eat, drink, or wear? I should be glad to know what reason any one can offer for this singular exception to the general rules of bargain and sale. In all other cases, those who have goods to sell put their own price upon them; and why they should not in this case also, remains to be shewn.——The proof that the law is, in this respect, useless, is, that, *in the country,* there is no assize of bread. The country bakers sell their bread for what they please; or, rather, as butchers do meat, *for as much as they can get.* Now, if the assize of bread be of any use in London, why is not the country to have the benefit of it? If it be to protect the people against avaricious combinations in London, why are the people in the country left unprotected? That the bakers in the country do not avail themselves of this inconsistency in the law is very evident to me, seeing that the quartern loaf at Botley is generally a halfpenny, and sometimes a penny, cheaper than it is in London.——The assize is a relick of barbarism, and the whole set of notions, of which it fosters the existence, are of the same cast.——In America there is no assize, either as to *price or weight.* Every one sells his bread as men sell other things; and the people purchase where they are best served in proportion to the price. If they find that one baker supplies them better than another, they deal with him, in exactly the same way that they give a preference to one shoe-maker before another.——An attempt was made to establish an assize of bread at New York; but the bakers having found it necessary to add to

the profits on their bread, as a compensation for the additional trouble which the assize occasioned, the assize was prudently abandoned, upon the principle that short follies were best.——The present complaint against the millers and flour-dealers seems to have arisen out of the disappointment of the public, who expected, from the statements relative to the harvest, that bread would be sold for 8*d.* or 10*d.* the quartern loaf. But, if the public have been disappointed, who have they to blame but the news-papers, who, upon this, as upon all other occasions, have filled them with false hopes?——It is very true, that the crop has been very great indeed, as far, at least, as my observation has reached; and the harvest, from beginning to end, has been such as not to suffer any waste, even in the hands of the most careless sloven in the kingdom. But, what man in his senses can expect to see wheat nominally cheap, while every thing else is nominally dear? To expect to see wheat return to its former nominal price, while the wages of the ploughman is doubled, is, one would think, something too foolish even for such a person as the editor of the Courier.——This is a year of astonishing abundance. We have had a summer of sun-shine, of dews, and of showers, almost worthy of the meridian of France, where the vine and the maise grow side by side; but, even after such a crop as this, we shall not see wheat much lower than £5. 10*s.* a quarter; and it is impossible that it should, while every thing employed in the producing of it is so high in price.——In short, things are not *dear*, but money, or that which we call money, is cheap. The grower of corn experiences no advantage in the high nominal price. He gets 12*s.* a bushel for his wheat, and he pays 12*s.* an acre for reaping it. Seventy years ago, he got 5*s.* a bushel for his wheat, and he paid 5*s.* an acre for reaping it. All his other expenses are in the same proportion. What, then, does he gain by what is called *the high price of corn?* He gains upon his *landlord*, indeed, if he have a long lease; because his rent, which remains nominally the same, is really diminished, in a certain degree, every year.——But, even here his gain is not much, in general, for, in most cases, his own mistaken notions of profit, induces him to farm so badly for the last five or six years of his lease, that he loses, through niggardliness and slovenliness and malice, a great part of what he has before gained. ——To return to the *Bakers*, I perceive, that some of this unhappy trade have been recently prosecuted and fined in London for what is called *adulterating* their bread. "——ADULTERATED BREAD AND SHORT "WEIGHT.——UNION HALL.—A baker "was summoned before Mr. Evance, "charged with exposing to sale bread short "of weight: he pleaded guilty, and "was fined £7. 5*s.* and costs, being "at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* per ounce. "——Another information was then preferred against him by Wortley and "Lockie, charging him with adulterating "his bread, and using *potatoes* and allum. "It appeared, that in consequence of information which they had received, the "officers went to the defendant's house, "and proceeded to search the premises, "and in the bakehouse they found a quantity of allum; they also found the customary apparatus, the *iron pot and tin* "*cullender*, to the latter of which *a quantity of potatoes* and some allum were still "adhering. Wortley's curiosity induced "him to look into the oven, he there discovered another iron kettle close covered, "the iron being hot; he inquired what it "contained, and was told a stew: this, "however, not satisfying him, he drew it "out, and on examining its contents, found "them to be potatoes. These, in their "boiling state, together with the light "bread and allum, they conveyed to the "office.——The defendant pleaded ignorance that he was doing any thing illegal, "though he confessed having heard that "other bakers had been fined for similar "practices: he used the allum and potatoes because he considered they improved "the flavour of the bread.——The Magistrate reprobated his conduct *in strong* "*terms*, observing, that had he known "what was to follow, he would most certainly have imposed the full penalty of "5*s.* per ounce for the short weight. In the "present, which he considered an aggravated "case, he should for the adulteration impose a fine of £20. and costs."——So, then, it appears, that it is a crime for a man to use potatoes in the making of bread, and that the iron pot, and the cullender, were looked upon in somewhat the same sort of light as a pick-lock or a bloody knife.—— Now, what crime could this baker intend to commit in using the potatoes and the iron pot and the cullender? A *fraud*, I suppose, upon his customers, just as if the poor creatures had no *taste* of their own: no *palate:* no discriminating faculty either in their jaws or in their bowels: and being

of this extraordinary description, a description which never before suited either man or beast, the law, with paternal tenderness, comes in to their aid, and protects them against the man who was selling them bad bread for good! Astonishing law! Where it was first invented, I know not; but I am very sure that there never was such a law ever heard of before in this world; and, if the people of England are remarkable for their thinking faculties, this law affords a very strong presumption that their bellies are the most stupid of those of any part of the creation.——What, then, the poor devils in the Borough of Southwark, did not know that they were eating potatoes in the place of flour! Really, if they liked the stuff as well, I should have been very much disposed to let them go on feeding upon it; for, there can be no doubt that their so doing would have left more flour for other people, and, according to the vulgar notion, this baker's proceedings would have tended to lower the price of bread.——But, what is the real state of the case? What is this fraud which this baker has been committing upon his customers?——A short statement of undeniable facts will prove, that, if the man really did make use of potatoes in aid of flour, in whatever degree he so employed them, he committed a fraud upon himself. ——It takes ten pounds weight of potatoes, to make one pound of bread. Before they can be mixed with flour (and they can be mixed only with the water) they must be boiled down; they must be worked through a cullender; and, then, ten pounds in weight of them, in their original state, are required to make an addition of one pound to the flour.——Now, the average price of potatoes in London, purchased by the ton, is, at least, one penny a pound, delivered in; and, of course, ten pounds weight of potatoes, costs the baker ten pence. Flour, at ninety shillings a sack, is a little more than 3 ½*d.* per pound. Consequently, the baker loses 6 ½*d.* by every ten pound of potatoes, which he employs as a substitute for flour.——What an ass, there . . . . no, not ass, for we know there was once an ass, which spoke, and spoke very sensibly too; but what a senseless two-legged brute must this baker have been to commit the fraud imputed to him!——The truth is, that the potatoe is employed, not in aid of the flour, but in aid of the *yeast*. The fermenting quality of the former, joined to that of the latter, become wonderfully efficacious in producing light bread; and, as the potatoe has nothing very noxious in its nature, it is used for this purpose by private families as well as by those whose trade it is to make and sell bread.——It seems very wonderful to me that the customers of this man should not have discovered the fraud. And, then, the remedy was in their own hands, for they could have gone to another baker.——If he managed the thing so well, if he cheated himself so neatly, that those who eat his bread were unable to discover the fraud, I think, that according to the vulgar notion of SUBSTITUTES, with the sound of which the nation was dinned into absolute stupidity; I think, that according to this vulgar notion, the man ought to have had a premium for his discovery.——He had, it seems, found out a way of making potatoes into bread with so much art, that it was impossible to perceive, from the taste of his bread, that it was not wholly composed of wheat-flour; and that it was necessary to hunt after the unfortunate pot and cullender to come at the evidences of his guilt.——It is true, indeed, that the graving-tools of a forger of bank notes are looked upon as proofs of guilt; but, then, this gentleman's wares go forth to the manifest detriment of those who take them; the unfortunate holder of one of his notes but too sensibly feels what he suffers from the fraud; whereas the eaters of the potatoe-bread stood in need of the ferretting-out of the pot and cullender to give them the first intimation of their having being imposed upon.——This case of the baker appears to me to be a very hard one indeed; but, it leads one to an observation or two upon the growth of this delicious root the potatoe, which I have before said was one of the greatest evils that England ever knew. This root was, I believe, first imported from America, as was, it is also said, that most loathsome disease, which I will not name; but, which, from the bottom of my soul, I believe, to have been a much smaller curse to Europe, than this root, which has, of late years, been a subject of so much praise.——It has been so often asserted, that, at last, men appear to take it for granted, that the cultivation of potatoes has greatly added to the quantity of food raised in England. If by *quantity*, people mean *bulk*, they are right; for, to be sure, it is a monstrous heap of stuff that comes off an acre of potatoes. But, if they mean sustenance, what they say is false. ——Ten pounds of potatoes produce no more sustenance than one pound of flour.

——Five quarters of wheat to an acre are frequently produced. The weight of that weight, at sixty pounds a bushel, is upwards of one ton. And it is a very large crop of potatoes, which will amount to ten tons.——Let it be observed, too, that the potatoes being calculated for the use of nothing but the improvident brute-creation, leave no straw behind them; no means of restoring to the earth any part of what they have so abundantly drawn from it.—But, this root is become a favourite because it is the suitable companion of misery and filth. It can be seized hold of before it be half ripe, it can be raked out of the ground with the paws, and without the help of any utensils, except, perhaps, a stick to rake it from the fire, can be conveyed into the stomach, in the space of an hour. We have but one step further to go, and that is, to eat it raw, side by side with our bristly fellow-creatures, who, by the by, reject it as long as they can get at any species of grain or at any other vegetable.—I can remember when the first acre of potatoes was planted in a field, in the neighbourhood of the place where I was born; and I very well remember, that even the poorest of the people would not eat them. They called them *hog*-potatoes; but now, they are become a considerable portion of the diet, of those who raise the bread for others to eat.——It is not many years ago that a bill was brought into Parliament for the giving of premiums for the cultivation of this ruinous root. It was thrown out, to be sure; but the bare fact of its having been brought in, was a disgrace to the country. Wonderful, however, as it was, to see it proclaimed through the country, that the ministers of state at their grand dinners, had used fried potatoe-cakes, as a substitute for bread, in order to alleviate the then prevailing scarcity of flour, is it not still more wonderful to see a man punished as a criminal for having discovered the means of converting potatoes into bread in so complete a manner, that those who eat of that bread were unable to perceive that it was not wholly composed of flour?

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1813.

(Continued from page 416.)

me; permitted me to name an officer to be the bearer of your Lordship's dispatches home; and I beg to recommend for that commission Major Hare, of the 12th foot, a gallant soldier of fortune, who has on many former occasions served on my staff, and is now attached to it as Assistant Adjutant-General.——I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) T. GRAHAM.

P. S. No return of artillery and stores has yet been sent in, and I fear the returns of the severe losses of the troops may not be quite correct.——I have omitted to mention the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Gethin, 11th regiment, acting Engineer, who conducted a Portuguese column to the attack; and took the enemy's colours from the cavalier. T. G.

Names of Officers wounded and missing in the Siege of St. Sebastian, from 28th July to 29th Aug.

8th August.

38th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain John Willshire, severely.

10th August.

47th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenant J. R. Nason, slightly.

29th August.

9th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Chadwick, severely (since dead).

25th August.

Brunswick Light Infantry. Lieut. Schwartenberg, missing.

Names of Officers killed in the Assault and Capture of the Town of St. Sebastians, on the 31st of Aug.

British Officers killed.

Royal Engineers. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, Captains Rhodes and Collyer.—1st Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Ensign Boyd.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenants Macquire, Carrol, Fawson, and Jameson; Ensign Montford.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Major Crawfurd (Lieut.-Colonel); Lieutenants E. Fraser, R. Lewyn, and R. Morant.—20th Foot. Captain Rose (Major).—27th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieutenant Hardinge.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Werge (Major); Lieutenants, M'Guchin, Lawrence, jun. and Wheatley.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant O'Connell.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. Major Kelly, Captain Hodges, Lieuts. Short and Norris, Ensigns Bakewell, Campbell, and Bennett.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Harvest.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. Capt. Scott (Major), Lieutenants Hon. W. C. Pery, Vevers, G. A. S. Fane, and Pyne; Ensigns Pack, M. O'Hara, and L. Watsen.—27th Foot, 3d Batt. Volunteers George Kennion and John Crawston.

Portuguese Officers killed.

3d Regiment of the Line. Ensign Francisco Cordoso de Gama, Adjutant Hill.—13th Regiment of the Line. Captain Neves, Ensign José Maria, Adjutant Joan M. D. Abree.—15th Regiment of the Line. Lieutenant Jorge de Lagos, Adjutant Jose Porriera Faras.—8th Cacadores, Captain Manuel Quistana.

British Officers wounded.

General Staff. Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, K. B. severely; Major-General Oswald, slightly; Major-General Robinson, severely.—Royal Engineers. Captain Burgoyne (Lieut.-Colonel), slightly; Lieutenants Barney and Marshal, severely.—1st Guards, 1st Batt. Ensign

Burrard, severely (since dead).—1st Guards, 3d Batt. Ensign Bridgeman, slightly.—Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. Ensign Chaplain, severely.—1st Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Lieutenants Clarke and Holbrooke, severely; Lieutenants Suckling, Armstrong, and Macdonald, slightly.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Colonel Piper, slightly, Captains Williamson and Fletcher, severely; Lieutenants Le Blanc, Haywood, and Ensign Hyde, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, slightly; Captain Thomas Ferrars, severely; John Shelton, severely (arm amputated); Lieutenants R. Dale and W. M'Adam, slightly; John Ogle, severely.—Detachment 20th Regt. Captain Murray, slightly.—23d (Fusileers), 1st Batt. Lieutenant Griffiths, slightly.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Hussey, severely; Lieutenants Tittle and Cross, severely; Sandwith, severely (arm amputated); Lawrence, sen. and Hopper, severely; Ensigns M'Alpin and Reddy, severely; Lieutenant Freer, slightly.—Detachment 40th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Turton, severely (since dead).—47th Foot, 2d Batt. Captains Livesay and Oglander, severely; Lieutenants Power, Nason, and Johnson, severely; Kendall and Agar, slightly. Ensigns Hall and Burke, severely.—Detachment 48th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Gray, slightly.—Detachment 52d Foot, 1st Batt. Major Hunt (Lieut.-Col.), Capt. R. Campbell, severely.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. Captains Fothergill and Pilkington, severely; Lieutenants Hovenden, Duncan, Freeze, A. Campbell, H. Hartford, severely; Stewart, Browne, Carmichael, slightly; Ensign Edwards, severely; Robertson, slightly.—Detachment 95th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenants Hamilton and Percival, severely.—1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. Captain Heine, severely; Lieutenant Rossin, slightly.—Brunswick Light Infantry. Lieutenant Halson.—1st Royal Scots, 3d Batt. Volunteer Dobb, severely.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. Volunteer Bennet, slightly.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

3d Reg. of the Line. Major Campbell, severely; Captains Walter, Jose, Rafeall, Joaquim Manvel de Vega, severely; Thomas de Avelar, slightly; Lieutenants Antonio and Bernado, severely; Amar Barrosa, slightly.—Names of the five Ensigns are not inserted in the regimental return.—11th Reg. of the Line. Captain Antonio de Govea, slightly; Lieutenant Ignacio Periera de Lacerda, slightly.—13th Reg. of the Line. Captain Joaquim Antonio, Joaquim de Miranda, severely; Lieutenants Jose Pedro and Michael Joaquim, severely; Ensign Lawrence Guistimano.—15th Reg. of the Line. Captains Thomas O'Neil, severely; Antonio Ignacio Caiola, slightly; Lieutenants Diego Honerato and Joico Mansel Borguieta, severely; Ensigns Ivao de Mattos and Majo, Ant. Alex. de Brito Joie des Mascarenhas, severely; Alexandes de Albuquerque, slightly.—23d Reg. of the Line. Lieutenant Jeronimo Rogado, severely.—24th Reg. of the Line. Captain Arragao, slightly; Lieutenant Padua, severely; Ensign Joie Mansel, severely.—5th Cacadores. Lieutenant Migner.—8th Cacadores. Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, Capt. George Vellis, and Ensign Luis Mansel, severely.

Names of the Officers killed and wounded in the operations of the Army.

British Officers killed, Aug. 31, 1813.

30th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Mallett, D. A. Q. M. G. attached to the Spanish Army.—11th Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Richardson.—31st Foot. Captain Douglas.—22d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieutenant Welsted.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. Captain Cadoux (on the morning of the 1st September).

Names of the Portuguese Officers killed.

8th Reg. of the Line. Lieutenant Maroel Alex. de Sante Clava.—19th Reg. of the Line. Captain Jaoa Ross, Lieutenant Leslie.—38th Reg. of the Line. Captains G. D. Crawford and Jero. F. Corte Reel.—2d Cacadores. Ensign Fran. Jose Laurence.

British Officers wounded.

36th Foot, 1st Batt. Ensign Munt, severely.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. George Foillett, severely (since dead).—51st Foot. Major Roberts (Lieutenant-Colonel), Captains Keyt, Kelly, and James Ross, severely; Capt. John Ross, slightly; Lieuts. Frederic and Bayley, severely; Lieut. Brook, slightly; Lieutenants Minchin and Dodd, severely; Ensign Thurston, severely.—58th Foot. Lieut. Sheene, severely; Ensign Gibson, slightly.—82d Foot, 1st Batt. Lieut. Donnelan, slightly.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Hart, slightly; Lieutenants Llewellyn and Cochrane, severely.—Chasseurs Britannique. Lieut.-Colonel Eustace and Major Duhantoy (Lieutenant-Colonel), severely; Captain Muralt and Lieutenant Blemur, slightly; Lieutenants Choiseul and Precothoin, severely.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

8th Reg. of the Line. Colonel John Douglas, slightly; Lieut.-Colonel Ralph Ousely, Captain W. S. Connor, severely; Ensigns Joaquim Manuel Mascrarenhas and Jorge Alexandre, and Adjutant Joad Luis Thomas, slightly.—11th Reg. of the Line. Captains Joaquim, T. Pordao, and Joao de Gouvea, and Lieutenant Luiz Finto and Anto de Gouvea, slightly.—12th Reg. of the Line. Captain F. da P. Tereauz, Lieutenant Joao Maria da Fonseca.—19th Reg. of the Line. Ensign Joao Vitoreao Perreira, slightly; Ensign Julio Cæsar August, severely.—1st Cacadores. Captain Manoel Jorge Roiz, slightly.—2d Cacadores. Ensign Ant. de Prado, slightly.—3d Cacadores. Ensigns Joze Teixeira Pinto, and Joze Maria, slightly.—7th Cacadores. Captain Pedro d'Barros, and Lieutenant Anto Gereiz Pinto, slightly.—9th Cacadores. Captain Ignacio Ferreira de Rocha, and Ensign Don Henrick, severely.

Spanish Officers killed, 31st Aug. 1813.

2d Reg. Asturias. Captains J. Menendez, and J. J. Vidal, Lieutenant B. Hernandez.—Reg. Constitucion. Captain M. Josefa.—Reg. Corona. Second Lieutenant M. Pardo.—Reg. Volunteers de Asturias. Colonel F. Miranda, Captains P. Albuena and M. Fotalba, Lieutenants T. Caneya and A. Fernandez.—Reg. Oviedo. Lieutenant An. Gonzalez.—Company Artificers. Captain M. J. Campa.—1st Reg. Cantabria. Captains O. Lozano, J. Ruben, and J. Oronoz, Lieutenant F. Rubalcava, Second Lieutenant L. Cotera.—Tiradores de Cantabria. Captain Joaquin Diaz.

Spanish Officers wounded.

General Staff. Major-General Francisco X. Lorade, Brigadiers Antonio Rosillo and Frederico Cannoncon, Aid-de-Camp Second Lieutenant M. Garzia, Adjutant-General L. Lavina.—Reg. de Toledo. Second Lieutenant A. Bancibi.—Reg. de Monterez. Lieutenants A. Narbaez and F. Romero.—Reg. de Manava. Lieutenants J. de Asas and J. Pamareyo.—Reg. de Benevente. Second Lieutenant X. Arango.—Reg. de

Rivero. Colonel F. Carrera, Lieutenants Al. Gutuirrez and R. Osero.—Reg. de Oviedo. Captains Estevan, Rodrigez and Alberto Rodrigez, Second Lieutenants M. Favoada, J. Evia, and F. Lema.—2d Reg. de Asturias. Colonel J. M. Carillo, Major J. M. Novoa, Captains F. X. Foral, P. Zaluaga, Francisco San Julian; Lieutenants Francisco Moreno, Pedro Bonec. Marisel M. Salignes; Second Lieutenants Penre Solis, Juan Mastenhes, Jose Slerez, Esteban Ystafogo, Jose Feyada, Jose Cana, Francisco Bargas.—Reg. Guadalaxara. Captain Jose Rico, Lieutenant Juan de Olloqui.—Reg. Constitucion. Colonel Juan Loaste, Lieutenants Antonio Villagas and Antonio Martinhas; Second Lieutenant Luis Alcala.—Volunteers de Corona. Lieutenant-Colonel Mariano Canell, Captain Jose Riomajor, Lieutenants Nicolas Collar, M. Roman, J. M. Hernandez, J. De Puga; Second Lieutenants V. Nogueira and L. Yriarde.—Volunteers de Asturias. Lieutenant R. Sodno Draz; Second Lieutenants J. Villamel, V. Lopes, F. Salgada; Adjutant A. Parqu.—Reg. Senteyago. Second Lieut. J. M. O'Campo.—Reg. Cantabro. Major Pedro Oloriz; Captain Jose Martini; Lieutenants Francisco la Povrasa, Jose Salama, Jerenimo Londone, Juan del Rio, Francisco Media Villa; Second Lieutenants Francisco Solines, Marcelo Ortiz, and Francisco Salvador.—Reg. de Laredo. Lieutenant-Colonel Sylvestre Hydalgo; Captains Barnardo Alvarez, Jose Falla, Manuel Menendez; Lieutenants Vicente Norroga, Fran. Xavier Albarez, Fran. Presno; Second Lieutenants Sebastian Sanchez, Felix Aranal, Jose Paz Luis Ostiz Falla.—Reg. Tiradores de Cantabria. Lieutenants Jose Cartreyou and Vicente de la Torriente.—1st Reg. de Guipuscoa. Lieutenants Nicolas Dorousora, Jose Arrana, Jose Albun.—2d Reg. de Guipuscoa. Lieutenant-Colonel Buenaventura Tomasa; Lieutenants Gumarsindo Churacra, Jose Manuel Carril.

Spanish Officers missing.

2d Reg. de Asturias. Lieutenant Joaquim Gonsales.—Reg. de Constitucion. Lieut. Augustia Benites.—Reg. de Santoyajo. Captain Augustia Berraiz.—Reg. de Laredo. Lieutenants Jose M. Soladura, Anto. Soloriases.

Abstract of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the Siege, Assault, and Capture of the Town of St. Sebastian, from the 28th of July to the 31st of August, 1813.

British.

1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 6 captains, 19 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 31 serjeants, 1 drummer, 503 rank and file, killed; 3 general staff, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 15 captains, 38 Lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 54 serjeants, 6 drummers, 973 rank and file, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 40 rank and file, missing.

Portuguese.

2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 3 staff, 9 serjeants, 1 drummer, 171 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 10 lieutenants, 13 ensigns, 39 serjeants, 1 drummer, 519 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file missing.

Abstract of killed, wounded, and missing in action with the Enemy on 31st of August and 1st September, 1813.

British.

3 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 43 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 6 captains, 13 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 25 serjeants, 284 rank and file, wounded.—2 serjeants, 30 rank and file, missing.

Portuguese.

3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 ensign, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 76 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 7 captains, 4 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 1 staff, 21 serjeants, 1 drummer, 342 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 52 rank and file, missing.

Spanish.

1 colonel, 10 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 12 serjeants, 231 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 4 general staff, 3 colonels, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 11 captains, 28 lieutenants, 30 ensigns, 1 staff, 69 serjeants, 1,196 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 66 rank and file, missing.

LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 18, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Sept. 18, 1813.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received at Earl Bathurst's Office, from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G.

Lezaca, Sept. 4, 1813.

My Lord, I write just to correct an error in my dispatch of the 2d instant: the number of prisoners taken at St. Sebastians is six hundred and seventy, and not two hundred and seventy, as I supposed.——The Governor has had a communication with Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, the object of which certainly was to commence a negociation for the surrender of the place. Advantage was taken of this communication to send him a summons, but he demanded a suspension of hostilities for a fortnight; then to surrender, unless relieved, but to march his garrison into France, with arms and baggage, without being prisoners of war. These conditions were rejected, and the fire, which had ceased for some time yesterday, was recommenced in the evening.——I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

The Earl of Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. at the Siege, Assault, and Capture of the Town of St. Sebastian, from 28th July to 31st Aug. 1813, *inclusive.*

General Staff. 3 wounded.—Royal Artillery. 3 rank and file killed; 11 rank and file wounded.—Royal Engineers. 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 10 rank and file, wounded.—Royal German Artillery. 2 rank and file wounded.—Detachment 1st Guards, 1st Batt. 9 rank and file killed; 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Detachment 1st Guards, 3d Batt. 1 serjeant, 9 rank and file, killed; 1 ensign, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Detachment Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file

killed; 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 18 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file missing.—Detachment 3d Guards, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant killed, 20 rank and file wounded; 12 rank and file missing.—1st (Royal Scots), 3d Batt. 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 43 rank and file, killed; 5 lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 133 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 2d (or Queen's). 1 serjeant killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. 4 Lieutenants, 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 107 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 10 serjeants, 1 drummer, 142 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Detachment 7th Fusileers, 1st Batt. 6 rank and file wounded—9th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 major, 3 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 42 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 98 rank and file, wounded; 6 rank and file missing.—Detachment 20th Foot. 1 captain, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 7 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 23d Fusileers, 1st Batt. 4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 27th Foot, 3d Batt. 1 lieutenant, 5 rank and file, killed; 2 rank and file wounded.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 52 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 84 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Detachment 40th Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 43d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 2 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 8 rank and file, wounded.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 9 serjeants, 1 drummer, 98 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 118 rank and file, wounded—Detachment 48th Foot, 1st. Batt. 4 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 52d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 7 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 53d Foot, 2d Batt 2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 106 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 8 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 213 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 95th Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 95th Foot, 2d Batt. 3 rank and file killed, 6 rank and file wounded,—Detachment 95th Foot, 3d Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.—Detachment 1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 1 serjeant wounded.—Detachment 2d Light Batt. King's German Legion. 2 rank and file killed; 6 rank and file wounded.—Detachment 1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 4 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 11 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 2d Line Batt. King's German Legion. 5 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file, wounded.—Detachment 5th Line Batt. King's German Legion. 5 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—Brunswick Light Infantry. 2 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 5 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army under the Command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in action with the Enemy on the 31st August and 1st September, 1813.

General Staff. 1 captain killed.—2d (or Queen's) Regiment. 2 rank and file killed; 16 rank and file, wounded.—5th Foot, 1st Batt. 3 rank and file wounded.—11th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, wounded.—27th Foot, 3d Batt. 1 rank and file missing.—36th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 ensign, 1 rank and file, wounded.—40th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant wounded.—51st Foot. 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 4 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 5 serjeants, 61 rank and file, wounded.—52d Foot, 1st Batt 1 rank and file wounded.—52d Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file, wounded.—68th Foot. 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 58 rank and file, wounded.—82d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 lieutenant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 6 serjeants, 54 rank and file, wounded.—87th Foot, 2d Batt. 3 rank and file wounded.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 captain, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 32 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 10 rank and file wounded.—Chasseurs Britanniques. 1 serjeant, 14 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 20 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 26 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 15, 1813.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir G. N. Collier, dated on board His Majesty's ship Surveillante, off St. Sebastians, 1st September, 1813, and transmitted by Admiral Lord Keith to J. W. Croker, Esq.

I take leave to report, that arrangements being made, as agreed upon by Lord Wellington, for a demonstration on the back of the rock of St. Sebastians, the two divisions of ships' boats were placed under the command of Captain Galway, of the Dispatch, and Captain Bloye, of the Lyra, and that I understand their appearance had the complete effect intended, by diverting a large proportion of the garrison from the defence of the breach; the boats were warmly fired on from the batteries at the back of St. Sebastians, but no lives were lost.——The sloops of war weighed with a light breeze, and the Dispatch suffered in a trifling degree in her sails; the gun-boats, No. 14 and 16, were equipped in time to offer annoyance to the enemy, and to attract his attention.——At eleven *a. m.* the tide having ebbed sufficiently, the assault by the breach took place, and if the resistance made by the enemy, considering the natural defences, as well as the artificial ones, thrown up by him, is to be considered gallant and obstinate, the attack must be ranked still higher: never, perhaps, was an affair more obstinately maintained, but British courage and perseverance ultimately succeeded, and after

a lodgment had been effected on the breach, the town was entered and possessed about half past one *p. m.* in defiance of mines and every obstacle which the ingenuity of the Governor could invent. A heavy firing was maintained till late in the evening, but the rock still holds out, and may probably for some days; a large part of the town has been unavoidably destroyed, and more must inevitably suffer from the means still in possession of the enemy.——The opportunity afforded to the navy for evincing the zeal and good will of British seamen, has been necessarily confined to a few individuals, but I know of no officer more indefatigable in the various duties which have fallen to him than Captain Bloye, of the Lyra: he has endeavoured to anticipate every wish of the army. Lieutenant O Reilly, with his former companions in the batteries, was conspicuously active; every ship in the squadron* sent a proportion of seamen, under their respective officers, and they uniformly behaved well.——The loss on both sides during the assault must have been considerable, as artillery of all descriptions was playing on the enemy while disputing the breach and walls.——Three or four seamen form the total naval loss since my last report.——Capt. Smith, of the Beagle, who was slightly wounded on the island, has the command of the seamen there landed.

* Surveillante, Revolutionnaire, President, Sparrow, Lyra, Beagle, Dispatch, Challenger, Holly, Juniper, Gun-boats Nos. 14 and 16.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Monday, Sept. 20.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Sept. 19, 1813.

Major Wyndham arrived this evening with a Dispatch from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington; dated Lezaca, the 10th of September, of which the following is an extract:—

A battery was constructed in the hornwork, with great difficulty, against the works of the Castle of San Sebastian, which opened on the morning of the 8th instant; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that the garrison surrendered before evening. I enclose Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham's report, and the terms of the capitulation agreed upon with the garrison, and returns of ordnance, ammunition, &c. in the place. The loss of the garrison during the siege is stated to have amounted to two-thirds of their numbers at its commencement.——I beg leave again to draw your Lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, and of the General Officers and troops under his command, in the arduous operation of which I am now reporting the successful close. Under the ordonnance recently issued by the French Government, the difficulties of the operations of a siege, and the length of the time it must take, are greatly increased, and they can be brought to a conclusion only by the storm of the breach of the body of the place. The merit of success, therefore, is proportionably increased, and it will be found, that the operations did not last longer than has usually been required for a place which possessed three lines of defence, including the convent of St. Bartholomew.——During the operations against the castle, the navy took charge of the attack from the island of Santa Clara, by which the enemy was much annoyed in his position in the castle. Captain Sir George Collier, and the officers, seamen and marines, have continued to afford every assistance in their power, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham particularly mentions Captain Bloye, of the Lyra, and Captain Smith; and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, commanding the artillery, has reported his obligations to Lieutenant O'Reilly, of His Majesty's ship Surveillante, who commanded the seamen employed in the batteries.——Since my last the enemy have collected their troops towards their left, but have again resumed their old positions since the fall of San Sebastian.——It appears by a report from the Duque del Parque, that when the third Spanish army were recently crossing the Ebro, at Amposta, after the Allies had retired from before Tarragona, the enemy made a sortie from Tortosa, on the 19th ult. along the left bank of the Ebro, with about 4,000 men, and attacked the 3d division of the army. The Duque del Parque detached troops from the right bank, under the command of Don Francisco Ferray, the Chief of the Staff of the army, and the enemy were immediately repulsed with considerable loss. It appears that the troops conducted themselves remarkably well on this occasion, and the Duque del Parque highly applauds the conduct of the Chief of the Staff.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, to the Marquis of Wellington, dated Ernani, September 9, 1813.

I have the satisfaction to report to your Lordship, that the castle of San Sebastian

has surrendered; and I have the honour to transmit the capitulation, which, under all the circumstances of the case, I trust your Lordship will think I did right to grant a garrison, which certainly made a very gallant defence.——Ever since the assault of the 31st ult. the vertical fire of the mortars, &c. of the right attack was occasionally kept up against the castle, occasioning a very severe loss to the enemy; and yesterday morning a battery of seventeen twenty-four pounders in the horn-work, another of three eighteen-pounders, still more on the left, having been completed by the extraordinary exertions of the officers of artillery and engineers, aided by the indefatigable zeal of all the troops; the whole of the ordnance, amounting to fifty-four pieces, including two twenty-four-pounders, and one howitzer on the island, opened at ten *a. m.* against the castle, and with such effect, that before one *p. m.* a flag of truce was hoisted at the Mirador battery by the enemy; and after some discussion, the terms of the surrender were agreed on. Thus giving your Lordship another great result of the campaign, in the acquisition to the allied armies of this interesting point on the coast, and near the frontier.——Captain Stewart,* of the Royals, Aid-de-camp to Major-General Hay, who so greatly distinguished himself during the siege, is unfortunately among the killed since the last return.——I omitted in my last report to mention my obligations to the great zeal of Captain Smith, of the royal navy, who undertook and executed the difficult task of getting guns up the steep scarp of the island into a battery which was manned by seamen under his command, and which was of much service. Captain Bloye, of the Lyra, has been from the beginning constantly and most actively employed on shore, and I feel greatly indebted to his services.——Besides the officers of artillery formerly mentioned, who have continued to serve with equal distinction, I should not omit the names of Captains Morrison, Power, and Parker, who have been constantly in the breaching batteries, and in the command of companies. I beg leave to repeat my former recommendation of Captain Cameron, of the 9th Foot, who volunteered to command the attack of the island, and who conducted himself so ably on that occasion, and during all the time he commanded there.

Convention proposed for the Capitulation of the Fort of La Motte of San Sebastian, by the Adjutant-Commandant Chevalier de Songeon, Chief of the Staff, to the Troops stationed in the Fort, charged with full powers by General Rey, commanding the said Troops, on the one side; and by Colonel De Lancey, Deputy Quarter-master-General, Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, commanding the Artillery, and Lieut.-Colonel Bouverie, charged with full powers by Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, on the other side.

The above-named having exchanged their full powers, agreed as follows:—

Art. I. The French troops forming the garrison of Fort La Motte shall be prisoners of war to His Majesty's troops and their Allies.—Answer. Agreed.——II. They shall be embarked in His Britannic Majesty's ships, and conveyed to England direct, without being obliged to go further by land than to the port of Passages.—Answer. Agreed.——III. The general and other superior officers, and the officers of regiments and of the staff, as well as the medical officers, shall preserve their swords and their private baggage, and the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall preserve their knapsacks.—Ans. Agreed.——IV. The women, the children, and the old men, not being military, shall be sent back to France, as well as the other non-combatants, preserving their private baggage.—Answer. Granted for the women and children. The old men and non-combatants must be examined.——V. The Commissaire de Guerre, Burbier de Guilly, having with him the wife and the two daughters of his brother, who died at Pamplona, requests Sir Thomas Graham to authorize his return to France with the three above-named ladies, as he is their chief support. He is not a military man.—Answer. This Article shall be submitted to the Marquis of Wellington by Sir Thomas Graham.——VI. The sick and wounded shall be treated according to their rank, and taken care of as English officers and soldiers.—Answer. Agreed.——VII. The French troops shall file out to-morrow morning, by the gate of Mirador, with all the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and drums beating to the outside, where they will lay down their arms; the officers of all ranks preserving their swords, their servants, horses, and baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks, as mentioned in the third Article.—Answer. Agreed.——VIII. A detachment of the allied army, consisting of one hundred men, shall occupy in the evening the gate of the Mirador, a like detachment shall occupy the gate of the Governor's Battery.

These two posts shall be for that purpose evacuated by the French troops, as soon as the present Capitulation shall be accepted and ratified by the Commanding Generals. —Answer. Agreed.——IX. The plans and all the papers regarding the fortifications shall be given over to an English officer, and officers shall be named equally on each side, to regulate all that concerns the artillery, engineer, and commissariat departments.—Answer. Agreed. —— X. The General commanding the French troops shall be authorized to send to his Excellency Marshal Soult an officer of the staff, who shall sign his parole of honour, for his exchange with a British officer of his rank. This officer shall be the bearer of a copy of the present capitulation.—Answer. Submitted for the decision of Lord Wellington. The officer to be sent to Marshal Soult shall be chosen by the commanding officer of the French troops.——XI. If any difficulties or misunderstanding shall arise in the execution of the Articles of this Capitulation, they shall be always decided in favour of the French garrison.—Answer. Agreed.

Made and concluded this 8th day of September, 1813.

(Signed) Adj.-Command. Chevalier SONGEON.
WM. DE LANCEY, Colonel.
ALEX. DICKSON, Lieut.-Col. commanding the Artillery.
H. BOUVERIE, Lieut.-Colonel.
Approved,
(Signed) Le Generale Gouverneur REY.
THOS. GRAHAM, Lieut.-General.
Approved on the part of the Royal Navy,
GEORGE COLLIER, commanding the Squadron of His Majesty's Ships off St. Sebastian.

Return of the French Garrison made Prisoners of War by Capitulation in the Castle of St. Sebastian, on the 8th of Sept. 1813.

80 officers, 1,756 serjeants, drummers, and rank and file.—Grand Total, 1,836.

N. B. Twenty-three officers and five hundred and twelve men, out of the above number, are sick and wounded in the hospital.

(Signed) ED. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Return of Ordnance and Ammunition captured from the Enemy, in the Fortress of St. Sebastian, 9th Sept. 1813.

Iron mounted. Eight 24-pounders, one 16-pounder, three 12-pounders, seven 8-pounders.—Iron dismounted. Three 24-pounders, one 16-pounder, two 12-pounders, seven 4-pounders, four 3-pounders, two 9-pounder carronades.—Brass mounted. one 24-pounder, six 16-pounders, three 12-pounders, five 8-pounders, six 6-pounders, nine 4-pounders, six 3-pounders, six 13-inch mortars, one 8-inch howitzer, three 6-inch howitzers.—Brass dismounted. Three 16-pounders, two 12-pounders, two 8-pounders, one 4-pounder, one 13-inch mortar.—Total, 93.

Ammunition. Round shot, 1,856 24-pounders, 12,035 16-pounders, 1,220 12-pounders, 2,776 8-pounders, 4,640 4-pounders.—Ammunition. Case shot, 1,126 12-pounders, 200 4-pounders, 902 3-pounders, 384 10-inch shells, 380 barrels of powder of 100lbs. each, 1,103 muskets with bayonets, 785,000 musket-ball cartridges.

(Signed) A. DICKSON, Lieut.-Colonel commanding Artillery.
JOHN BUTCHER, Assist. Commissary and Paymaster Ordnance Dept.

N.B. The ordnance for the most part are in a very bad state, from excessive use, or being damaged by the besieging fire.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Army serving under the command of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in the Siege of the Castle of St. Sebastian, from the 1st to the 8th of Sept. 1813.

1st Royal Scots, 3d Batt. 1 captain killed; 1 rank and file wounded.—Royal Artillery. 1 lieutenant, 2 rank and file wounded.—38th Foot, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file wounded.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 rank and file wounded.—1st Line Batt. King's German Legion 1 rank and file wounded.—Total. 1 captain, 1 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Name of officer killed. 1st Royal Scots, Capt. James Stewart.——Wounded. Royal Artillery, Lieut. Hugh Morgan, severely.

No return of casualties from the Portuguese troops has been received.

EDW. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 19, 1813.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Lord Keith, K. B. to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board the Royal Sovereign, in Hamoaze, 18th Sept. 1813, *with Copies of its enclosures.*

Sir,—I have the highest satisfaction in transmitting to their Lordships the accompanying dispatches (which I have just received by Captain Bloye from Captain Sir G. R. Collier), giving an account of the fall of St. Sebastian and the surrender of the French garrison; and the professional skill and perseverance of the officers and men who have been employed in co-operation with the army before that place has been so eminently conspicuous, and particularly that of Sir George Collier himself, that I beg to recommend him, and the several officers and petty officers whom he names, to their Lordships' notice.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) KEITH, Admiral.

P. S. Captain Bloye landed at Falmouth, and as he may be able to give their Lordships much useful information, I have directed him to deliver this dispatch.

Surveillante, off St. Sebastian, Sept. 9, 1813.

My Lord,—It is with sincere pleasure

that I do myself the honour to report to your Lordship the fall of St. Sebastian, the northern Gibraltar of Spain.——Yesterday, at 10 *a.m.* the breaching and mortar batteries opened a most ruinous fire against the Castle of La Motte (situated on the crown of the hill) and the adjoining works.—— In a very short time General Rey, the Governor, sent out a flag of truce to propose terms of capitulation, which were concluded at five in the evening, when the Battery du Governeur and the Mirador were immediately taken possession of by our troops.——The garrison, still upwards of seventeen hundred, became prisoners of war, and are to be conveyed to England from Passages.——At this season of the year the possession of St. Sebastian becomes doubly valuable; it may be considered the western key of the Pyrennees, and its importance as to the future operations of the allied army, is incalculable. The town and works have suffered considerably, and it must be a long time before the former can recover its original splendour. I cannot, however, avoid congratulating your Lordship on its fall on any terms, as the gales now blow home, and the sea is prodigious; all the squadrons were yesterday forced to sea, with the exception of the Surveillante and President.——The former good conduct and gallantry of the seamen landed from the squadron, under Lieutenant O'Reilly, of the Surveillante, and serving in the breaching batteries, have been most conspicuously maintained. Lieut. Dunlop, as well as Mr. Marsh (having sufficiently recovered from his wound) were also at the former post.——The Surveillante's twenty-four pounders, mounted on Santa Clara, and dragged up by Captain Smith, of the Beagle, were admirably served by a party landed from the Revolutionnaire, Magicienne, and Challenger; their fire had totally silenced the enemy's guns opposed to them. Captain Smith speaks in high terms of the general zeal evinced by all under his orders. The most perfect cordiality was maintained between the officers and seamen under Captain Smith, and the party of the 9th regiment under Captain Cameron.——The Captains and Commanders of the vessels named in the margin,* have all been usefully employed, and the situation many of them have been unavoidably placed in, has called forth proofs of professional skill and perseverance, seldom surpassed; and I have the highest satisfaction in being able to report, that in no instance has it been more tryingly evinced, than in the conduct of Lieutenant the Honourable James Arbuthnot, of the Surveillante, which he has proved himself fully equal to. Messrs. Marsh, Harvey, Bloye, and Lawson (wounded) have been constantly on shore. There are others of the squadron, who, though not wounded, are not less deserving.——Captain Bloye's services have been repeatedly noticed by me to your Lordship, and as he has been employed from the very commencement of our operations on this coast, and has a perfect knowledge of the localities of this harbour, as well as that of St. Sebastian, I have felt it important to send him to England, as he will, from his having been particularly attached to the duties connected with this port and the army, be able to give your Lordship much useful information.——Lieut. Stokes, in the Constant, has scarcely ever quitted the mouth of the Bidassoa; the utility of his position is, I believe, felt by the army; it has been a station of considerable anxiety.——I enclose a return of casualties among the seamen in the breaching batteries, from the 28th to the 31st of August, 1813.——I have, &c.

(Signed) G. R. Collier, Captain.

To the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K.B. &c.

Return of Casualties among the Seamen under the Orders of Lieutenant O'Reilly, employed in the Breaching Batteries before St. Sebastian, between the 28th and 31st of August, 1813.

None Killed.——*Wounded.* Surveillante. John Ray, seaman, severely, and Henry Phillips, seaman, slightly.—Beagle. John Daniels, seaman, severely.—President. Matthew Foss, seaman, slightly.

Return of Killed and Wounded on the Island of Santa Clara, between 30th August and 8th September, 1813.

Killed.—Revolutionnaire. Michael Risk, seaman.——*Wounded.* Beagle. Capt. John Smith, slightly.—Revolutionnaire. John M'Donald, seaman, severely; John Neil, seaman, slightly; William Brown, seaman, slightly.—Challenger, Patrick M'Khoy, seaman, slightly.

* Andromache, President, Revolutionnaire, Magicienne, at anchor off St. Sebastian; Sparrow, Challenger, off the Bidassoa; Constant, gun-brig, Nimble, cutter, in the Bidassoa; Juniper, Holly, west of Cape Higuera.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Sept. 15.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated Sept. 6, in the evening:—

" On the 2d Sept. the Emperor review-

ed the first corps in Dresden, and confirmed the command of it on Count Lobau. This corps is composed of the three divisions, Deinoureau, Phillippon, and Testi. This corps has lost less than was at first supposed, many men having re-entered. General Vandamme was not killed; he was made prisoner. The engineer, General Haxo, who had been sent on a mission to General Vandamme, being with him at that moment, was also taken prisoner. The elite of the Russian Guards were killed in that affair.——On the 3d, the Emperor slept at the Castle of Harta, upon the Silesian road, and on the 4th at the village of Hochhush (on the other side of Bautzen); since his Majesty's departure from Lowenberg, important events had taken place in Silesia.——The Duke of Tarente, to whom the Emperor had left the command of the army in Silesia, made good dispositions for pursuing the Allies, and driving them from Jauer. The enemy was driven from all his positions; his columns were in full retreat. On the 26th the Duke of Tarente had taken all his measures to turn him, but in the night, between the 26th and 27th, the Bober, and all the streams which flow into it, overflowed; in less than from seven to eight hours the roads were covered with from three to four feet of water, and all the bridges carried away. Our columns found themselves separated. Those which were to have turned the enemy were not able to arrive. The Allies quickly perceived this change of circumstance.——The Duke of Tarente employed the 28th and 29th in connecting his columns, separated by the inundation. They succeeded in regaining Bunzlaw, where the only bridge was that had not been carried away by the waters of the Bober. But a brigade of General Pulhod's division was not able to arrive there. In place of endeavouring to throw himself upon the sides of the mountains, the General wished to return upon Löwenberg. There, finding himself surrounded by enemies and the river behind him, after having defended himself with all his means, he was obliged to give way to numbers. All those in the two regiments who could swim saved themselves. We reckon of them from 7 to 800; the remainder were taken.——The enemy has taken from us in those different affairs from 3 to 4,000 prisoners, and the two eagles of the two regiments, and the cannon belonging to the brigade.——After these circumstances, which had fatigued the army, it successively repassed the Bober, the Quiesse, and the Niesse.——The Emperor found it on the 4th upon the heights of Hochkush. He made it the same evening to re-attack the enemy, drive him from the heights of Wohlenberg, and pursued him during the whole day of the 5th, *l'epée dans les reins* to Goerlitz. General Sebastiani executed several charges of cavalry at Reichenbach, and made some prisoners.——The enemy hastily repassed the Niesse and the Queisse, and our troops took a position upon the heights of Goerlits, beyond the Neisse.——On the 6th and 7th, in the evening, the Emperor returned to Dresden.——The Council of War of the Third Corps d'Armee has condemned to the pain of death the General of Brigade Jomini, Chief of the Staff of that corps, who, from the head-quarters of Leignitz, deserted to the enemy at the moment of the rupture of the Armistice."

Milan, Sept. 11.—We have received the following details respecting the assault upon the entrenchments of Festriz:—"On the 6th of September, whilst Lieut.-General Count Greneir was making preparations for this attack, the Prince Vice-Roy ordered several columns by the mountains, to take *en revers* the enemy's works; at three in the afternoon those works were attacked in front, whilst the General of Brigade Compe, with four battalions, marched upon the other side of the mountain, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground and the obstacles which the enemy had prepared.——The attack was brisk, and the success not for a moment doubtful. The entrenchments were carried amidst cries of "Vive l'Empereur." The enemy was routed and pursued for more than two leagues. A reinforcement of three battalions of grenadiers which arrived, had not time to form. The one which led was alone able to make a charge. Our young soldiers did not deign to answer their fire, but threw themselves upon the enemy with the bayonet. The night and dreadful weather prevented us from pursuing the enemy further.——That day cost him 400 killed or wounded, and we have taken 350 prisoners. On our side we had 50 killed and 200 wounded. Officers and soldiers have well conducted themselves.——We have not to regret the loss of any officer of rank. Yesterday the communication of the troops of General Grenier was established by the road of Loebel. The Prince Vice-Roy immediately ordered that they should proceed in demolishing the works constructed by the enemy in Festriz, and upon Mount Loebel."

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.
(Continued from page 394.)

from the environs of Magdeburgh to Brandenburgh and Potsdam, and from Potsdam to Saarmund, made a rapid movement of five Swedish miles in ten hours.——Affairs were in this state when the enemy attacked General Thumen at Trebbin, on the 22d, in the morning. Their superiority determined the General to evacuate that post. The enemy advanced successively, and occupied all the interval between Mittenwald and the Saare, covered by woods and flanked by marshes. The advanced posts fell back slowly, and covered the front of the line. On the 23d, in the morning, the corps of General Bertrand debouched upon General Tauenzien. The latter repulsed him, and made some prisoners. ——The village of Gros Beren, against which the 7th French corps, and a strong reserve was directed, was taken by him. The Duke of Reggio's corps proceeded upon Ahrendorff. By the occupation of Gros Beren, the enemy was at 1,000 toises from the centre of the camp. General Bulow received orders to attack it; he executed it with the decision of a skilful General. The troops marched with the calmness that distinguished the soldiers of the Great Frederick in the seven years' war. The cannonade was warm for some hours. The troops advanced under the protection of the artillery, and fell with the bayonet upon the 7th corps, which had deployed in the plain, and which marched boldly upon the camp. There were several charges of cavalry against the corps of the Duke of Padua, which do great honour to the Prussian General Oppen. The Russian and Swedish army were in battle, and waited the deploying of the other enemy's corps to attack them at the same time. General Winzingerode was at the head of 10,000 horse, and the Count De Woronzow at the head of the Russian infantry. Marshal Count Stedengher in front of the Swedish line, and his cavalry in reserve.——The village of Rhulsdorff, situated in front of his corps, was furnished with infantry, in order to keep open the communication with General Bulow. The other corps of the enemy's army not having debouched from the woods, the Russian and Swedish army did not stir.——However, the enemy menacing the village of Ruhlsdorff, and having already pushed his tirailleurs against the light Swedish troops placed in front of that village, the Prince ordered some battalions, supported by artillery, to reinforce the advanced posts, and Colonel Cardell was directed to push on with a battalion of flying artillery, to take the enemy in front. ——Hitherto the results of the affair of Gros Beren are 26 cannon, 30 caissons, and much baggage, and 1,500 prisoners, among whom are forty officers, the Colonel of the Uhlans of the Saxon Guard, and several Lieutenant-Colonels and French Majors. The number of killed and wounded of the enemy is very considerable, and the woods are filled with stragglers, whom the light cavalry are bringing in every moment.—— The enemy are retired beyond Trebbin, which is already occupied by two regiments of Cossacks. Generals Bulow, Tauenzein, and O'Rourke are in pursuit of the enemy, as well as the whole light Russian cavalry. ——The Prince Royal found among the prisoners officers and soldiers who had served under his orders, and who shed tears of joy at seeing their old General again.

Sixth Bulletin.

Head-quarters, Saarmund, Aug. 28.

The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this place on the 26th of Aug. ——The corps of Gen. Hirschfeldt was posted, the 26th, between Rekahu and Golzow, where he had hopes of cutting off the rear-guard of General Girard's, which was proceeding from Ziessar to Bruck; but the enemy passed in such haste that he could not effect it.——On the 25th, two officers and 104 soldiers of the enemy, of different nations, were brought to Potsdam; who were willingly made prisoners by 20 men of the militia cavalry. They grounded their arms. They assert this disposition is general.——The pursuit of the enemy is so brisk, that, on the 25th, Gen. O'Rourke arrived at Gotten, where the Dukes of Reggio and Padua, and General Regnier passed the preceding night, with a large division of their army.——The enemy having forced Colonel Adrianoff to retire from Juterbock, and having taken post therein with two battalions of foot and 600 Polish hulans, probably with a view of facilitating a retreat, and keeping open his communication with the Elbe: he was dislodged quickly, on the 26th, by a part of the troops under General O'Rourke, and two Prussian squadrons, under Major Hellwig. Col. Krasowski attacked and took possession of the town. General Benkendorf pursued the enemy with four squadrons of Russian cavalry. The two Prussian squadrons, and two pieces, which were in the villages of Rohrbeck and Boschav, joined him. The

enemy lost in this affair more than 300 men killed, besides many prisoners.——Several French officers have come over to us, and have been embodied with our troops.——General Czernicheff occupied Belzig the night of the 26th with his Cossacks. Gen. Girard, who had stopped at Lubnitz in order to pass the night, alarmed, on the spot, a brisk action ensued near Belzig. He did not, however, succeed in keeping possession of the town. The 26th, Colonel Krus returned to Niemeck with his regiment of cavalry from his expedition to Dahme, which he executed most brilliantly. Environed on all sides by the enemy, he was unable long to retain his position. Nevertheless, he seized within sight of a strong column, 70 carriages laden with provisions, and took of their escort six officers and 120 men; the rest were either killed or dispersed. The Prince Royal has directed Gen. Winzingerode to express to this brave officer his entire satisfaction at the skill and valour he displayed on so interesting an occasion.——General Bulow's head-quarters were on the 27th at Elsholz; General Borstell was in the environs of Luckenwalde; General Tauentzien's head-quarters were at Bareuth on the 27th; his corps was posted between that city, Golzen, and Luckau. He evinced great ability in quickly collecting his reserve, and much activity in chasing the enemy from the wood. General Wobeser, after galling the left flank and rear of the enemy, collected his force near Golzen, marched upon Bareuth, eloigning an enemy's force of 2,500 men. All our troops harassed the enemy in their retreat. All the roads are covered with arms, and dead or disabled horses. The French rear-guard destroyed its baggage.——General Wolmoden was attacked on the 21st, in the afternoon, between Vallahn and Camin, by a French force of 20,000 men, commanded by the Prince of Eckmuhl; the battle lasted till long after night-fall; the positions were maintained on both sides. Our loss is about 100 men killed and wounded; that of the enemy, according to the prisoners, exceeds 500. The 23d, they concentrated themselves at Wittenburg, and after various demonstrations, suddenly detached 10,000 men towards Schwerin, the remainder shortly followed. They took a strong position between the great and little Lake. General Tettenborn, with four regiments of Cossacks, supported by the corps of Lutzen and of Reiche, observed them on all sides, and cut off their communications.—— They have already intercepted many couriers dispatched by the French Government, and taken many waggons of ammunition. In addition, Gen. Vegesack observes their motions, and takes his measures in consequence. General Walmoden feels he should not let this hazardous manœuvre of the enemy pass him; he has advanced to Gabrew; but the 26th he marched again towards Schwerin; from whence the enemy have not yet attempted to stir. About one hundred French and Danish prisoners have been taken by the Cossacks. Count Kielmansegge, of the Hanoverian Chasseurs, has passed the Elbe with his detachment, near Domitz, on the 25th, in the morning. He attacked the enemy in an intrenched post, and after having killed and wounded about 50, took three officers and 100 men prisoners.——Yesterday was made remarkable by the defeat of the corps under General Girard, between Lubuitz and Belzig, through the combined efforts of Gen. Czernischeff and Hirschfeldt. The enemy had marched against Czernischeff, while, without being aware of it, Hirschfeldt was on their rear. He profited by the situation of a wood, to fall upon their left flank. The heights in front of the village of Hagelsberg, and that where the enemy had formed, were carried by assault, and retaken several times. After an obstinate resistance, all the enemy's army, which was greatly superior in number to ours, retired in much disorder, and were pursued by the tirailleurs until night fall.——On these occasions General Czernischeff attacked the enemy on the side of Belzig; his cavalry executed some brilliant charges. A regiment of Cossacks charged a column of infantry 1,000 strong, which it destroyed or made prisoners of. We cannot yet specify all the officers who signalized themselves in this day's action. General Czernischeff took 60 officers, 1500 soldiers, and one piece of cannon. General Hirschfeldt, between 70 and 80 officers, and more than 2,000 soldiers, besides seven cannon, many waggon loads of ammunition, and nearly all the enemy's baggage. The Prussian infantry required some repose after so many toilsome marches; but the Cossacks, under General Czernischeff, pursued the enemy briskly; Colonel Benkendorf, on the evening of the 27th, passed through the enemy, and was at Gorzke. It is probable they will not escape; nor any, save the feeble remains of the corps of General Girard, towards Magdeburgh or Wittenberg.——That which more particularly reflected

honour on the corps of General Hirschfeldt, was the forced marches it executed immediately after this action.—The young troops of the new levy, chiefly composed of the Militia of the New Marches, obtained victory over an enemy superior in numbers and in artillery. This proves what ardent patriotism, guided by an able and active General, can perform.—Saxons! Bavarians! Wurtemburghers! You—you have showed your courage in a cause repugnant to the wishes and the interests of your country, and sustaining a foreign yoke; which could never exist if you were animated by motives truly noble and pure! Where is that power on the earth, which united Germans, combating for the independence and the integrity of their country, could not successfully resist?——General Thumen evinced great bravery in the actions which preceded the affair of Gross Beren.—Although wounded, he continued to command in person. General O'Rourke displayed in all the actions with the enemy a great deal of coolness and talent. Since the renewal of hostilities, the enemy's force opposed to that of the allies in the North of Germany, has lost more than 12,000 men. According to the reports of the Generals, 7,000 prisoners have been made, of whom 260 are officers, including several Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels.

August 29, Nine o'Clock, A.M.

Lieutenant-General Count de Tauentzein has detached General Wobeser to take possession of the city of Luckau. The latter summoned the Commandant yesterday, and having met with a refusal, he bombarded the place. At the moment he was about to give the assault, the Commandant capitulated; nine pieces of cannon, 1,000 prisoners, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores, are the result of this brilliant operation.

Seventh Bulletin.

Head-quarters, Belitz, Aug. 30.

The Prince Royal removed his head-quarters to this place in the course of the day.——From all the intelligence received by the prisoners of the corps of Gen. Gerard, that officer was killed in the affair of the 27th. General Putlitz received a violent contusion on the shoulder. He displayed much bravery and talent. Prisoners are hourly made; and the troops are in brisk pursuit of the enemy.——Gen. Borstel occupies Zinna and Juterbock, and has given, on every opportunity, proofs of his zeal and science.——The enemy appeared disposed to concentrate yesterday, at Eckmansdorff and Kattenborn, between Wittenberg and Truenbritzen. The intelligence received this day from Generals Winzingerode and Woronzoff, leaves it no longer in doubt, that the enemy have retired towards the Elbe. Gen. Winzingerode pursues them with 8,000 cavalry.——General Woronzoff, who went to take the command of the Russian advanced-guard, made an attack upon Juterbock, the day before yesterday, towards night, with between 3 and 4,000 men, whilst the enemy had at least 20,000 in the town, or very near it. A brisk cannonade put the enemy in great alarm. This operation was highly creditable to the talents of General Woronzoff, who, at the moment of its commencement, was uninformed that a strong column was on its march to support him in case of necessity.——All the army is upon the advance.——The Grand Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Army, under the command of Marshal Prince De Schwartzenberg, debouched from Bohemia into Saxony the 22d of August, taking a position on the left bank of the Elbe. The troops which the enemy had posted in the defiles were forced. On the 26th, the head-quarters of the Allies were before Dresden. The bombardment commenced, and the city was already in flames. The Emperor Napoleon arrived there on the 24th with his guard. The French army under his orders immediately quitted Lusatia and Silesia, and approached the Elbe. General Blucher marched from Jauer the 25th, in the morning, and followed with all his forces.——General Prince Koudaschoff, who was sent express from the camp before Dresden, by the Prince De Schwartzenberg, to his Serene Highness the Prince Royal, arrived at eight this morning with this intelligence. The General traversed the enemy's army, crossed the Elbe, by swimming, with 200 Cossacks, between Reissa and Maissen, and forced several posts. He has just set out to Liebenwerda, from thence he is to go to Dahme, where

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MAXIMUM ON BREAD.——The recent attempts which have been made to compel the London Bakers to sell their bread at a price lower than they assert they can afford to sell it at, seem likely to lead to some *legislative measure* for putting an end to the scandalous strife.——In my last I gave my opinion pretty fully on the nature and effects of the assize on bread, which is a real *maximum*, give it what name you will, seeing that it does not leave the proprietor of bread to fix his own price, or, to refuse to sell, for ready money, his bread at the price fixed on by the magistrates, who have the authority to settle the assize.——The bakers have, it seems, made a remonstrance on the subject, an account of which, as I find it in the Morning Chronicle, I shall here insert, first observing, that the Lord Mayor of London, MR. SCHOLEY, threatened, as it appears, to fix the price according to the average price of *wheat*, and not, as usual, according to the average price of *flour*.——The custom is to require, from certain officers of the City, an account weekly of the average price of flour. When the Lord Mayor has this account, he fixes the price of bread for the ensuing week, in a certain proportion to the price of flour during the last week.——I have, in my last, shown, I think, very clearly, that this can be of no real use to the community; and, it will not be difficult to show, that it must be a real injury; but such is the custom.——Recently, the *flour* has not fallen in price so fast as the fall in the price of *wheat* seemed to the Lord Mayor to call for; and, therefore, it appears, that he had, at one time, resolved to fix the price of bread in proportion to the price of *wheat* and not of *flour*, which, as the reader must at once see, might have compelled the bakers to shut up their shops to avoid ruin, seeing that they make bread of *flour* and not of *wheat*, and seeing, that, in London, at least, they do not deal in wheat any more than they do in hops or in straw.——But, I will now insert the account of their remonstrance, reserving my further remarks till the reader has gone through it.——"On "Monday at noon a deputation of five or "six of the principal Bakers waited on "Lord Sidmouth, and stated to his Lordship the apprehensions which they entertained from the unjust aspersions which "were daily thrown on the trade, and the "prejudice thereby excited against them "personally. They represented their situation as every way distressing, since "they were bound down to an excise which "leaves to the fair trader a profit so small "as to be unexampled in any other trade or "calling in the Kingdom. And at the "same time they were threatened by the "Chief Magistrate to have their excise "settled by the price of wheat, an article "in which they did not deal, and over the "price of which they had no control. "For every trespass, and for every misdemeanour committed by any one individual in the trade, there were ample and "adequate laws in the hands of the police "Magistrates, to punish him; instead of "which, there seemed to be *a cruel and* "*most dangerous design of raising a hue* "*and cry against the whole body in a mass,* "*as if they were all corruptly and wickedly* "*engaged in fraudulent artifices to enhance* "*the price of bread.* The Noble Lord expressed his abhorrence at the base and "vulgar attempts, *which he owned he had* "*seen in quarters, where a better sense of* "*duty to the public peace ought to have* "*prevailed.* He believed that a more industrious body of men did not exist than "the generality of the bakers, and he lamented that they were so ill requited for "their labour.——They represented to his "Lordship that considerable danger was "to be apprehended to the peace of the "metropolis, if the assize of bread should "be actually set by the price of wheat, because they could not continue to supply "their customers if a measure so oppressive should be attempted. Lord Sidmouth said, it was impossible for Government to interfere with the Magistrate, "whose duty it was to set the assize; but "recommended them to represent the real "circumstances of their situation to the "Lord Mayor. He thanked them for the

"communication they had made, and assured them that he should take care to provide for the peace of the metropolis. ——In the evening of the same day there was a Meeting of Master Bakers at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, which was attended by between six and seven hundred of the most respectable part of the body. The chair was taken by Mr. Barron, when they came to several resolutions, which our readers will find in their Advertisement in the front page of this paper.——Yesterday a deputation of them waited on the Lord Mayor, and made to him the same statement which they had laid before the Secretary of State. They represented that they had no means of contracting the price of flour —that they were not dealers in wheat— that they could not force down the price —nor could they be forced to carry on their trade to the certain and inevitable ruin of their families, which would be the case if the assize were to be set by the price of wheat instead of the price of flour. The cause of the temporary difference was well known to be a thing with which the bakers had nothing to do. There was a scarcity of flour in consequence of the shortness of water at this season for grinding; but certainly if the assize of bread had been through the course of his Lordship's mayoralty set by the price of wheat instead of the price of flour, the quartern loaf would have been 20¾*d.* during the most pinching season of the year. The Lord Mayor said he was resolved to make the trial, however, of setting it by the price of wheat—the time was favourable for the experiment: potatoes and vegetables were plentiful, and it was better to do it now than at Christmas. They answered, that they would not be able to supply their customers, *and that he must be responsible for the peace of the city.* He replied, that he would take all the consequences on his own head.——The Master and Wardens of the Bakers' Company, attended by their Clerk, Mr. Smith, then waited on his Lordship to get the assize set. The Lord Mayor declared his determination to set it by the price of wheat; they reasoned with him on the hardship, and said they would be incapable of supplying the metropolis with bread. He said he had not time to reason with them, as he must attend the Court of Aldermen. Mr. Smith then gave him formal notice that it was contrary to law, and that they could not comply with such an assize.—"What," he said, "was it contrary to law, when the statute gave him the option?" They said it was contrary to the law as regulated and acted upon by the table of rules in his Court. In consequence of this, and because he was pressed for time, he adjourned the further consideration of the matter till three o'clock in the afternoon. He then proceeded to Guildhall, and here his Lordship consulted the Law Officers of the City as to the interpretation of the statute, and whether the assize so set would be binding on the bakers. He, no doubt, received prudent advice, for at three o'clock he fixed the assize of bread by the average price of flour."

——Upon reading this article, one can hardly believe, that one is in a civilized country! That men should be really apprehensive of acts of violence committed upon themselves and houses from such a cause is wholly beyond the scope of our ordinary ideas.——But, who is it that has set up the "*base* and *vulgar*" cry against the bakers? Why, the London news-papers, and, chiefly, the news-papers attached to the cause of the ministry. This is the source of the base and vulgar cry upon this occasion, as it is the source of all the pernicious delusions by which the country is constantly misled. I gave, in my last, a specimen of this base and vulgar cry from the COURIER; and when the poor, who have hardly a sufficiency of bread, are, by those who assume the epithet of *the loyal*, told, that the bakers are the cause of the high price, is it any wonder, if they are induced to commit acts of violence on the persons engaged in that trade? A woman was *hanged* last year for being the leader in seizing on a cart-load of potatoes, in order to cause the proprietor to lower the price of them. I have no scruple in saying, that those who, by the means of the press, endeavour to force the bakers to lower the price of their bread, deserve a severer punishment than that poor, ignorant, and, perhaps, half-famished, creature deserved. The former may be as ignorant as the latter; but, then, they carry on a profession, the very object of which is to have an influence on the minds of the people. They *ought* to know better; and they deserve punishment for misleading the ignorant in a matter so closely connected with the public peace and happiness.——The *cause* of the ignorance of these servile men taking this pernicious direction is explained

in few words.——They have a conceit, that *bread being cheap is a great blessing.* ——This they take for an indisputable truth; and, therefore, I will stop to show, that there is room for great doubt even upon this point.——If a people, like some animals, were to live for only *one year*, and then cease to exist, there might be no room for a difference of opinion on the subject; because, to live and die with a belly full, would certainly be preferable to a life of half-hunger.——But, this is not the case. A people has to be provided for year after year; and, though the farmer (for such we will call the *grower of corn*) cannot have any control over the *seasons*, he must have a control over the *quantity of the crop*, as far as relates to the extent of land sown. ——Now, for *bread to be cheap*, in proportion to other things, wheat must first sell at a *low price*; and, if wheat sell at a price which is looked upon as low, is it not evident, that a smaller quantity of land will be sown with wheat, than would have been sown with wheat, if that corn had brought a *high price*?——Do the wiseacres, who write in the Courier, imagine, that the farmer's sowings are not regulated by *price* as well as the weavings of the cotton spinner? Suppose a farmer to have 50 acres of land, which he *can* sow with wheat, with a tolerable chance of a crop, but 10 of which he would, in the ordinary course of things, not sow with wheat. If wheat brings a high price between harvest and February or March, he will, in all probability, sow the whole 50 acres with wheat; but, if the price of wheat in those months be *low*, he will assuredly not sow the 10 acres; and, of course, his crop will be smaller in amount.——Thus a year of *cheapness* may, and always will, cause a diminution in the next year's crop; and, of course, will cause more or less of *dearness* in the next year.——I shall be told, perhaps, that the farmer will sow the whole 50 acres with *something*, if not with wheat, and that, thus, the price of corn *in general* will be the same. But, this is not true. He will let some of his land lie fallow; he will not make the exertions that he would have made; he will not, in short, bestow so much capital on the land as he would have bestowed; he will employ his spare capital in some other way; it will be taken out of agriculture; and, of course, less corn will be grown.——So that, it seems to me to be a gross error to suppose, that the low price of corn and of bread is, in any year, an unqualified good, were we to stop here in our view of the matter. But, here we must not stop; for the farmer has *rent* to pay, which, *if recently fixed*, requires a high price of corn; and, what is more material, the number of labourers require a certain *extent* of cultivation to keep them employed. If that extent be abridged, part of them will want employment, or their wages must be lowered. But, the effect would be double-handed: part of them would be unemployed, and those that were employed would work for less wages than they worked for before.——A moderate price is, for these reasons, best for all parties; and the exultations at the prospect of abundance and of low price, are amongst those ravings of political madness, with which this "most thinking people" are so frequently afflicted.——To return now to the *cause* of the ignorance of servile writers taking a direction so pernicious, it is this: they have a conceit that *bread being cheap is a great and positive blessing;* they, therefore, are always eager to see bread cheap; and, if it be so, they fail not to reckon the circumstance amongst the blessings which the country enjoys, *under the fostering hands of that government which it is their business to extol!*——Always, therefore, previous to the harvest you hear them announcing the approach of an abundant crop. Indeed, taking their cue from those conceited gentlemen, who draw up what are called the "*Monthly Agricultural Reports*," and imitating the slang of these latter, they begin about the month of December, telling us, that "the early-sown *wheats* look very "promising; that the late-sown *wheats* "have been well *got in;* that the turnip-"crops *spend well;* that the *rouen* on the "*clovers* yield a prodigious quantity of "*feed;* that fatting stock *come exceedingly* "*well to the knife;*" and such like trash. Thus they go on from one harvest to another, with very little variation in either assertions or terms; so that, when the harvest is housed, and people find things pretty nearly the same price as before, no wonder that they are disappointed, and still less wonder is it, that these same deceivers should look about them for some set of persons on whom to throw the blame of *the failure of their predictions.*——The *sellers of bread* are the nearest to them; they are, unfortunately for them, the most visible to vulgar view; and, accordingly, upon them they fall.——Their language, though in a round about way, is, being compressed, this: "there was a plentiful, a most abundant, "harvest; the ministers took care of us,

"and so did a kind Providence, who is on "the side of the ministers; but these "bakers and flour-dealers, by their "*malicious machinations*," contrive to keep "up the price of bread, in spite of all that "has been done, both by wise ministers "and a kind Providence."——In times of real scarcity does there need any thing more to ensure the cutting of all the poor bakers' throats? And, what shall we say, then, of this description of deceivers? This we may venture to say, that a more mischievous set of wretches never infested a country.——From the moment the corn is up, they begin to sow the seeds of disappointment and discontent; and aided, as I said before, by those conceited men, the Agricultural Reporters and their silly correspondents, they contrive, let the season and the harvest and the crop be what they may, to make the mass of the people grumble at the result; to make them believe, that, in some way or other, it is the *roguishness* of those, who have the raising and the preparing of the food, that causes it to be high in price. But, as the cur snaps at the *wheel* which hurts him, and not at the horses or the driver; so do these stupid men generally fall upon the *baker*, who, by no *possibility*, can, in the general run of his trade, gain by the high price of his commodity; while it is barely possible, that the *farmer* may; and, in pitching upon whom, therefore, they would, if possible, be rather less foolish and unjust. But as I said before, the farmer is not the person, with whom they come in immediate contact. The poor baker is the *wheel*, while the farmer, who is the *driver*, is at too great a distance to be much in danger of their senseless attacks.——Great as is the portion of the evil which is ascribable to those foolish and corrupt men, who have the press in their hands, aided by the agricultural reporters, still the main part of it certainly belongs to that relick of barbarism, the *assize of bread*, which, as I observed before, and as my title implies, is neither more nor less than a *maximum*, and which had its rise out of that set of barbarous notions, which produced the laws relative to *forestalling* and *regrating*, and which is coeval with a most firm and pious belief, in this country, that the house of "the *Mother of God*" took a flight over sea from Palestine to Loretto.——What is this assize in reality? what does it do? Why, it fixes, by law, the *price*, at which a certain description of men shall sell their property; while other laws fix the *quantity* and the *quality* of that property!——There only wants one thing to complete the code: namely, a law to compel certain persons to carry on the trade of making and of vending bread. This would be a finishing stroke; but, as it is, the trade of a baker is rendered *odious* in the eyes of the unthinking part of the people; the very existence of a law, the professed object of which is *to prevent the bakers from practising extortion*, is a stigma upon the trade of a baker. The trade, too, is somewhat *perilous*. In times of real scarcity, the prejudices of the ignorant make it dangerous to be concerned in feeding them. These prejudices, which are countenanced by the existence of the assize, tend, therefore, to enhance the price of bread, which, without even the bakers themselves perceiving it, comes to the mouths of the people, loaded with a charge for *odium* and *risk*.——There is no sense in this regulation, unless you suppose the people, who eat bakers' bread, to be so stupid as not to be able to distinguish bad bread from good, and light bread from heavy; and, if they really are so stupid, it matters very little whether they live or die.——If, indeed, bread were a thing, that people could not, at one glance, see the value of; if, like *hops*, for instance, it was a thing put into a bag, and that might be *plugged*, or *damped*, by a roguish vendor, to the great injury of the buyer, who might be months before it would be likely for him to discover the fraud; then, a law to punish the rascal might be passable; but, a loaf, good God! *a loaf!* it is eaten in half an hour after it is bought. Any badness in the quality or lightness in the weight may be ascertained in a moment: and would be ascertained in a very short time in the common course of things. Why, then, all this work about the assize of bread? why all these laws to protect the *bread*-buyer, and none to protect the *hop*-buyer?——Yes, there *is* a law to protect the hop-buyer. Any man, injured by a fraud, on the part of a hop-seller, whether by *plugging* or *damping* or by *counterfeit stamps*, or by any other means, may bring his *action of damages*. That is the remedy; and, why not leave *bread* to the usual course of the law?——Since I began this article, I have perceived, that there has been a discussion upon the subject of the Price of Bread in the London Common Council. I shall insert the Report of it below, and until I have time more fully to notice it, I beg leave to point it out for the reader's perusal.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 6th Oct. 1813.

PRICE OF BREAD.

A Court of Common Council was held on the 4th, at Guildhall, pursuant to a Requisition to the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present alarming and unprecedented high price of bread, notwithstanding an abundant and plentiful harvest. The Court having assembled, some preliminary business was transacted. Mr. Alderman C. Smith presented a Petition from the persons confined in the prison of Ludgate for debt, praying relief, which being read, after a division upon the question, was ordered to be referred to the Committee of City Lands, to examine the allegations of the said Petition, and report thereon to that Court. The Lord Mayor then communicated two letters to the Court, which he had received from Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and Sir Rowland Hill, acknowledging the thanks of that Court, as voted in July last, and communicated to them by the Lord Mayor. The letters were read, and respectively ordered to be entered on the Journals of the Court.

Another letter, from Mr. Serjeant Palmer, the Commissioner appointed under the Act of the 53d of his present Majesty for the relief of Insolvent Debtors, was then read, requesting from the Corporation of the City of London permission to use their Guildhall for the purpose of discharging the prisoners confined in the jails of the said city, pursuant to the provisions of that Act. After some little discussion, in which it was observed that the Commissioners of Bankruptcy met regularly on Tuesdays and Saturdays, while the Insolvent Act required that the Commissioner should sit from day to day, which might create some difficulty if the rooms occupied by the former were appropriated to the latter, it was agreed that such parts of Guildhall should be granted as the Lord Mayor might from time to time appoint.

The requisition being now read, Mr. GRIFFITHS opened the business for which the Court were assembled. He began by expressing his wish that it had fallen into other and better hands, as he had but little time to investigate the subject. He was perfectly of opinion, however, that the Act by which the Lord Mayor was to proceed in regulating the assize of Bread, was utterly inefficient, it had so many loop-holes, that designing men were sure to get out at some of them. He was well aware that the fault did not lie with the bakers; they, indeed, were the injured men, though an unjust and cruel prejudice had been excited against them. Their profits were often much less than they were fairly entitled to, and he believed if they were allowed the benefit of a free competition in their trade, it would not only be better for themselves but also for the public. He had been a citizen of London half a century, and he was old enough to remember that within that period no baker had risen to the dignity of Lord Mayor, he believed, that no baker had ever found it necessary to buy off from serving the office of Sheriff; and, indeed, he doubted whether any baker had ever been drank to by the Lord Mayor. In short, the bakers were an injured class of people, while the mealmen combined together to cheat the public. The whole evil lay among the mealmen, the millers, and the corn-factors. He would not detain them longer, but should submit a motion for the consideration of the Court, which he thought highly necessary at the present moment. The Worthy Member then moved, "That the Court of Aldermen be instructed to apply to Parliament for a Bill to revise and reduce into one Act the several Laws relating to the Assize of Bread; that they should consider the propriety of inserting a clause in that Act, to compel the corn-factor, the miller, and the mealman, to make a return to the Court of Aldermen of all the meal and flour bought and sold by them, in like manner as the bakers now do; and that a Committee be appointed, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. to carry the same into effect."

Mr. HARPER seconded the motion.

Mr. S. DIXON said, that the Worthy Member who had framed the motion should at least have proved some circumstances to justify the Court in acceding to it. For his own part, he was perfectly satisfied that there was no occasion for any such proceedings. He well remembered that all the measures which had, at different times, been taken in order to control the price of bread, had, unfortunately done more harm than good. It was impossible to force any commodity into sale at a price independent of the demand for it. It was contrary to the first principles of trade. When an article was plentiful, all the art of man could not make it high in price; when it was scarce, or likely to be scarce, all the art of man could not make persons sell it at less than they knew it would fetch. He hoped to hear no more of restrictive laws. Let

there be a fair competition, and he who sold the best commodity and the cheapest would have the most custom. There was one thing which ought not to be forgotten in this question. The drought this season had been remarkable, and many mills were prevented from working in consequence.

Mr. Alderman WOOD said, that when he first heard of the intended requisition for calling the present Court, he was at a loss to conceive how any motion could be formed upon the subject to be submitted to them. And indeed no motion was before them, it was only a request, and to that request he had two objections. His first objection was, that as the motion seemed to imply something like an opinion that the Court of Aldermen had not discharged their duty, he could not accede to it, because no opportunity had been afforded by the Lord Mayor for the Court of Aldermen to act. During twenty-two weeks (he believed he was right in naming that period), in which the price of bread had remained stationary, no request had been made from the Lord Mayor to the Court of Aldermen, for their advice or assistance, though it had uniformly been the practice with all preceding Chief Magistrates of that city, in times of difficulty and embarrassment, to appeal to their Brother Aldermen. Had the present Lord Mayor done so? No: but when the period of the harvest arrived, then his Lordship had begun to take some decisive steps. He admitted that the harvest had been abundant beyond the example of many preceding years. He had himself been through many parts of Devonshire, and knew the fact from personal observation, and from the declarations of the farmers, who all concurred in expressing that opinion. But what was the fact with regard to flour? Could you force that commodity to be sold at a fixed price? It was impossible to do so, from a variety of causes. In many parts of the country, the mills could not work from the remarkable dryness of the season. In Suffolk, indeed, there were many tide mills; and so there were in the Isle of Wight, and the flour ground in those mills was constantly and regularly forwarded to the London Market, because the prices there were the highest. But this would not be the case, if the price in the London Market should be lower than elsewhere, and then how would the Metropolis be supplied? He remembered, that in Sir James Shaw's Mayoralty it had been attempted to fix the assize of bread by the average price of wheat, but it was found impracticable then, and it ever would be found so. The bakers, in fact, would be ruined by such a regulation. Many persons were of opinion, and he was one of them, that it would be better to do away with the assize altogether. He would be told, perhaps, that as the matter now stood, any baker might sell his bread under the assize if he chose: but they who did so, were they not commonly reproached as undersellers, &c.? He was aware that he was taking the unpopular side of the question. He knew what popularity was. He had had his share of it, and was proud of it; but he would rather risk all the popularity he ever had or might have than do an act of injustice to so industrious and respectable a body of men as the bakers. Every other tradesman had the fair effects of competition open to him. Every other tradesman, if he gave credit, was enabled to fix such a price upon his commodity as was equivalent to the credit so given. But the baker, who was forced to give as long credit as the butcher, grocer, &c. was denied the power of increasing the price of his article by a single halfpenny. He contended, therefore, that the bakers were a class of people whose interests were peculiarly entitled to protection. In regulating the price of bread by the price of wheat, he would be glad to know what standard his Lordship would resort to? The market was very often supplied with low priced wheats, not intended to be ground into flour for the purpose of making wheaten bread. Would his Lordship take the average price of such wheats? As well might the clothiers be told, that because Spanish wool was now at such or such a price in the market, they should therefore sell their cloth accordingly. Nothing could be more absurd than such a notion. He was persuaded that if his Lordship had gone on with his system, if he had persevered in his declaration of fixing the assize of bread by the price of wheat, the bakers would not, indeed they could not, have baked a single loaf, and perhaps not a baker's house would be now standing. ——The Worthy Member who made the motion had not said a word which should induce the Court to accede to it. No facts had been stated. He had affirmed, indeed, that the mealmen, cornfactors, &c. were combined together to rob the public. This was an unfair mode of attack upon a large and opulent body of men, unless he could point out some particulars to justify the assertion so broadly made. If Gentlemen would calmly consider the question,

they would see that those persons had no interest in carrying the prices to a height which must, in the end, make them losers; for flour could not always be at the same price as now, and if one or more mealmen would not bring their commodity to market, others would. It was, in short, impossible that such a combination as was spoken of, could exist: it would require a greater number of individuals of large capital than could be brought to act in concert, supposing them willing. Besides, there was a regular supply of the London Market from all parts of the country, which was sold immediately it came to market, as the factors had orders to dispose of it at the best price they could get. And who would blame such a proceeding? Had not every man a right to do so? Suppose a West-India fleet to sail, and only one out of nineteen vessels to reach this country, if that vessel were laden with a cargo of sugar, would not the owner of that cargo be justified in availing himself of the great demand in proportion to the supply, and get the highest price he could for his commodity? If the Court were anxious to do justice to themselves and their country, they would apply to Parliament to get rid of the assize altogether, and leave the baking-house open to the same competition as was enjoyed by other trades. He had weighed the subject well, and could not approve of the course which had been adopted, in lowering the price of bread, merely for the sake of a little paltry and trifling popularity.

The Lord Mayor begged to be allowed to say a few words for himself, after what had fallen from the Worthy Alderman who had just sat down. The Worthy Alderman had urged it as a complaint against him (the Lord Mayor) that he had not mentioned this subject in the Court of Aldermen. That, however, was a mistake: he had repeatedly mentioned the subject in the Court of Aldermen, and if the Worthy Alderman had been in his place, he must have known that he had done so. There was another thing which had fallen from the Worthy Alderman, which he confessed he was surprised to hear—namely, that Sir William Curtis had given it as his opinion, that it would be for the public interest that the assize of bread were entirely done away. Every one who knew Sir William Curtis must agree that when he did deliver an opinion upon any public question, such opinion was dictated by the purest motives, and was therefore entitled to all the weight which it could derive from his great experience. Now, if he at all recollected the opinion delivered by Sir William Curtis on this subject, it was exactly the reverse of that attributed to him by the Worthy Alderman. Sir William, as he (the Lord Mayor) understood him, had delivered it as his opinion, that it would be an extremely dangerous and delicate matter to make any alteration in the present system, declaring it to be his opinion, that to lay open the trade, would be to have a baker's shop at every door. The Worthy Alderman had stated that the price of flour was 5*s.* on an average more than that of wheat, and he agreed that there was a hardship in this, if a remedy could be provided for the evil; but what would the Court say when informed, that instead of 5*s.* per sack the difference was nearer 20*s.*? Was not this, then, he asked, a crying evil, and should it be lightly esteemed because it fell in a peculiar degree on the lower and poorer orders of the community? Ought such a thing as this to pass unnoticed? The care of attending to the interests of the Citizens of London in general belonged to that Court; would they not, then, investigate the matter, and see if they could not point out a remedy? His Lordship presumed the Court would not deem this too much to be undertaken by them, in the hope that they might bring about a great public good. If, on investigation they found that nothing could be effected by their deliberations, it was then time enough to despair, and like men to state, that with all their exertions they were sorry to find they could do no good. The Worthy Alderman (Wood) had said that the flour was sent up to the factor in town to be sold for what it would bring. It would be well if this were so; but his Lordship could assure the Court that the fact was quite otherwise. He himself had been shewn letters by some of the farmers in the country, which they had received from their factors in town, advising them not to send up their flour to market but in certain small quantities, and at a certain fixed price. As the law was at present interpreted, the second clause in the Act of Parliament was rendered entirely nugatory *(applauses below the Bar)*.

Mr. Samuel Dixon spoke to order. If such conduct on the part of strangers below the Bar was repeated, he should move, however irksome might be the task, that strangers be excluded.

Mr. White argued, that the speech of the Worthy Alderman (Wood) was nothing but an attack upon the conduct of the

Lord Mayor, without having any thing to do with the question before the Court. He was satisfied from what he himself knew, that the Honourable Mover had stated nothing but facts; and he was for the motion, seeing no evil that could result from it—whilst it might produce much good.

Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD declared that he only meant to protect the character and conduct of the Court of Aldermen, who had never been consulted on this subject, and with whom, if any such measure were necessary to be taken, that measure ought to have originated. It had never, he could refer it to all who knew him, been any part of his character to take from the poor, or to think that their interests ought to be neglected. He had always wished to give to the poor rather than to take from them, and had always been the first to promote inquiries which had any tendency to promote their advantage. He should oppose the present Motion, however, because he thought it would be more for the public interest to pass an Amendment, declaring the expediency of doing away the Assize of Bread entirely. As an illustration of the advantage to be thence derived, he referred to the case of a baker at Shoreditch, who for the last fifteen years had carried on a very extensive business, selling his bread at a penny or three half-pence a quartern loaf under the assize, which he was enabled to do by going to the country markets, and there purchasing cheaper than he could do in London. In this way, too, he had realized a fortune far greater than the generality of bakers.

The LORD MAYOR declared that he had not been wanting in respect to the Upper Court, and called on Mr. Alderman Wood to point out in what respect he had done so. As to the present Requisition it had not originated with him, nor had he any thing to do with it.

Mr. Alderman WOOD repeated, the Court of Aldermen had not been consulted. In that respect, he said, they had not been handsomely treated.

Mr. QUIN declared himself quite at a loss to conceive by what possibility the Court could come to such a Resolution as that now proposed for their adoption, without taking time to consider the various relations of the subject, and the consequences to which such a Resolution might lead. It had been reserved for his Honourable Friend, the framer of the present motion, all at once to make stupendous discoveries, which had eluded the grasp of the greatest statesmen of this Country, of France, and even of ancient Greece and Rome, who had always, with the utmost caution, and even with a sort of dread, touched that important article, bread,—which was the test by which to fix the standard of every other article and commodity whatever. He begged to recal to the recollection of the Court, the dilemma in which this country had been placed in the year 1795, and also in the year 1800. In the year 1795, there was an actual famine, and yet the Legislature never dared to interfere to the effect of lowering the price of bread, because that could have had no other effect than to produce additional calamities. What the Legislature then did, fully shewed the fallacy of resorting to artificial means on such a subject. They confined their interference to a very few points. They prohibited the exportation of grain of all kinds; they suspended distillation from grain; and they ordered premiums to be paid for the importation of grain. They added, however, another measure as fatal as could well be adopted—they became their own agents for the purchase of gain—tampering with that which ought to be free as air. If a Government were to erect granaries, and to expect that, by filling them with grain, they could keep down the price of grain, the measure would fail. In the year 1800 there was also a famine felt, during which year Alderman Combe was Lord Mayor, and acted with an energy which would long be remembered to his honour, and by the exertion of which he saved the lives of many of his fellow-citizens. The Court were now called on, by the motion of his worthy Friend, to declare what the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the experience of ages, had failed in reconciling as consistent with sound policy. He would ask his Worthy Friend where were his grounds for declaring a particular class of men, malefactors in regard to their fellow-citizens. That the price of bread had not fallen in the same degree it might have been expected to do, he agreed; but this probably might be accounted for in the rise of other articles, such as rents, the price of labour, &c.

Mr. MOORE concurred in the general opinion that the bakers were injured, and that the present high price of bread was not attributable to them. Something, however, he thought, should be done, without going the length of doing away the assize of bread altogether. With this view, he should propose as an amendment—" That a Com-

"mittee be appointed, consisting of all the "Aldermen and a Common Councilman "from each Ward, to take into considera- "tion the present high price of bread, "and also to consider if any, and what "better means can be adopted for supply- "ing the city of London with bread, and "to report thereon."

Mr. SAMUEL DIXON seconded this Motion. He was of opinion the Committee would not be able to effect any good; but as the Court had gone so far, he thought they ought not to stop short of the appointment of a Committee, to see what could be done. The public would now naturally expect, after the subject was brought before the Court, that they should do their best.

Mr. Alderman BRYDGES said a few words, which were quite inaudible under the bar.

Mr. Alderman ATKINS expressed his sorrow at hearing a Motion of this kind introduced in such a way as to calumniate indiscriminately so respectable a body of men as those connected with the meal and corn trade of London. To have due respect paid to ourselves, the only proper way was to do justice to all. It would be going too far in that Court to think that they were prepared all at once satisfactorily to dispose of a subject which had for centuries occupied the attention, and received contradictory decisions from our Legislators. Some were of opinion that the assize was the only mode of settling the price of bread; while others said, "Let us have it by open competition." If this was a question regarding a common trade, he should at once fall in with this latter idea of the subject; but viewing it as a question of so important a nature, that the very existence of the citizens of London depended upon it, he could not consent to the abandonment of all control over it. It could not be suspected that the Magistrates of the city of London would not wish to do justice to all parties. He had no doubt that, generally speaking, there was a respect felt for the Magistrates; and that it would continue rather to afford satisfaction, that as between the dealer and the public there was an appeal to the Magistrates. Should the Court then, at once, abandon that check upon the dealer which had been thought necessary to be adopted by wise and enlightened men who had gone before them? Let the subject be looked to in all its bearings, and if any part would admit of amendment, let such amendment be suggested; particularly, let the various Acts be consolidated into one, in such a way as shall make the subject clear and distinct, without the necessity of farther reference, to the most ordinary capacity. He deprecated the idea of general calumny, or making a man feel regret or shame at being a meal-man. If such feelings were encouraged, there would soon not be a meal-man to be found in the country. There were as good men, and as honourable, in that as in any other profession, and unfortunately, experience taught us that there were rogues in all. While the Court, however, held themselves as they ought to do, endeavouring to serve the public, but not accusing one set of men, or another, of practices of which, for any thing that appeared before the Court, they might be innocent, the public would feel gratified by their labours.

It was then agreed that the original motion should stand amended by the introduction of the words proposed by Mr. Moore, and, so amended, be put as an original motion.

Mr. SLADE was of opinion the motion did not go far enough. The question was, whether the measure of fixing an assize was or was not a good measure? When we look to other countries, where there was no assize, and where corn was infinitely cheaper; when we looked even to particular districts of this country where no assize was fixed, and found that there the bread was considerably cheaper than it was in London, where the assize prevailed, it became a question of serious consideration, whether the fixing of an assize was or was not a good measure. He should, therefore, preliminary to the Resolution now before the Court, move that a Committee be appointed to consider, between this and the meeting of Parliament, whether or not the fixing of an assize for regulating the price of bread be, or be not, the best measure that can be adopted on that subject. This would be like cutting the Gordian knot, looking in the face a subject we seemed afraid to meet.

Mr. S. DIXON recommended, that instead of being a preliminary Resolution, the matter now suggested should be one of the considerations referred to the Committee.

Mr. MOORE submitted, that what was now suggested came within the terms of his motion.

Mr. JUDKINS stated that if the assize had been set during the whole 45 weeks the present Lord Mayor had been in office, by the price of wheat instead of the price of flour, it would have been greatly in favour of

the baker, and against the public; as during 33 of those weeks, it would have been against the public, and in their favour only by 9 weeks, it being equal during the remaining three weeks. No such combination as had been spoken of existed among the dealers in meal, nor could such a combination be effectual. The reasons which caused the price of flour to remain so high were easily explicable, without such a supposition. From the state of the weather being so favourable for the out-door operations of agriculture, the farmer had not been enabled to apply any quantity of hands to thrashing. The public were little acquainted with the great quantity of corn (amounting to 1-10 of the whole produce) which was necessary for seed, and which must be thrashed out before any considerable quantity could be sent to market. Many farmers, too, were of opinion, that the present state of the market was convulsive, and kept back the produce of their lands in an expectation of a rise.

Mr. Alderman Birch wished to caution the Court and the members of the Committee against meddling with the assize, which had existed with such happy effects for 700 years, and which had remained inviolate in the most urgent times, because it secured the public peace, and guaranteed to the dealers in bread, a certain but moderate profit. The fact which a worthy Alderman (Wood) had mentioned of a baker in Shoreditch, selling under the assize, was conclusive that this institution did not exclude competition, for a hundred other bakers might, if they found their advantage in it, act as this man had done.

Mr. Slade withdrew his former Amendment, and proposed a new one, "that the subject be referred to the Corn and Coals Committee."

Mr. Moore said, that the existing Committees had in general quite enough business on their hands.

Mr. Slade replied, that the Corn and Coals Committee had very little to do.

The Amendment was then put and negatived, and the original motion carried unanimously. After which the Committee was appointed, and the Court adjourned.

Mr. Griffiths was of opinion, that the bakers were quite guiltless of any share in keeping up the price of bread. There was a word he had used which he wished to withdraw, because next to acting rightly, the most meritorious line of conduct was to acknowledge an offence. He had used the words "to rob," for which he was sorry, though convinced that in some quarter or other a combination did exist.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Bulletins of the Crown Prince.

(Continued from page 448.)

he will fall in with the first Prussian troops. In his march, he made six Polish officers prisoners, whom he brought with him: he joined the head-quarters of his Serene Highness without the loss of a man. Two of his Cossacks were wounded by sabres.

Head-quarters at Rodigke, Sept. 4.

The Crown Prince removed his head-quarters to Buchholtz on the 30th August, on the 31st to Treuenbreitzen, and yesterday to this place.——Luckau is one of those points on the frontiers of Saxony which the enemy had fortified with the greatest assiduity during the Armistice. He reckoned upon being able to defend it longer, and did not expect to see us there so soon. We give the capitulation of this place afterwards. The Crown Prince has ordered that the neighbouring mountain shall be fortified; 600 men are at work on it. The suburbs will be razed; and by this means the garrison of Luckau will be able to defend itself.——The ground, which is very much broken, to some leagues from Wittenburg, favoured the enemy's retreat, and prevented the light cavalry from acting; he has, notwithstanding, been forced from time to time in his different positions.——On the 30th August, Gen. Winzingerode had his head-quarters at Niemeck. General Blucher had his at Treuenbreitzen on the 30th August, and on the 1st September at Frohnsdorff.——On the 2d Sept. this General's corps advanced into the positions of Schwolbeck and Feldhum, his advanced guard being at Morzahner.——The enemy garrisoned Kropstadt, but defiled during the night, and at break of day his rear-guard commenced its retreat. General Borstell pursued him as far as Thiesen. The enemy commenced a heavy cannonade and fire of musketry to cover this position; but General Borstell's advanced posts sustained themselves before the defiles of Kopping, two thousand paces from Thussen; the division of Colonel Krafft ascended the heights of Kropstadt, to support General Borstell. At the same time, General Dobschutz made himself master of the heights of the town of Zahne. His communication with General Borstell was kept up by the post of Wollersdorff, of which Major Beyer had taken possession. The rest of General Bulow's corps took position at Marzaleau.——The Prussian division, under the command of Colonel Krafft,

has principally contributed to the success of the affair at Gros-Beren, and its commander has distinguished himself by his intrepidity. The Prince of Hesse Homberg's corps has likewise taken an active share in the engagements which took place, and the Prince has, on every occasion, given proofs of his valour and activity. The enemy being hard pressed on his left flank, by the Generals Woronzoff, Grourk, and Czernitscheff, made some attempts from the side of Caswiz, but was always repulsed with loss. ——On the 3d of Sept. Lieutenant-Colonel Zzbacha was detached by General Woronzoff to take possession of a wood near Schmilkendorff, and executed his orders with good success. Being afterwards surrounded by the enemy, with four times his number, he still faced them, and cleared his way in good order, and with very little loss. Schmilkendorff was again garrisoned by General Woronzoff.——The French corps d'armée, which had advanced to Schwerin, still remained there on the 2d inst.; it has detached the Danish division to Gadebusch, to cover his rear. General Tettenborn continued to disturb the enemy's communications, and alarm his advanced posts. He took, near Gadebusch, a transport of 10 waggons, with provisions and ammunition, after having killed and dispersed its escort. The consequences of the victory gained by Gen. Blucher, on the 26th, on the Katsbach, are decisive. The result of that action, on the 30th, amounted to more than 14,000 prisoners, 80 pieces of artillery, and 300 ammunition waggons.——The whole French division of Gen. Pulhod, on the 29th inst. laid down their arms at Lowenberg, with the exception of 3 or 400 men, who threw themselves into the Bober. General Blucher, on the 30th August, had his head-quarters at Holstein, near Lowenberg, and continued briskly in pursuit of the enemy. General Bennigsen, with his corps d'armée, arrived at Breslaw on the 30th, from whence he proceeded to Leignitz, marching on the same line with Gen. Blucher.

Head-quarters, Treuenbritzen, Sept. 1.

His Royal Highness removed his head-quarters to Buchholtz on the 30th August, from whence it was shifted here yesterday at eight o'clock in the morning.——The enemy had possession of the town of Marzahn, Selwabeck, Eckmansdorff, and Feldhum. Cannon shots were yesterday discharged between him and our reconnoitring corps. Gen. Baron Adlercreutz was detached by his Royal Highness to view the enemy's position, and rode forward, accompanied by Gen. Baron Tawast, within 400 paces of his batteries.——The united army is collected together. The Prussian and Russian van-guards are in pursuit of the enemy on the road to Wittenberg. A corps of Swedish troops, composed of Morner's regiment of hussars, 2 battalions of yagers, and 4 pieces of artillery, under the command of Adjutant-General Baron Cederstrom, is joined with the Russian vanguard; General Czernicheff's and Colonel Breudel's light troops swarm about the enemy. The Generals Tauenzien and Herschfeldt direct their motions by those of the army, and are in connexion with it. ——The Prince of Ecknuhl still continued in his position near Schwerin, on the 28th August. His Royal Highness has this day sent off Colonel Bjousturna, with a flag of truce to the French advanced posts, to deliver the Commandant of Luckau's capitulation.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Sept. 19.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated the 7th of September:—

"The Duke of Reggio, with the 12th, 7th, and 4th corps, marched on the 23d August upon Berlin. He ordered the village of Thebbin, defended by the enemy's army, to be attacked, and forced it. He continued his movement.——On the 24th August, the 7th corps not having succeeded in the battle of Gros Beeren, the Duke of Reggio marched upon Wittemberg.——On the 8th September the Prince of Moskwa took the command of the army, and marched upon Interburg. On the 5th he attacked and defeated Tauentzien; but on the 6th he was attacked on his march by Gen. Bulow. Some charges of cavalry on his rear threw disorder among his parks. He was obliged to retire upon Torgau. He lost 8,000 men killed, wounded, or prisoners, and 12 pieces of cannon. The enemy's loss must also have been very great."

Report from the Prince of Moskwa.

"Sire,—The twelfth corps d'armée attacked the enemy on the 5th, and drove him with great vigour beyond Seyda; we took three flags, several pieces of cannon, and some hundred prisoners; the field of battle was covered with the enemy's dead. ——The following day, the 6th, the fourth

corps debouched at eight in the morning by Niendorf and Juterboch; the enemy held the heights in the rear of Dennewitz. The seventh corps marched upon Rohrbeck, and the 12th upon Ohna; I thus refused my left, and was in a condition to support the *fourth* corps, which, in place of attacking, was to turn Juterboch by its right, to mask the movement which I wished to make upon Dahma, and upon which I had determined, by the certainty that the whole of the enemy's army was debouching in great haste upon Dennewitz. The enemy's advanced guard was overthrown by General Morand's division, which performed prodigies of valour. General Lorgis's division of light cavalry indiscreetly engaged *(mal engagée)*, and brought back in disorder, caused some confusion, which the good countenance of the infantry soon corrected. The enemy being rapidly reinforced, the whole of the fourth corps found itself engaged. The seventh, which had been expected, at last arrived, and I ordered General Regnier to briskly charge the enemy's right, whilst General Morand should renew his attack; this general charge had much success; the enemy had just lost much ground; Durette's division conducted itself well; sixty pieces of artillery fired grape-shot upon the enemy's troops, who were in disorder in the hollow ground between Golsdorf and Wilmersdorf; in short, the 12th corps, which entered briskly into action, drove the enemy's right upon his centre, separated from his left by the fourth corps. At this moment the battle was gained; but two divisions of the seventh corps failed, and the whole of that corps suddenly falling back, carrying part of the 12th with it, changed the state of things. ——The enemy succeeded in throwing his masses between the fourth and 12th corps; which still fought with the greatest fury. I insensibly brought the fourth from the right of the 12th. The artillery from the position placed upon the heights between the Ohna and Dennewitz, filled the interval, and I then ordered a retreat; the fourth corps effected it in good order upon Dahma, and the seventh and 12th marched upon Schweinitz. This morning the enemy, in number from 3 to 4,000 infantry, with cannon and 120 horse, coming from Luckau, vehemently attacked Dahma. The 23d regiment of the line marched against him, and forced him to precipitately retire. The bridge of Herzberg upon the Elbe has been burnt. We have preserved two others, one above and one below that town. To-morrow the fourth corps, with a division of light cavalry, will proceed from Herzberg to Torgau. The seventh and 12th corps, and two other divisions of cavalry, will occupy positions upon Torgau. The loss suffered yesterday is about 8,000 men and 12 pieces of cannon; that of the enemy must have been as considerable, the artillery of the different corps having consumed a great part of their ammunition. We had many prisoners in our power, but they disappeared during the night-march.——I am, with the most profound respect, Sire, your Majesty's very obedient and very humble servant and faithful subject,

(Signed) The PRINCE of MOSKWA.

"*Torgau, 7th Sept.* 1813."

Paris, Sept. 19.—Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence from the army, of the 11th September:—

"The enemy's grand army, beaten at Dresden, took refuge in Bohemia. Informed that the Emperor had gone to Silesia, the Allies assembled a corps of 80,000 men, composed of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, and on the 5th marched upon Hottendorf; the 6th upon Gieshubel; and the 7th on Pirna; on the 8th at noon the Emperor proceeded to Dohna, ordered Marshal St. Cyr to attack the enemy's advanced guard, which was driven by Gen. Bonnet from the heights of Dohna. During the night the French were upon the camp at Pirna.——On the 9th the French army marched upon Borna and Fustenwalde. The Emperor's head-quarters were at Liebstadt.——On the 10th Marshal St. Cyr marched from the village of Furstenwalde upon the Geyersberg, which commands the Bohemian plain. General Bonnet, with the 43d division, descended into the plain near Toplitz. The enemy's army, which endeavoured to rally after having called all its detachments from Saxony, was seen. If the debouch from the Gayesberg had been practicable for artillery, that army would have been attacked in flank during its march, but all the efforts made to get the cannon down were ineffectual.——General Ornano debouched upon the heights of Peterswalde, whilst General Dumonceau arrived there by Hottendorf. We have made some hundreds of prisoners, of which several are officers. The enemy constantly avoided battle, and precipitately retired in all directions.——On the 11th the Emperor returned to Dresden."

THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Tuesday, Sept. 21.

Foreign Office, Sept. 21, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia, dated the 27th, 29th, 30th, and 31st of August.

Head-quarters of His Majesty the King of Prussia, Zehista, Aug. 27, 1813.

My Lord,—My last dispatches will have acquainted your Lordship of the determination of the Allied Armies to debouche from Bohemia by the several passes into Saxony, and enter on immediate offensive operations in flank and rear of the enemy, if he still maintained his forward positions in Lusatia, and remained on the right bank of the Elbe. While the main Russian army, under General Barclay de Tolly, including the corps of Witgenstein and Miloradovitch, and the Prussian corps of General Kleist, together with the whole of the Austrian army, were to act offensively from Bohemia, under the chief command of Prince Schwartzenbergh. Gen. Blucher's corps d'armée, composed of a division of Prussians, under Lieutenant-Gen. d'Yorck, and General Sachen's and General Langeron's Russian divisions, were to move from Silesia on Lusatia, and threaten the enemy in front. General Blucher was to avoid engaging in any general action, especially against superior numbers. In conformity with these intentions General Blucher advanced in three columns on the 20th from Leignitz, Goldenberg, and Jauer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg; General Sachen's corps moved on the right on Buntzlau, and Gen. d'Yorck's on the centre, and Gen. Langeron's on the left. The enemy abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and Gen. Blucher's force advanced to the Bober, where they were attacked on the 21st by the enemy, who moved in great force on Buntzlau, Lowenberg, and Laun, and a very serious affair took place. It is reported Buonaparté commanded in person, and that he presented one hundred and ten thousand men to General Blucher. The allied troops contested the ground with great bravery, but as General Blucher had received orders to avoid a general engagement, he withdrew in the best order to Haynau, Pilgramsdorf, Hirshberg, and behind the Katzbach; where his troops were at the date of the last accounts. The loss of General Blucher in this affair is reported to be near two thousand men. He took, however, several prisoners. The enemy suffered considerably.——The grand armies on the side of Bohemia, commenced passing the frontiers on the 20th and 21st; Count Witgenstein's and General Kleist's columns, by the passes of Peterswalde; the Austrians by Komotaw. On the 22d, Count Witgenstein's corps fell in with the enemy, and had a very considerable encounter with them near Berghishabel and Zehista.——The enemy met the allies on the frontiers, and have been beaten back from all their positions, towards Dresden, although they endeavoured unsuccessfully to defend every inch of ground.——The different columns of the allied armies were to debouche from the mountains and passes, at such concerted periods as would probably have operated fatally upon the enemy, if the arrangement, as planned, had been completely carried into effect; but the eagerness of the troops to push on and engage, brought the right corps into action on the morning of the 22d. The French were commanded by General Gouvion St. Cyr (who is newly arrived, and come up with the army from Wurtzburg), and their force consisted of upwards of 15,000 men; they were supported by their troops from Konigstein, and by those in the camp at Liebenstein, which amount at least to 6,000 men, under General Bonnet. After a very sharp action, Count Witgenstein drove the enemy from all points, took three or four hundred prisoners, besides a vast number of killed and wounded. The loss of the Allies was not severe.——The enemy after this action retired into Konigstein, his entrenched camp at Liebenstein, and also into the various works he has thrown up round Dresden. The Allies have pressed forwards on him on every side, and the Grand Armies are now encircling Dresden.——On the 26th, the hussar regiment of Grodno, of Count Witgenstein's corps, had a very brisk engagement close to Dresden, in which they took four guns and one howitzer. The advanced guards of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians encamped this night on the heights above Dresden, between Nauslitz and Ischernitz.——On the 27th, in the morning, the enemy abandoned the ground in advance of Dresden which they occupied, called the Grossen Garten, and

withdrew into the suburbs and their different works. I have thus given your Lordship a general outline of operations up to this period; every hour is big with events. No official reports are made out, so I fear my details in many points may be imperfect. Perhaps the history of war does not afford a period where two great armies stand committed to such bold operations. ——I have much pleasure in reporting to your Lordship, that two Westphalian regiments of hussars, commanded by Colonel Hammerstein, have come over from the enemy, and are most eager to be ranged in battle against them, to take their revenge for the misery they have entailed upon this country.——I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

Head-quarters of his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, Altenberg, Aug. 29, 1813.

My Lord,—The enemy having abandoned the ground surrounding Dresden, called the Grossen Garten, and having withdrawn into their works, and into the suburbs of the town on the morning of the 27th, it was deemed expedient to make an attack with a large force upon the place, the possession of which became of considerable importance. Count Witgenstein's and General Kleist's light troops, on the right of the town, had sustained, during the morning of the 27th, in the attack of the gardens, some loss; and, indeed, the enemy had so much improved by art, the defences around the town, that it was evidently an enterprise of considerable difficulty to carry it.——The troops moved to the assault at four o'clock in the evening; Count Witgenstein's corps, in three columns, on the right of the Grossen Carten: General Kleist moved one column of attack through these gardens, and two on the left. His left column was headed by Prince Augustus of Prussia; three divisions of Austrians on the left of the town, under the immediate direction of Count Colloredo, and Prince Maurice, of Lichtenstein, joined the Prussians on their left; the Prussians forming the centre attack. A tremendous cannonade commenced the operation; the batteries being planted in a circular form round the town, the effect was magnificent; the fine buildings in Dresden were soon enveloped in smoke, and the troops moved forward in the most perfect order to the assault. They approached on all sides close to the town. The Austrians took an advanced redoubt with eight guns, in the most undaunted and gallant manner. I never saw troops behave more conspicuously; the work was of the strongest kind, not above sixty yards from the main wall, and it was flanked by cross fires of musketry from the various loop-holes that were made in every part from projecting buildings; but nothing could surpass the gallantry with which it was stormed: the enemy fled from it only to shelter themselves behind new defences, manning the thick walls of the town, in which it was impossible, without a long and continued fire of heavy artillery, to make breaches.——The enemy, with the aid of those means which a strong town affords of resistance, held the troops in check who had so gallantly carried and entered the out-works. The night was fast approaching, and the enemy now attempted to make a sortie with a considerable force of all his guards, at least amounting to thirty thousand, to separate the allied troops, and take one wing in flank and rear. This was immediately perceived, and as it appeared evident that it was not practicable to carry the place that night, orders were sent to draw off the troops, and they returned to their several encampments. Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein made an admirable disposition on the side where the enemy made their sortie, by which all disorder was avoided. This enterprise, in proportion to its being of moment, was one of great difficulty; no troops could signalize themselves more, and in my humble opinion, if it had been physically possible to carry the place under the circumstances, they would have accomplished it. But there were no breaches for the troops to enter, and the artillery, although brought up at the close of the evening to near one hundred paces of the wall, were not able to batter it, or make an impression.——From the best calculation I can make, I should estimate the loss of the Allies at under 4,000 men in this attack. The Austrians chiefly suffered.——The sortie of the enemy was a prelude to a more general battle, which took place on the following morning, the 28th. Buonaparté had arrived in Dresden from that part of his army in Lusatia on the night of the 22d, and having a very large force in Dresden, at least 150,000 men, he appears to have determined on attacking the Allies, who occupied a very extended position on the heights surrounding it.——The enemy had great advantages in their disposition for attack: Dresden, lined with guns, was in their rear; their communica-

tions were not intersected; if they made an impression, they could pursue it; if they failed, they could withdraw in security, and our troops could not follow them under the guns of the place. One of the worst days that ever was seen, added materially to the difficulties of the Allies, who had arrived, by rapid marches, through bad roads and defiles, at their positions, and whose supplies of every kind it was difficult, if not impossible, to get up. Availing himself of the advantages above stated, Buonaparté displayed an immense number of pieces of artillery; and heavy cannonading on both sides formed the chief feature of the battle. Charges in various points were made, both with the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian cavalry, and they distinguished themselves highly; but the main bodies of the infantry in both armies did not come in contact. The weather was so hazy, and the rain so incessant, that the action was sustained at all points under the heaviest disadvantages.——Towards the middle of the day a catastrophe occurred which awakened more than ordinary sensibility and regret throughout the Allied Army; General Moreau, in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia on the operations, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the ball going through his horse. An equal loss both to the good cause, and to the profession of arms. It is impossible not deeply to lament his fate; he is still alive.——The enemy continued his efforts on the position of the Allies, till finding he could make no impression, the action ceased.——The battle may have cost us six or seven thousand men. The enemy must have suffered more; in one charge of Russian cavalry against infantry and a battery, a great number of prisoners were taken, though the guns were not brought off.——I have already detailed to your Lordship the general difficulties in which the Allied Army was placed by the large force opposed to them, and by the opinion that Buonaparté would pass a considerable body of troops across the Elbe at Konigstein and Pirna, to possess himself of the passes in our rear. The orders for retiring to the Allied Army were issued on the evening of the 28th, and the army is now in march in different columns.——It is impossible not to lament that so fine and so numerous an army, perfectly entire in all its parts, should be under the necessity, having once advanced, of making a retrograde step, as miscalculations may be made on the event, and the enemy may suppose he has gained an advantage; I can only pledge myself to your Lordship, that the army is as eager as ever to meet the enemy, and the same determined spirit exists, though a partial change of operations may be deemed necessary.——The enemy's force was not diminished on the side of Lusatia up to the 23d, for his efforts on the Elbe, as he attacked General Blucher again in great force on that day, who retired upon Jauer. On the 24th, however, he advanced again, the enemy having fallen back, which would indicate his bringing more forces into Bohemia.——The Austrian corps of Gen. Neuberg has also advanced in the direction of Zittau. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

Toplitz, Aug. 30, 1813.

My Lord,—Since my dispatch of yesterday's date, I have to acquaint your Lordship, that a very brilliant action has taken place this day on the road from Toplitz towards Peterswalde, about two German miles from the former place. It appears that the Russian column, under Count Ostermann, which was to retire by the pass of Osterswalde, found the enemy, who had actually crossed the Elbe at Pirna and Konigstein, had possession of the pass in the mountains, and they were obliged most gallantly to force their way through with the bayonet. They then remained in action with the enemy till late in the evening; and having been reinforced by the reserves of the Russian guards, cavalry and infantry, the former, under his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, who were sent rapidly to their support. This body of troops, consisting of about 8,000 men, held in check, during the day, two corps and one division of the French army, under Generals Vandamme and Bertrand, amounting at least to 30,000 men. I should do his Imperial Majesty's guards injustice if I attempted to describe the admiration I felt at their valour and signal bravery. The light cavalry of the guard, consisting of the Polonese and dragoon regiments, charged columns of infantry in the highest style. General Diebzetsch, an officer of great merit, particularly distinguished himself; Prince Galitzin in like manner. He was wounded in the attack. Count Ostermann, towards the close of the day, had his arm carried off by a cannon shot; the General commanding the Cuirassiers of St. George was also wounded.——The importance of the bravery displayed by these troops is highly augmented, when it is considered,

that had they not held their ground, the columns of the army and artillery retiring by Altenberg, which were delayed by the bad roads, must have been greatly endangered. ——His Prussian Majesty was at Toplitz when the enemy made their rapid advance by Peterswalde, and made the most able dispositions to reinforce Count Ostermann, and by his coolness and personal exertions, preserved order and regularity, which even the momentary idea of the enemy's getting in the rear is apt to endanger. The admirable conduct of this Sovereign on all occasions is the theme of universal praise. The corps of Count Ostermann lost three thousand men in this day's action *hors de combat.*—— The French loss may be averaged at double. General Vandamme's corps suffered immensely. The cavalry of the Russian guard took two standards and three or four hundred prisoners.——The enemy followed our rear-guard during the day, on the Dippoldswalde road, and they met with a considerable check from the rear-guard, commanded by the Austrian General Hardegg.—— I hope your Lordship will excuse the hurry with which this is written, and will make allowances, as the period and continued movements and operations prevent much accuracy.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. STEWART, Lieut.Gen.

Toplitz, Aug. 31, 1813.

My Lord,—The brilliant and well contested action of the 30th, in which the Prussian guards covered themselves with glory, has been followed up by a very general and decisive victory over that part of the enemy's army which had advanced from Konigstein and Pirna, on the great chaussee leading from Peterswalde to Toplitz. It became of the utmost importance to make this attack, not only to give time for those columns of the army to fall back, which were still retiring upon the Altenberg and Dippoldswalde road, but at the same time to extricate the corps under General Kleist, which had not disengaged itself from the mountains.——The enemy had the advantage, in pushing rapidly forward upon our right flank, of a good line of road; whereas the columns of the Allied Army, although retiring by shorter lines, were impeded not only by the unfavourable state of the weather, but by almost impassable roads.——A great proportion of the artillery train and baggage of the Allied Army had not yet got clear of the mountains, when the enemy had arrived at Hollendorf and Kulm, about three German miles distant from Toplitz, the scene where the action took place.——The attack being determined upon, the following disposition of the troops, destined for that purpose, was immediately made. Six thousand Russian grenadiers, two thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, under the immediate orders of General Miloradovitch, together with twelve thousand Austrians, under Count Coloredo and General Bianchi, commenced the action; the remainder of the troops collected for this enterprise being formed in columns of reserve upon the adjacent plain.——The village of Kulm is situated at the bottom of a range of mountains which forms an almost impregnable barrier between Saxony and Bohemia; from this point branches off two distinct ranges of mountain, east and west; between these ranges the ground is generally flat, affording, however, in some places good defensible positions. Upon this ground, immediately fronting the village of Kulm, the enemy collected a strong force of infantry, with a great portion of artillery; a galling fire was kept up incessantly from this point upon the Russians under General Miloradovitch.——Such was the strength of the adjacent heights of Kulm, and so ably had the enemy disposed of their force for its defence, that it was judged more expedient to make the principal attack by the right, in consequence of which the Austrian infantry were directed to move along the high ground upon the right, while the Russian guards and infantry were to commence their attack upon the left, so soon as the Austrians were sufficiently advanced. While these movements were executing, the corps of General Kleist, which had not been disengaged from the mountains, appeared in the enemy's rear, descending the road by which the enemy were to retire in case of need. On all sides the attack commenced in the most vigorous and decisive manner. The enemy's left were turned by the distinguished bravery and good conduct of the Austrians under Count Colloredo,

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 16, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRICE OF BREAD.—I am glad to see, that a more rational way of thinking is taking place upon this subject. A correspondent wonders how I came at the knowledge of the use which bakers make of *potatoes*. If I am right, what matters it how I came by the means of making me so: if I am wrong, let my error be exposed.——I insert, in another part of this sheet, a letter from Mr. HECTOR CAMPBELL, who, with great ingenuity, maintains the propriety of an *assize of bread*. I confess, that his arguments fail of producing conviction with me; and, I can hardly think, that they have satisfied his own mind. He is driven to say, that he would prefer *an assize on all sorts of saleable commodities* to an abolition of the assize of bread.——This, I think, shows his sense of the desperateness of his case.——But, what am I to think of the following argument of *analogy*?——I had observed, that, if left to itself, the trade of a baker would regulate itself fairly; because the man who sold light or bad bread would *lose his custom*; and, that, admonished by this just and wholesome punishment, other bakers would avoid the example.——To combat this, he asks, whether the same argument of re-action might not be urged in defence of permitting men with legal impunity *to knock each other down*, seeing, that, in the long run, their violence would do them injury?——Now, what *analogy* is there in the two cases? The man who sells me a light loaf or a bad loaf, does not *compel* me to buy it; the man who knocks me down *compels* me to receive his blow.——This is enough to show, that Mr. Campbell was conscious of the weakness of his cause; for, whenever men of ability have recourse to sophistry, it is only because there are no sound arguments to be mustered up.——To the same source I trace Mr. Campbell's remarks upon the pernicious effects of *freedom of trade in general*, which has, as far as I can discover, nothing at all to do with the matter, any more than have his remarks relative to the effects of the depreciation of money.——What can these matters have to do with the assize of bread? Indeed they have nothing at all to do with it; and, when he was stating the fearful increase of *pauperism* in the kingdom, he should not have forgotten, that the assize of bread had been co-existent with that increase.——The TABLE which he has inserted is *curious*; more so, I believe, than correct.——A wide *difference* is made by taking the highest prices on the one side and the lowest prices on the other.——And, though I know that the paupers have increased in a most horrible degree, it is not altogether owing to the wages of labour not having kept pace with the price of bread.——About seventy years ago, when Mr. TULL published his book on Husbandry, he, in a comparative estimate, which he makes of the expenses of two modes of culture, observes, that the average price of *reaping an acre of wheat* is FIVE SHILLINGS; and, in another part of his work, when stating the amount of the crop, he observes, that the average price of wheat is FIVE SHILLINGS THE BUSHEL.——I cannot doubt of the correctness of this; because Mr. TULL was not writing upon the subject of *prices* and *wages*, but upon that of *cultivation*, and was, therefore, under no temptation to strain a point either way.——We find, then, that, in the time of this gentleman, the labourer received the price of a *bushel* of wheat for reaping an *acre* of wheat.——And, what is the relative proportion *now?*——I can speak for my own neighbourhood. We have given, some 11*s*., some 12*s*., some 12*s*. 6*d*., and some 13*s*. an acre for reaping wheat; and, I dare say, that this is about the average of the kingdom. We have given, then, upon an average, 12*s*. 1½*d*. an acre; and the price of wheat at 5*l*. a quarter, is 12*s*. 6*d*. a bushel.——Now, these are facts, which, I imagine, will show Mr. Campbell, that prices are pretty true in regulating themselves, and, that the increased pauperism of the country must be ascribed to other causes than a want of a due proportion between the price of labour and the price of bread.——Depreciation of money has, and can have, no effect upon the man who lives by his labour,

That labour will always sell for its proper price; that price will settle itself so truly, that no human wit can lend it any aid; and so would the price of bread, if left wholly to itself.——What, then, can be more unwise than to continue this assize? It must *add* to the cost of the article; because it makes the trade of a Baker more *troublesome* than it otherwise would be. It tends also to make it, in some degree, *odious*, and it very often leads to some degree of risk.——An argument has been made use of, drawn from the regulations with regard to *gold* and *silver*. But, what analogy is there here? If I buy a piece of metal for gold, and it be, in fact, some base metal, I am *unable*, perhaps, to discover the difference. It is, indeed, a *fraud* practised upon me. It is a *counterfeit* that I receive; and it is as necessary to protect me against such a fraud as against the tricks of the makers of base money.——But, can I be ignorant of the weight or quality of *a loaf of bread?* Are there no scales, or have I no palate? Or, do I keep the loaf any length of time before I find out the bad quality of it?——In the case of *hops*, the law requires the planter's name and place of abode to be put upon each package, with a view, I suppose, of preventing the ignorant buyer from being cheated by a seller, who might assert that the package came out of Surrey instead of out of Worcestershire, the former being said to be the best.——I do not see the use of this; because, it would be very easy for a roguish hop-dealer, to put a Surrey mark and name upon Worcestershire hops; and, if the buyer does not understand what he buys himself, he ought to employ some one who does.——But, there is more sense in this regulation than in that about bread; because a man may have his hops in the house for months before he ascertains the quality of them; whereas, in the case of bread, he ascertains the true state of the matter on the very day that he makes the purchase; and, in nine instances out of ten, *before he pays* for the commodity.——For the credit of the day, in which we live, therefore, let us hope, that this ridiculous regulation relative to the price of bread will be wholly done away; and that we shall hear no more about the "*great Iron Pot* and the *Cullen-*"*der;*" those implements now become so famous in our criminal processes, as amongst the means of making *counterfeit victuals*!——What will people say, in a few years hence, of a law to punish a man for *converting potatoes into bread?* For making his bread of *two* sorts of vegetables instead of *one;* and, for stigmatizing him as a *fraudulent* person, because he has brought to perfection that which, a few years before, a premium was, by the parliament, about to be offered for bringing as near to perfection as possible?——I re-assert, that no Baker, who understands his *own interest;* who knows any thing of the nature of the materials he uses, will ever make use of potatoes in the making of bread, any farther than is necessary for the purpose of aiding the yeast in the work of fermentation. The potatoe is *dearer* than flour. It requires more labour; more of the productive quality of land; it costs more to raise sustenance for a man in potatoes than in flour. And yet, it is only a few years ago since a Bill was actually brought into parliament (by Mr. Wilberforce, I believe), to grant a *premium for the growth of potatoes!* Mr. Horne Tooke's speeches upon this bill were excellent. He seemed to be the only man in the House who had any powers of reflection.——Just as if potatoes would not be grown if people found it to their *advantage* to grow them.——The notions concerning this root are as shallow and vulgar as those which prevail about the prices of bread and about the monopolies of meal-men.——It is a great *bulk;* a monstrous *heap*, that an acre produces; but, as I have before shown, not so much *food* as is contained in the wheat, which would have grown on the same land.——If this root had a tendency to produce prosperity in the country where it was generally cultivated and eaten, Ireland would, surely, not be so supreme in the misery of its people. It may be truly called, the *root of misery*.——The general use that it has got into has arisen from the notion that it *saves bread*, a phrase, which, whenever I hear it, puts me in mind of the fact, well-known in most families, that the ale is a *great saver* of the small beer; with this difference in the two cases, that the ale is really better for man than the small beer, while potatoes are not nearly so good as bread, though more than twice as dear.——A considerable portion of the cost of potatoes arises from the difficulty of finding *stowage* for such enormous masses as are necessary to yield any large quantity of human food.——It would require a large house to hold the potatoes sufficient to equal, in point of sustenance, four or five sacks of flour. A good third of this enormous bulk is thrown out at the door after being cooked, and of the rest, who

can protect more than three-fifths from the frost, unless, indeed, they are buried in caves or in heaps of earth; and what a business is all this compared to the concise and neat operation of making bread?——I wish very much to contribute my share towards showing the error in the notions respecting this root, because I wish not to see my countrymen living *like hogs*, when, at less expense, they may live like human beings.——It is often complained of, in the conduct of the poor, that, in times of scarcity, they will not buy potatoes, but persist in having bread as long as they can get it. The truth is, they cannot *afford* to eat potatoes. They find, that the white loaf is much cheaper. In short, they find, that they can live upon bread and water; but, that, upon potatoes and water they must die. One would think, that this ought to be enough to convince any reasonable man, that a Baker must be mad, or, at least, a downright fool, to use potatoes instead of flour in the making of bread.——The year 1801, that year of fooleries, saw ministers of state giving their guests *potatoe-cakes* in lieu of bread, by way *of example to the community*. They did not know, that they were eating the *dearer* food; and, be that as it might, what good could their conduct *possibly* do? If they eat potatoes, why there were less of *them* for the poor. If the potatoes did really *supply the place* of bread, then they might as well have eaten the bread; if they did not, then the wise men must have eaten some other food to make up for the deficiency; and how was the share of food to the community to be increased by any such measure?——Let us hope, that we have seen an end to these wondrous follies; and that we shall hear no more of well-meaning Lords and Gentlemen goading on their cottagers to stick their little plots of land full of potatoes.——This root has, in a great measure, been *forced* upon the poorer classes of people, who do not calculate, and who readily fall into any specious error. Their stomachs are their best monitors, very sure guides, in pinching times; but, in general, they are deceived by the *bulky* appearance of the crop, especially when continually goaded on to this sort of cultivation by their superiors, and those whose advice savours of commands. It may, therefore, be worth while to endeavour to convince those superiors, that the cottager would do better to cultivate wheat than potatoes.——I shall suppose a man to have a quarter of a statute acre of land attached to his cottage, which he annually plants with potatoes; and, I think, I shall not be contradicted when I say, that, if this land will bear yearly two tons and a half, or, 5,600 pounds weight of potatoes, it will bear yearly a quarter of wheat, or, at 60 pounds to the bushel, 480 pounds of wheat. Allowing 9 pounds of potatoes to give as much sustenance as one pound of wheat, then, in point of sustenance, there are 1,280 pounds of potatoes left, after equalling the wheat.——Now to the comparative expense:

	£.	s.	d.
POTATOES.			
3 Bushels of Seed . . .	0	4	6
Planting	0	2	0
Digging up and housing . .	0	18	0
They give 1½*d*. a bushel for digging up only.			
	1	4	6
WHEAT.			
1 Gallon of Seed	0	1	4
Sowing	0	2	0
Cutting and housing . . .	0	6	0
	0	9	4
Balance in favour of the Wheat	0	15	2
Add to the worth of the Straw of which Potatoes have none	1	5	0
	2	0	2
Deduct grinding	0	4	0
	1	16	2
Reckon the 1,280 pounds of Potatoes at £3. a ton . .	1	11	0
Balance at last in favour of Wheat	0	5	2

I have not spoken about the labour *in the cultivation;* but, I am quite sure, that, if the wheat be sown in *rows* with the same care, and cultivated with the same labour that the potatoes must have, it will always yield in a greater proportionate degree than is here stated.——There is the *threshing* of the wheat, but then there are the *hulls* to pay for it, not to mention that the *bran* would have paid for the grinding.——Then comes the *risk*. On the side of the wheat there is little, and that only in the harvesting. Both crops are liable to *bad seasons;* but, if a premature frost come, after a previous rain, the potatoes are half spoiled in a single night; nor are they safe at any moment during the whole winter, unless protected in a way that is attended with

Q 2

considerable additional expense.——I shall be asked, perhaps, Where the cottager is to get *horses to* prepare the land for his wheat crop. And, where does he get them to prepare the land for his potatoes? Oh! he digs it with a spade. He does, does he! Then, with your permission, unless there be some wise law against it, I mean he shall dig it for his wheat also; for I know well that wheat has no more objection to the spade than potatoes have. I mean that he shall *hoe* it, too, just as often as he does his potatoes, not forgetting to *earth it up* on each side just when it is in bloom; and, I venture to say, that if he does all these, he will have at least 10 bushels, instead of the 8, which I have given him, upon his quarter of an acre of ground.——Now, if these opinions and calculations of mine be correct, into what wild notions have we been led respecting the cultivation of potatoes! How have we been deceived by their mere *bulk*, without examining into their power of yielding sustenance!—But, after all, my greatest dislike of the cultivation of potatoes, as food for man, is, that they naturally and inevitably produce *filthiness*, and all its concomitant vices, in the habitations of the poor. To bring the loaf upon the board requires some degree of cleanliness, care, and even skill. There must be *preparation*, *forethought*, and *attention*, to bring the produce of the land into the compact and convenient shape of bread, which can be carried to the harvest field or accompany the plough. Whereas, to set the mouth at work upon potatoes, water and a pot, or even the bare ashes, without any utensil, are sufficient. The paws only are wanted to draw them from the hearth or the horde, and afterwards to lift them to the head. A knife, the utensil, which even savages rarely dispense with, is not necessary to the feeder on potatoes. In short, if I had a desire to keep a people in a state of semi-barbarism, or to bring a people into that state, and had the power to put my wishes in force, I should resort to no other means than that of causing potatoes to be the general food of the country. *Forethought* and *attention* cost neither labour nor money. They are the wholesome exercise of the mind, which, if these be not required of it, soon, from the love of ease, natural to mankind, loses all its powers, and the man becomes but one small degree more dignified than the beast; and, if you once get him into this state, it is your own fault, if he be not your slave.

It was my intention to make some remarks upon the letter of "OBSERVATOR," which will be inserted next week, and who answers MR. ELTON on the subject of *Christian Morality*; but I have not time at present. The ECCE HOMO, of which he speaks, I have seen, and shall offer some remarks upon another time, unless the task be undertaken very speedily by some person belonging to the *Church*, which, I am sorry to say it, seems to leave the cause of orthodoxy to be defended *solely by me*. I had a right, I thought, to expect some little assistance from the Clergy, especially as I am engaged to answer R. F. on the subject of *Tithes*. His last letter shall appear in the next Number.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 13*th Oct.* 1813.

THE PRICE OF BREAD.

SIR,—As there is not a subject of more general interest than that of my title, so there is none on which erroneous opinions are so much calculated to produce pernicious effects. It would not add to their merits to say that mine are correct, but as the publicity of them may drag forth truths which would otherwise never appear, I trust, they will meet with ready insertion in the Political Register, particularly as they appear not to be mistimed, and actually come from a party to whom its columns have been frequently open upon other subjects clearly connected therewith, if not wholly embracing the present.——The recent exertions of the Lord Mayor of London to do justice between the bakers and consumers of Bread, according to law, have called forth the severe animadversions of many, but not more on the supposed impropriety of his Lordship's conduct than upon what is deemed the actual impolicy and injustice of regulating the price of bread at all, any more than that of any other commodity. Those who are of opinion that the Assize of Bread is impolitic and unjust, must, in mine, hold it as correct, at least so far as it regards the freedom of trade, that the happiness which man promised to himself by entering into the social state is better promoted by the full enjoyment of his natural freedom as a tradesman, though not as a man, they will allow, than it can be by giving up a part of the freedom with which he would carry on his trade in the natural state, as the means of securing the property accumulated by his diminished liberty the aid and protection of

society.——Labouring as I am under the conviction that first principles are the land marks by which, though not the direct course which we must steer, to secure to ourselves all the practicable blessings of society, it cannot be my wish, by thus reverting to elementary rules, to give a false colour to, or draw inferences from the arguments of those who differ with me in opinion, which is not clearly contained in them; but in candour, can they stop short of the length to which I think they have carried their principles in opposing the assize of bread? If they cannot, am I not fairly at liberty to ask, Can we forget the very ends of society in the pursuit of interest? can we separate the man from the tradesman, and enable him to enjoy a degree of freedom in the one capacity, which he cannot possess in the other? In the pursuit of our respective trades, are we not as much indebted to the law for the security of our property as we are for the safety of our persons? And if we are, ought we to be lawless as tradesmen, and bound as men? O yes, certainly, say the opponents of the Lord Mayor; for if we are guilty of malpractices, the reaction of them will recoil upon ourselves, and force us to do justice to our customers. Granted: but will not our misconduct as men do the same thing? Were we permitted with as much legal impunity to knock each other down for the sake of plunder, as the advocates of free trade would have us at liberty to sell by short weight or charge high prices with the view of gain, can any thing be more certain than that the tendency of the violence is to produce a reaction which will sooner or later recoil upon the guilty party? If not, and bearing in mind that by short weight and high prices we can do as much injury to each other, as by blows (broken shins and broken bones excepted) the question again occurs, ought we to be lawless as tradesmen and bound as men, merely because in abstract reasoning, the reaction of our misconduct will recoil upon ourselves and do justice to the victims of our criminal licentiousness? if this question cannot be answered in the affirmative, is it not the price, quality, and quantity of every thing that ought to be regulated, and not those of Bread left to the discretions of men, who making *their power the basis of their right* by the aid of their overgrown wealth; the callousness of their feelings; their ignorance of public duty; or false notions of private interest, may bring irretrievable ruin upon millions before destruction can reach themselves, however certain it may be in the nature of things that it will ultimately overtake them?——When it is recollected, Sir, that nature has not gifted us with equal powers of self-defence, and how much the powers with which we are endowed, are, in many instances, impaired by legal restraints, is there not a something in giving this discretionary power to such men which strongly implies, not indeed that they are more vicious or ignorant than others, but that civilization itself is rather on the decline than otherwise? Yet, Sir, with that boldness, clearness, and freedom of expression for which you are so much and so justly admired, you have not hesitated to call the practice of regulating the price of bread, or of withholding this discretionary power from the bakers, "a relic of barbarism." Is it a relic of barbarism, Sir, to protect the natural and artificial weakness of different classes of the community against the natural and artificial powers of others? Granted, Sir: but of what is the disposition to withdraw that protection the relic? not, indeed, of the barbarity to which you allude, but of the superficial view, pardon me, which you have taken of the subject. For were it otherwise, the regardless of truth and morals, conductors of your country's press, would not have shrunk from the manly task of meeting you fairly in the field of argument; and the chances of your paying that attention to mine, which may be more its due on the score of my probable good intentions, than on that of any merit of its own, would be greatly diminished. But with respect to the question, whether, as the means of promoting the general interest in the greatest degree, the maximum, as you call it, ought to be removed from the price of bread, or laid on that of every thing else; greatly, on the principle of chusing of two evils the least, as I prefer the latter, and clearly as it appears to me to be recommended as such by the principles on which I have reasoned, still I would have great difficulty in expressing that preference, did I not, as I think, possess the means of demonstrating, *that as trade has gained its freedom and power, so have men lost their liberty and independence, as a* NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE. You will not consider this as a paradox when you recollect, that "the extreme of virtue terminates in vice:" or, in other words, that "two extremes produce the same effect."——It is no less our pride than our boast, that the freedom of trade, with its attendant prosperity, has been

progressively on the advance for time immemorial, particularly since the Revolution of 1688, but more rapidly so since the commencement of the present reign. This being our pride and our boast, it is of course our shame and sorrow, that our forefathers knew no more of the means of rendering themselves prosperous, happy, and free. Be it so; but on whose side does the following too low rather than too high coloured a picture of the rate at which prosperity, happiness, and freedom receded from our view, as the freedom of trade appeared to our sight, leave this shame and sorrow to dwell? That of ourselves or forefathers? for this I presume is the proper time and occasion to attempt the laying of that question to rest, if it belongs to facts to prevent it again from being agitated.

A TABLE, "exhibiting at one view the depreciation of our currency: the disproportion between the advance made in the price of labour and the fall which has taken place in the value of money, with its consequent progressive pauperism from the Revolution of 1688 to the year 1812."

Years.	Price of Bread.	Value of the pound in quartern loaves.	Average money wages of husbandry labour.	Bread wages in quartern loaves.	Poor Rates.	Number of Paupers.
1687	3d.	80	6s.	24	L 665,362	563,964
1776	6½	37	8	15	1,523,163	695,177
1786	6	40	8	16	1,943,649	818,851
1792	7	34	9	15	2,645,520	955,326
1803	10	24	10	12	4,113,164	1,039,716
1811	12	20	12	12	5,922,954	1,247,659
1812	20	12	15	9	16,492,656	2,079,432

These, Sir, are indubitable results of the freedom of trade; for had all the fundholders and all other limited annuitants, who are thus robbed and enslaved by the depreciated value of the money which that freedom brings into use, been gifted with the same power to raise their interest, incomes, or salaries, that the tradesman has to advance the price of his commodities; could this damning proof of our growing barbarity have ever stared us in the face? And with this proof at your elbows, would you, Sir, and the decryers of public corruption, free from restraint the only trade on which restraint is laid, in favour of those, who are thus by legal as well as natural inabilities deprived of the power of advancing their incomes, as the tradesman raises the price of his commodities, and that too, whilst your political opponents are honourably labouring with all their might to preserve it, and so do that justice to the superior foresight of our forefathers, to which their superior knowledge of the means of preserving the liberties and independence of their country, and wisdom in pursuing them so superiorly entitles them.—These, Sir, are the grounds on which I am inclined to prefer the maximum on the price of every thing, to the taking it from off the price of Bread; and I trust their importance is such as will induce you seriously to reconsider the doctrines which you have broached in your two last Numbers. Yet inclined as I am, to prefer this arbitrary rule to the freedom of trade on its present principles, it is by comparing its bearings with the effects which that freedom has produced that I give it the preference, loving liberty as I do my life. In the abstract, or compared with the rules of a well defined freedom, there is no human being that can abhor the maximum more than I do myself, particularly as I am confident that there are other rules by which the progress of the calamities exhibited in the foregoing table may be arrested and their return prevented. The Sun at noon day is not clearer to our sight than these rules are within our reach; and that too with no more trouble in following the one than there is in looking at the other; compared with the troubles which are borne under the present system, and those which would attend the maximum on a more extended scale. But as I have already occupied too much of your valuable time, to call your attention to this no new discovery, because it only lay buried under the ruins occasioned by the freedom of trade (if that and not anarchy be its name), I shall only, for the present, subscribe myself, Sir, yours, very respectfully,

HECTOR CAMPBELL.

Surry Street, Strand, Oct. 13, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Tuesday, Sept. 21,

(Continued from page 481.)

the cavalry charging repeatedly, while upon the other flank General Miloradovitch, with the hussars of the guards and grenadiers, forced every point which the enemy in vain attempted to defend. Upon this point above forty pieces of artillery and sixty tumbrils, much baggage, and the whole equipage of General Vandamme, fell into the hands of the Russians. Completely beaten in front at all points, and intercepted in their rear

by General Kleist, nothing was left for the enemy but a desperate and precipitate retreat.——The rout now became general, the enemy throwing down their arms in every direction, and ceasing even to resist, abandoning guns and standards, to seek for shelter in the woods.——The fruits of this victory are considerable. The General commanding, Vandamme, six other General Officers, of which are Generals Giott, Hachtox, Himberg, and Prince Reuss: sixty pieces of artillery, and about ten thousand prisoners, with six standards.——The whole of General Vandamme's staff, and many officers of rank are also among the prisoners.——The enemy continue their retreat, closely pursued by the Cossacks and allied cavalry.——Having received a severe contusion by the explosion of a shell shortly after the commencement of the action, I was under the necessity of quitting the field of battle, and am therefore indebted for the latter details which I have given your Lordship to Colonel Cooke, Aid-de-Camp to his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, whom upon this, as upon every other occasion since he has been attached to me, has afforded me great assistance.——I have now the pleasing task of calling your Lordship's attention to another most brilliant contest, which has terminated highly to the honour and advantage of the Allied Army.——It would appear, that upon the 25th Marshal Macdonald had occupied a very strong position in the neighbourhood of Jauer, in Silesia, which he had strengthened with a numerous and formidable artillery. He was, however, attacked by General Blucher upon the morning of the 26th, and after a very sharp contest, driven from every part of his position, leaving upon the ground fifty pieces of artillery, thirty-nine tumbrils and ammunition waggons, with a number of prisoners, exceeding ten thousand men.——The contest was renewed with fresh vigour, and with equal success on the part of General Blucher, the whole of the 27th and 28th, of which the result appears to be, that thirty pieces of cannon, and five thousand more prisoners, have been taken during the two last days.——According to the latest intelligence, General Blucher continued the pursuit with the utmost celerity.——General Prince Reus, whom I named to your Lordship as among the prisoners taken in the very brilliant affair of yesterday, is dead of his wounds.

I have the honour, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-Gen.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 21, 1813.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Moore, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board His Majesty's ship Vigo, off Rostock, the 2d inst.

Having reason to think that Rear-Admiral Hope may by this time have left Gottenburgh for England, I address this, direct to you, and have the honour to inform you, that on the 28th ult. General Vegesak marched out of Rostock at day-light, and drove back the enemy's advanced guard, which was within eight or nine miles of Rostock; and having received reinforcements from the Prince Royal of Sweden, after the victory of Gros-Buren, he has been able to follow them up, and force them to evacuate Wismar. I have had a dispatch from Count Walmoden, dated Woblin, the 28th ult. informing me, that in consequence of the victories of the Prince Royal of Sweden, he had been able to resume his operations against Davoust, who was still at Schwerin.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Sept. 23.

Foreign Office, Sept. 23, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and an extract, were last evening received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Edward Thornton, Esq. His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Head-quarters of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden; from his Excellency General Viscount Cathcart, K T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Head-quarters of the Emperor of All the Russias; and from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Head-quarters of the King of Prussia; dated Juterboch, Sept. 8th, and Toplitz, Sept. 1st, and 31st Aug. 1813.

Juterboch, Sept. 8th, 1813.

My Lord,—Almost immediately after the dispatch of my letters of yesterday's date from Bruck, I set off for this place, Baron de Wetterstedt having received a summons from the Prince Royal of Sweden to proceed hither.——I arrived here this morning, and have now the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the Bulletin of the operations of the day before yesterday, which have been attended with the

most important results, and which have conferred immortal honour on the Prussian army, against whom the whole force of the enemy was directed, and who sustained the unequal contest with unexampled bravery and firmness.——The accounts from the side of Mecklenburgh confirm the retreat of Marshal Davoust from Schwerin, and his passage across the Elbe, in the direction of Magdeburgh. As it is possible that this movement was combined with the attack of Marshal Ney, and was intended to act as a diversion against Berlin on the other side, Count de Walmoden has been directed to approach Magdeburgh on this side the Elbe, for the purpose of watching the movements from that fortress. The corps of General Hirschfeld has the same destination against Wittenburg, and the main body of the Allied Army will take such a position as will counteract any operations on the side of Torgau. It is understood that Buonaparté has taken the command of the army acting against General Blucher, the latter of whom has moved from Lauban to Gorlitz; but it may be equally the intention of the former to act in conjunction with the corps at Torgau against this army, and it is necessary to be prepared for such an event.——It is understood that the head-quarters will be continued in this place to-morrow; but the troops have been moved forward, and six thousand Swedish troops have been placed under the orders of General Bulow, in order to act with his corps.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD THORNTON.

Head-quarters, Juterboch, Sept. 8, 1813.

The Prince Royal transferred his head-quarters to Rabenstein on the 4th of this month.——At the moment when his Royal Highness had commenced a movement, in order to advance with the Russian and Swedish army to Roslau, with an intention of there crossing the Elbe, and of taking the direction of Leipzig, his Royal Highness learnt that the enemy, after having made a demonstration of passing over to the left side of the river, had suddenly returned into his entrenchments of Teuchel and Tragun, in advance of Wittenburg. This sudden return afforded a presumption, either that he intended to attack the combined army in their passage across the Elbe, or to make a rapid march upon Berlin.——The Prince Royal slackened the pace of his troops, and announced that it should take place the following day: two battalions, a Swedish and a Prussian, were dispatched to Roslau, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Holst, Aid-de-Camp of his Royal Highness, in order to collect all materials necessary for the construction of a bridge. ——The reports of the out-posts announced every moment that the enemy's army was marching upon Zahne. This post, occupied by the corps of General Dobschutz, belonging to the corps d'armée of General Count Tauentzein, was attacked by a very superior force, on the 4th of September, in the afternoon, and maintained its ground with great bravery.——The enemy having been repulsed in several attacks, re-entered his entrenchments before Wittenburg.——Next day, the 5th of September, most murderous attacks were renewed against Zahne, and in spite of the courage displayed by General Dobschutz, with the troops under his orders, that position was carried. The same was the case, after an obstinate resistance, with respect to the post of Seyda, occupied by the corps of Tauentzein.——The reports of the country people, of the out-posts, and of secret agents, announced positively that the enemy was taking the route of Torgau. These accounts came in every hour, only one single person brought word that the enemy intended to proceed to Juterboch.——The Prince Royal set out on the 6th of September, at three o'clock in the morning, from Rabenstein, and collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobessen. His Royal Highness was waiting the reports of General Tauentzein, whom he thought farther advanced, when he received an account from General Bulow, announcing that the whole army of the enemy was in full march upon Juterboch. The Prince Royal ordered him to attack immediately the flank and rear of the enemy, before General Tauentzein, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed by numbers. The Swedish army, who had been marching upwards of two German miles, proceeded to Juterboch, which was yet distant three German miles, and was followed by the Russian army, with the exception of the advanced guard under the orders of Count Woronzow, and of the corps of General Czernicheff, which continued before Wittenburg. The cannonade and musketry began immediately between the Prussian troops and the army of the enemy. The Russian and Swedish corps, after their forced marches, were obliged to halt a moment, in order to form in the order of battle. The Prussian army, at most forty thousand men strong, sustained, in the mean while, with a courage truly

heroic, the repeated efforts of seventy thousand of the enemy, supported by two hundred pieces of cannon. The struggle was unequal and murderous. The Prussian troops, however, were not disconcerted even for one moment, and if some battalions were obliged to yield for an instant the ground which they had gained, it was only for the purpose of re-occupying it the moment after. Whilst this was passing, seventy battalions of Russians and Swedes, ten thousand horse of both nations, and an hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack, leaving intermediate spaces for deploying. Four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry had advanced in full speed to support some points whither the enemy principally directed his attacks. Their appearance began to check him, and the appearance of the columns did the rest. The fate of the battle was instantly decided. The enemy's army beat a retreat, the cavalry charged them with a boldness resembling fury, and carried disorder into their columns, which retreated with great precipitation upon the route of Dahme.——The enemy's force was composed of four corps d'armée; those of Marshal Duke of Reggio, of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, and of that of the Duke of Padua, and of from three to four thousand Polish troops, foot and horse; the whole under the command of the Marshal Prince of Moskwa. The result of this battle, which was fought near the village of Donnewitz, by the name of which it will be called, was already, yesterday morning, five thousand prisoners, three standards, from five-and-twenty to thirty pieces of cannon, and upwards of two hundred ammunition waggons. The field of battle, and the road over which the enemy passed, are strewed with dead and wounded, and with a quantity of arms; 6,000 of the former have already been collected. Vigorously pursued, the enemy, who appeared willing to proceed to Torgau, will not reach the Elbe before he has suffered losses yet more considerable So early as yesterday evening, General Wobeser, who had been ordered to proceed with five thousand men from Luckau upon Dahme, attacked in that town, where the Prince de la Moskwa and the Dukes of Reggio and of Padua had taken up their quarters, part of the enemy's army that intended to go to Dresden, and made two thousand five hundred prisoners. Maj. Helwig, with five hundred horse, advanced upon Sweinitz and Hertzberg, and attacked a column of the enemy in the night, taking 600 prisoners and eight pieces of cannon. General Orouck, at the head of his cavalry, has made upwards of one thousand prisoners, and taken several pieces of cannon. The light troops were every moment bringing in more; and General Regnier remained a long time exposed to the fire of our sharp-shooters, in the situation of a man desirous of death. We may estimate that the enemy has lost, up to this moment, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, from sixteen to eighteen thousand men, more than fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred ammunition waggons. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded must have been immense; half of the escort of the Prince of de la Moskwa was killed; Marshal Duke de Reggio charged himself the infantry of the Count de Tauentzein. The loss of the Prussian troops is great, and amounts to between four and five thousand men in killed and wounded. However, the results of the day ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country ensured by the death of these brave men. The Swedish and Russian troops have lost little.——The corps vied with each other in courage and devotion. The heroic example shewn on this occasion by the Prussian army, is calculated to exist for ever in the annals of military fame, and to inspire all those who fight for the independence of Germany. The Russian and Swedish troops who took part in the engagement, have valiantly seconded the efforts of their brethren in arms. General Bulow has displayed the coolness and bravery of a warrior, who has no other object than the glory of his King, and the defence of his country. The officers under his command have imitated his honourable example. The Prince of Hesse Hombourg, Generals Oppen, Borstal, and Thumen, and Colonel Krafft, have distinguished themselves in the most brilliant manner.——Gen. the Count de Tauentzein has continued to give proofs of his talents and *sang froid*. He has, during nearly the whole affair, sustained most vigorous and repeated attacks of the enemy, and has been of great assistance towards the successful result of the struggle, as much by the boldness he has shewn, as by the admirable choice of his position.——The Russian General Count de Manteuffel distinguished himself in charging at the head of his brigade. Generals Woronzow, Czernicheff, Benckendorff, and Hirschfeldt, having been placed much in advance upon the right wing of the army, were not enabled

to assist in the engagement, but they have materially contributed to our success by the positions which they occupied.——Marshal the Count de Stedinck, and General the Baron de Winzingerode, the Generals, Officers, and men under their command, regretted that the precipitate retreat of the enemy at their approach, did not leave them the opportunity of rendering their destruction complete, by a simultaneous attack. The wind and the great clouds of dust for a long time prevented the Russian and Swedish armies from distinguishing each other, notwithstanding that they marched in concert, and upon the same line.——The Prince Royal has been constantly attended by his Staff. General the Baron de Aldercreutz did not leave him until he had received directions to proceed to the right of the Prussian army with several pieces of cannon, under the direction of Colonel Cardill. This General has entirely fulfilled the intentions of his Royal Highness, and he daily acquires new claims upon his esteem and friendship.——He is also much satisfied with the zeal of Generals the Baron de Tawast, and the Count de Lowenhielm. Generals the Baron de Suchtelen, de Vincent, de Krusemark, and Pozzo di Borgo, have constantly attended near the Prince Royal's person.——A solemn *Te Deum* has this day been chaunted in every corps of the army, for the advantages which have been gained by the combined forces since the commencement of hostilities.——Among the prisoners are a number of Saxons, who have requested permission to form themselves into a Saxon Legion, to fight in behalf of the independence of the Sovereigns, and of the liberty of Germany. The Prince Royal has complied with their offer, persuaded that the devotion of these brave men will prove satisfactory to the Allied Powers.

Imperial Head-quarters, Toplitz, Sept. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—The Emperor Alexander arrived at Prague on the 15th ultimo. The greater part of the Russian army in Silesia, and a corps of Prussians moved into Bohemia on the 11th and 12th ultimo, and formed a junction with the Austrian army on the 17th and following days.——On the 19th, the Austrian army, except the corps already on the frontier, passed in review before the Emperors and the King of Prussia, near Jungfern Tignitz.——On the 22d the whole of the allied army passed the frontier into Saxony, in four columns, by Petерswalde, Altenberg, Marienberg, and to the left of the last-named place.——Count Wittgenstein, on the right, having met Gouvion St. Cyr, and disposted him twice on the frontier, attacked him with the bayonet in the lines of Pirna, and seized that post the same evening.——The 23d the several columns moved towards the right to concentrate. The Imperial head-quarters being the 21st at Comotau, the 22d at Zublitz, and the 23d at Mit Seida. The 24th they were moved to Reichstadt, near Dippoldswalde.——The 25th, at three in the afternoon, the heads of all the columns were behind the heights which surround Dresden on the left bank of the Elbe. The out-posts were driven in, and the defences reconnoitred.——The city was evidently out of reach of being carried by a coup-de-main without much loss, and as there was no object to commit so great a sacrifice, it was determined not to attempt it, and the army encamped.——On the 26th, the enemy, under cover of their batteries, endeavoured to regain their out-post, which occasioned a cannonade and firing which lasted all the day: towards evening the Austrians stormed a redoubt and spiked the ordnance, and some attacks were made with a view to provoke the enemy, and if opportunity favoured, to follow him into the town.——On the 27th, the weather, which had for several days been extremely wet and cold, became uncommonly thick and bad, and it rained without intermission for more than twenty-four hours, with many heavy showers. The enemy showed himself in much greater force, several large masses of infantry appeared upon his right, supported by artillery, and by attacks from the centre, which was protected by the works.——This menace on the Austrian left, beyond Plauen, towards the vale of Tharand, was not formidable, and was opposed by a sufficient number of Austrian troops; but in the middle of the day reports arrived that Pirna was re-occupied in force, and that General Blucher, who had been engaged five times in six days, two of which were general actions, one in presence of Buonaparté on the Bober, and one in which he had taken Marshal Macdonald's baggage, had fallen back to Jauer. At the same time large columns moved out of the town, and formed masses to attack the right, as if to turn it, and to cover a movement to the left behind the Elbe. This had the appearance of the enemy declining the combat on the Leipzig or Erfurt roads, and moving to his left to gain the Bohemian line, and it was resolved

to make a flank march immediately, in five columns, by the right, to reach the important passes in that direction before him, and to choose a field of battle in Bohemia, instead of one towards the old ground of Lutzen, to which it was not certain that he would advance.——This day produced several severe partial actions, in which the enemy had many men killed and made prisoners in charges of cavalry, and it was expensive to both sides by the continued cannonade and heavy fire of musketry. The ground, which is deep clay in many places, became so wet that neither infantry nor cavalry could move without difficulty, and ordnance and all carriages sunk to the axletrees.——The Emperor was passing along the front of the line towards the right where an attack was ordered, and had stopped for a moment to direct the movement of some Russian battalions, on a ground within reach of the cross fire of two French batteries, when General Moreau, who was speaking to his Imperial Majesty, and close to him, was wounded. The shot struck one thigh, passed through the horse, and shattered the other leg, so that the General was obliged to submit to the amputation of both, considerably above the knee. It is impossible to shew more heroic magnanimity and composure than the General has displayed in every circumstance of this dreadful wound, and from that firmness and tranquillity, there is reason to hope his life may be preserved. He has been removed on men's shoulders in a litter behind the Eger. The Emperor remained by him when he fell till he was placed upon several of the Cossacks' pikes and carried off, and after the operation went with the King of Prussia to see him, and has paid him every possible attention.——Head quarters were that night at Reichstadt, near Dippoldswalde. The 28th head-quarters were at Harlenberg, and on the 29th at Duchs.——On the 29th, the enemy having moved in force, under General Vandamme, by Peterswalde to Hollendorf and Culm, attempted to attack the baggage and ordnance moving to Toplitz, by roads which unite near that place. The Russian foot guards, who had on the preceding day cut a passage for one hundred pieces of field ordnance, not one of which was lost, stopped this attack, and, supported by some part of the Russian Imperial cavalry guard and cuirassiers, kept the enemy in check the whole of the day, while the columns of baggage and artillery passed in their rear. In the evening they were reinforced by some battalions of Russian grenadiers, and a considerable force was assembled at Toplitz. Orders were sent to General Kleist, whose column of Prussian troops was meant to move in the night by Zinwalde upon Hollendorf, so as to be ready to attack General Vandamme in the rear, when the other troops should attack in front.——On the 30th, the Austrian divisions Coloredo and Bianchi were added to the troops above named, and the command was given to General Barclay de Tolly: the Emperor and the King were on the height near the field, and Marshal Prince Swartzenberg was also a spectator. The enemy was posted near Culm, a seat of the Thun family, and in the woods; the attack was made about ten with great spirit, and the enemy had already lost ground, when General Kleist appeared. He turned against the Prussians, and attempted to cut a passage with great impetuosity, but the attacks of the Allies were carried on with so much vigour, that the enemy was completely beat on all points, and driven into the woods. General Vandamme and three other Generals, one of whom is General Ackso, their best engineer, were taken in the evening; another was found, killed either on that or the preceding day; some colours were taken, with from forty to fifty pieces of cannon, and some thousand prisoners. Two other Generals and some thousand troops, who had got into the mountains, surrendered this morning near Peterswalde. The Russian guards and cavalry engaged the preceding day, had an opportunity of being again distinguished.——Head-quarters were at Toplitz on the 30th, and continued there this day.——General Wittgenstein was attacked beyond Altenburg on the 30th, and drove back the enemy. This day, it seems, the French have entirely left the mountains.——The defeat of the enemy by the Crown Prince of Sweden and by General Blucher, of which accounts were received last night, will probably influence the future movements of all the armies.——Sir Charles Stewart, who has been in every action within his reach, was unfortunately wounded yesterday, by the splinter of a shell, above the knee; the bone is not injured, and it is hoped he will not long be confined.——Upon the whole, the gallant exploits of the 29th and 30th, near Toplitz, though they were performed by a small part of the army, have had every consequence of decisive victory.——*Te Deum* was sung this morning at the head of the Russian guards. The three Sovereigns were present, and the guards marched past

them in review, in as complete order as if they had been in a camp of instruction, instead of having been employed in making forced marches, or engaging the enemy, for eighteen days without intermission. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATHCART.

Toplitz, Sept. 1, 1813.

My Lord, it is with the greatest satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that at the moment of the departure of the messenger Fisher for England, a dispatch was received from General Blucher, dated Holstein, in Silesia, the 30th ult. which informs his Prussian Majesty that he attacked the enemy again on the 29th in a position behind the Bober river, and completely defeated them, and took General Puttow, and the greatest part of Marshal Macdonald's Staff, prisoners; also two eagles, and twenty-two pieces of cannon were taken.——From the 26th to the 29th, the corps of General Blucher has taken 15,000 prisoners, and near one hundred pieces of cannon.——When the Officer, the bearer of this dispatch, left General Blucher's head quarters, on the 30th, a report was received of General Horn having entered Bruntzlaw on that day.——A great desertion had taken place in the French army, and the peasantry of Silesia began to take an active part in collecting the prisoners after the different actions.——Twenty-two pieces of cannon have been collected, in addition to the sixty alluded to, as having been taken in the action of the 30th, near Culm, and several more ammunition waggons.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Toplitz, Aug. 31, 1813.

I enclose your Lordship the only official document which I have as yet received of the late glorious successes, being a General Order of General Blucher to his army.——I also annex the official report received here from the Prince Royal of Sweden, on which, as well as upon the other very brilliant successes of the allied armies, I beg leave to offer your Lordship my sincere congratulations.

Memorandum.

By an official inaccuracy the dispatches of Sir Charles Stewart, which appeared in the Extraordinary Gazette of the 21st inst. were misdated:——That dated 27th of August, from Zehista, should be dated the 26th.—That of the 29th of August, from Altenberg, should be dated the 28th.—That of the 30th of August, from Toplitz, should be dated the 29th.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 21, 1813.

Rear Admiral Graham Moore writes to Mr. Croker from Rostock, on the 10th September, that Lieutenant-General Count Walmoden had his head-quarters at Domitz on the 8th.

LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 25, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Sept. 25, 1813.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has this day been received from Major Macdonald.

Kaliski, Dantzic Bay, Sept. 7, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that on the morning of the 29th ultimo, the Russian and French outposts having a trifling affair at the village of Langefuhr, towards evening the enemy came out in force, attacked and cannonaded the whole line. The advanced posts were at first driven in, but being reinforced, soon recovered their ground. In this affair the enemy's loss may be estimated at four hundred, that of the Allies at three hundred men.——It being deemed necessary to obtain possession of the village of Langefuhr, situated on the high road from Dantzig to Berlin, about a mile from Dantzig, and a thousand yards from the fort called the Hagelsberg, on the 2d instant, at five *p. m.* the allied troops moved in three columns to the attack. The right, consisting of two regiments of infantry, and a body of Cossacks, were to obtain possession of a hill opposite to and commanding the village, while the centre, consisting of infantry, supported by cavalry, attacked the village; and the left, also composed of infantry and cavalry, were to advance through a plain to the left of the village, to drive the enemy from a mill, in which he was entrenched.——I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the different attacks were made in the most gallant style, the enemy being completely surprised and driven from the whole of these posts. The enemy's loss on this occasion amounts to one thousand; seven officers and two hundred and fifty men of which were made prisoners. That of the Allies, in all, three hundred killed and wounded.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. MACDONALD,
Major Royal Horse Artillery.

To Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from Lieutenant-General Count Walmoden, by Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Lubbelow, Aug. 24, 1813.

On the 17th August, Marshal Davoust put himself in motion, and, penetrating the line of neutrality, attacked our advanced posts on the Stecknitz. He was employed for two days to drive them from this small river, near Buchen and Lauenburg, during which time he evacuated Lubeck, and, with a few thousand men, made at the same time a demonstration upon Mollen. The next day, 18th August, collecting his force, he moved slowly forward in two columns, the one directing its march upon Lauenburgh and Boitzenburgh, the other upon Buchen. After all observations, we could not estimate these columns less than from twelve to fourteen thousand men, and I was informed that five thousand remained in camp near Schwartzenbeck. The advance of the enemy was so cautious, that they hardly gained one German mile in a day. In this manner he arrived, on the 21st, in the vicinity of Vellahn, two miles from Hagenow, where I had assembled the whole of my cavalry, and the one-half of my infantry, with the intention of attacking, with superior force, one of the enemy's columns, should a favourable opportunity offer itself. In the mean time I engaged the enemy at Vellahn, in order to induce him to shew his force; this had the desired effect, and he appeared to have about twenty thousand men, as nearly as I could observe. The loss was on both sides some hundreds of men, and the affair having continued till night, both parties remained in their position The next day, 22d August, not wishing to engage in a decisive action, I moved to Hagenow, and from thence, the following day, to the plain of Kraack, between Hagenow and Neustadt, leaving the advanced guard at the former place, in case the enemy should advance, that I might be enabled to judge of his strength, having determined not to retreat except before much superior force. In the meantime General Vegesack, commanding the Swedish troops, not having been attacked, had made a demonstration upon Mollen, on the 21st August, with twelve hundred men. On the 23d, I learnt that the enemy, who on the 22d had not pressed much towards Hagenow, was moving upon Schwerin, having left the environs of Hagenow and Cummin. Whilst I remained in my position at Kraack, I gave orders to General Vegesack to gain one day's march upon the enemy, to be before him in case he should move from Schwerin to Gustrow and Rostock. To-day, the 24th, it is reported to me that the enemy has left Wittenburgh, and that he is moving with his whole force upon Schwerin. I conclude, therefore, that his intention is to march to Swedish Pomerania, which would decide us to follow him by cutting him off from his communication from Hamburgh, by constantly engaging and harassing his rear-guard. The enemy's march appears to me to be very hazardous; it is true that his force might decide much, but however superior he may be in point of numbers, I flatter myself that, in the position which I have occupied, I shall find the surest means to resist him as long as possible in preventing him from gaining his object, which must have failed had I risked a decisive action with a corps so inferior in numbers as mine. In fact, the enemy would have, in less than eight days, made a conquest of the two duchies of Mecklenburgh, after we should have lost a battle, or after a retreat, which we should have been forced to make to avoid an engagement?——In case the enemy's intention should not be directed upon Rostock, and that he only means to turn my right, I hope to give him a good deal to do in the intersected country of Mecklenburgh, where I shall look for a favourable opportunity to defeat him, or, by manœuvring, force him to retreat.——I shall feel highly flattered, if the measures which I have taken, and of which I have given your Lordship a detailed account, should meet the approbation of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

Head-quarters, Grabau, Aug. 26, 1813.

I beg leave to refer your Lordship to my last statement, and to inform your Lordship, that having been ordered yesterday by the Prince Royal of Sweden to join his army, with the troops here under my command, I went to Grabau for the purpose of marching to this destination.——I am happy to receive to-day the accompanying bulletin, announcing the victory which the army under the command of his Royal Highness gained over the enemy.* It is in consequence of this advantage that I have been countermanded in the forementioned march, and that instead of joining the Prince Royal, I am directed to remain with my

* The enclosure here alluded to has already been published.

troops in Mecklenburgh, for the purpose of defending this country against the enemy.

Head-quarters, Schwerin, Sept. 4, 1813.

The Prince Royal of Sweden having countermanded the order which he gave me to join him, charged me with the defence of Mecklenburgh. In consequence of which, after having allowed my troops time to concentrate, I marched the day before yesterday on Crivitz and the neighbourhood, in order that I might effect a junction with the Swedish force which covered Rostock, which was under the command of General Vegesack. It was my intention by thus gaining one or two marches upon the enemy, and masking my movement by the advanced guard of General Tettenborn, whom I left before Schwerin, and who had kept the enemy in continual alarm, to fall with a superiority on General Loisson, who was detached from Marshal Davoust, at Wismar. On my march I received the information, that the enemy (whose force consisted of eighteen thousand French, twelve thousand Danes, and one hundred pieces of cannon) had, notwithstanding his confirmed superiority, suddenly retired from Schwerin during the night of the 3d inst.; by forced marches he reached Ratzeburgh and Lubeck, and judging from the intelligence which I have received from all quarters, I can have no doubt that his intention is to join the grand French army, and to move either against the right of the Prince Royal of Sweden, or upon the rear of the grand army of the Allies on the left bank of the Elbe.' I am confirmed in this opinion by the separation of the Danish and French troops, the latter of which have moved upon Ratzeburgh, and the former upon Lubeck; under this impression I shall pass the Elbe as soon as the enemy shall have passed the Steignitz, and I shall be certain of his intentions. The news which I have just received from the head-quarters of the Prince Royal of Sweden, confirm me in the idea, that Marshal Davoust is marching to the assistance of the grand French army.——The position which the troops under my orders have occupied, has not only prevented the enemy from effecting the conquest of Mecklenburgh, but has rendered it impossible for him to attack us; and, far from having obtained the least advantage, he has been daily harassed and engaged on all sides with our light troops, and has suffered a loss of several hundred prisoners. On his retreat to Schonberg and Ratzeburgh, we have taken more than five hundred.——I hope, by passing the Elbe at Domitz, either to arrest the march of Marshal Davoust, or to find an opportunity of attacking him with advantage.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LONDON GAZETTE, Sept. 25, 1813.

Foreign Office, Sept. 25, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have this day been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from his Excellency General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of all the Russias, and Edward Thornton, Esq. His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Sweden, dated Toplitz, Sept. 7, and Juterboch, Sept. 10, 1813.

Imperial Head-quarters, Toplitz, Sept. 7, 1813.

My Lord,—In my last dispatches by the messenger Fisher, I had the honour to relate the removal of a Russian and Prussian army from Silesia to Bohemia, to form a junction with the Austrian forces at the close of the armistice, and the subsequent march of the combined forces of the three Powers to a position on the left bank of the Elbe, close to Dresden; also, that, for reasons therein stated, the allied army made a flank-march to the right, repassed the Bohemian frontier, and assembled near this place, where the first corps of the French army, under General Vandamme, having mistaken the object of the Allies, and having advanced into the Bohemian territory on the left bank of the Elbe, in order to attack the line of march, was cut off. That a Russian corps, under Count Ostermann Tolstoy, of which some regiments of the Russian Imperial Guards formed the principal part, had gained immortal honour in stopping and bearing the whole weight of General Vandamme's corps, until on the following day, by an able disposition, the whole of this French force was routed, cut off, and dispersed in the woods; all its Generals, its cannon, and several of its eagles and colours being taken.——In the meanwhile, the Prince Royal of Sweden having out-manoeuvred the attack directed upon Berlin, and having gained a decided victory on the 24th ult. with his left wing, and followed up his successes by advancing both his wings and his centre, as far as circumstances would permit, has every where de-

feated the enemy and taken his cannon. And General Blucher, with the Russian Generals Langeron and Sachen, having destroyed the whole corps of Macdonald, and parts of other corps united to him, retiring only when the enemy opposed very superior forces, has driven the enemy across the Bober, the Queiss, and the Neisse, and has compelled Buonaparté to come out a second time to meet him near Bautzen, having taken upwards of eighteen thousand prisoners, and one hundred pieces of cannon, with stores and baggage in proportion. ——General Benigsen, with the first army of reserve, exceeding eighty thousand men, has crossed the Oder, and is advancing to the Bober, his advanced guard being already beyond the Katzbach.——In the meanwhile, the supplies which were required after the very great exertions made by the army, in twice passing the mountains during such unseasonable weather, having arrived, the forces which have been at head-quarters are again in motion.——The Russians and Prussians, under General Barclay de Tolly and Count Wittgenstein, with several Austrian divisions, have re-entered Saxony, by Peterswalde and Marienberg, and their advanced posts are again within sight of Dresden.——Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, with a great corps of the Austrian army, has prolonged his flank march by Aussig and Leutmeritz, on Zwickau and Gabel, which will throw a redundancy of force on the enemy's right in Lusatia.——Both their Majesties the Emperors, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, remain at present in this town.——It is with deep concern that I have to report the death of General Moreau, which took place at Laun on the morning of the 2d instant, while dictating a letter, full of gratitude and manly sentiment, to the Emperor.——His remains are embalmed, and on the road to St. Petersburgh, where they will be interred with every military honour.——Sir Charles Stewart, Count Ostermann Tolstoy (who has lost his left arm), and most of the wounded Officers, are doing well.—I have the honour to be, &c.

CATHCART.

The Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c.

Copy of a Dispatch from Edward Thornton, Esq. to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Juterbock, 10th Sept. 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the combined army in Bohemia has, on the evening of the 4th of September, and on the 5th made a movement in advance; and that it appears from the accounts received here to be the intention of the allied Sovereigns in that quarter to recommence offensive operations.——This movement has, it should seem, already had the effect of recalling Buonaparté from the attack which he meditated against the army of General Blucher, who had fallen back before the superior forces of the former, and has compelled him to return towards the Elbe. General Blucher, in consequence, had himself resumed his former movements, and was already engaged in harassing the rear of the enemy in their retreat.——It should seem, by the accounts from the out-posts, and from the flying parties of this army, that the French are withdrawing their heavy artillery across the Elbe, towards Leipzig and Erfurt, which seems to indicate the intention of quitting entirely the right bank of that river.——The light cavalry of this army has penetrated on the left as far as Muhlberg on the Elbe, in the neighbourhood of which a body of two hundred Cossacks made about forty prisoners.——The head-quarters of the Prince Royal still remain here; but it seems probable that they will be removed to-morrow nearer to the Elbe, and with a view to the passage of that river.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD THORNTON.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

P. S. I annex a printed copy of the last bulletin. E. T.

BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Juterboch, Sept. 10, 1813.

The results of the battle of Dennevitz become more important every day beyond what might have been expected; already we reckon more than ten thousand prisoners, eighty pieces of cannon, upwards of four hundred ammunition waggons, three colours, and one standard, taken.——The enemy's army, after having been driven from Dahme by General Wobeser, hastened its retreat upon Torgau. Our light troops have never ceased to pursue it, making prisoners and taking ammunition waggons and baggage. The enemy has destroyed the bridges upon the Elster, in the neighbourhood of Annaburg and Hertzberg. The cavalry may easily ford it, but the bridges must be re-established for the artillery. Eight hundred prisoners were taken close under the tête-de-pont of Torgau; and several battalions of the ene-

my's army, not being able to enter Torgau, had thrown themselves on Muhlberg, and taken the direction of Dresden.——In the night between the 2d and 3d September, Marshal the Prince of Eckmuhl evacuated Schwerin with his whole corps. As he occupied a very strong position, this movement has been caused undoubtedly by the successes of the combined army on the side of Saxony. The enemy had previously the means of making his preparations for retreat, and was therefore enabled to carry off his artillery and baggage, and besides gained a considerable advance on the corps of Generals Wolmoden and Vegesack, the first of whom was posted at Crevitz, and the latter near Warin. The corps of the Prince D'Eckmuhl marched in two columns on the same line, by the routes of Gadebusch and of Rhena, to within a league of Ratzeburgh: the division of General Loisson retired at the same time from Wismar by Gravesmohlen to Schonberg. At this place the Danish troops separated from the French; the latter retiring upon Ratzeburgh, and the Danes continuing their march to Lubeck, where they left a garrison, and encamped behind Oldesloh. The whole French corps d'armée have retired behind the Stecknitz, where it occupied entrenchments, after destroying all the means of passing the rivers.——The loss of the enemy in this precipitate retreat amounts already to more than one thousand men, five hundred of whom have been taken prisoners. The Cossacks, the corps of Lutzow and of De Reiche, with the Hanseatic cavalry, have had many encounters with the enemy's rear-guard. Gen. Vegesack continued the pursuit even under the cannon of Lubeck. Major Arnim, who had distinguished himself in the command of the Hanseatic cavalry, was there killed by a ball. The Mecklenburgh chasseurs surprised a Danish squadron near Dassow, and occasioned a considerable loss.——Gen. Vegesack has resumed his position at Grevesmohlen. General Count Wolmoden has re-entered Schwerin, and has since marched to Domitz, where he has constructed a bridge to be ready to cross the Elbe, in case of any part of the enemy's corps d'armée being detached to the left bank. General Tettenborn has his advanced posts at Boitzenburg.——The Danes have committed great excesses in Mecklenburgh, which is the more remarkable, as they are commanded by a Prince of Hesse, whose family has been dispossessed by the Emperor Napoleon, notwithstanding which, he supports that cause, by serving under the Prince D'Eckmuhl.——Witteuberg is strictly watched by General Czernitscheff. Different detachments observe Magdeburgh on the right bank of the Elbe. The remains of the corps of General Girard re-entered it by the left bank. The excursions of the garrison are now limited to the cutting of wood in the forest of Biederitz, with the sole object of ruining that forest which belongs to the King of Prussia.——The advanced posts of Tauentzien's corps occupy Senftenberg, Elsterwerda, and Ruhland, and push parties as far as Hoyerswerda, and near to Grossenhayn. The Russian light troops are stationed along the Elbe as far as Muhlberg, and strengthen Torgau very much. Some detachments of Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, are gone to the environs of Bautzen, in order to reconnoitre the armies of Generals Benigsen and Blucher.——The army under General Vandamme was destroyed on the 30th of August, on the road from Toplitz to Peterswalde. General Vandamme himself was taken prisoner, with five other Generals, and upwards of fifteen thousand men; eighty pieces of cannon were taken. After this brilliant success, the grand combined army of Bohemia again debouched on the 5th September in Saxony, by Peterswalde and Altenberg, upon Pirna and Dippoldswalde. Some strong detachments, supported by large bodies who are kept in reserve, have been sent upon the rear of the enemy, in order to cut off his communications. During this interval, the Emperor Napoleon had gone, with his guards and some other troops, a second time towards Silesia. The Prince of Moskwa was to have covered his left flank; and after having conquered the army under the orders of the Prince Royal, to have marched with a part of his force upon the Neisse. The events of the 6th deranged these projects. The army of the Prince of Moskwa has been dispersed. It has lost two-thirds of its artillery, all its ammunition, its baggage, and upwards of twenty thousand men. The Emperor Na-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

INVASION OF FRANCE.——This phrase has a very flattering sound; and, I must say, that, for once, I partake in the joy which the "*loyal*" are expressing at the event. The *reason* of my joy is this: that we shall now know what it has, for years, been so necessary for us to know: to wit, *whether the people of France be, or be not, well affected towards their Emperor.*——It is of the very first importance for us to have this fact settled beyond the chance of error; because, I hold it to be a fact beyond dispute, that, if Napoleon have the cordial support of the people of France, nothing will shake him, and that he will overcome all his enemies.——Now, then, we shall have the *proof* as to this all-important point.——We have been told, that the people of France were impatient under the yoke of the "Tyrant;" that the conscription drove them almost to madness; that they were, in short, ready to revolt at the hazard of their lives.——They are *now* in no danger, if they choose to revolt; if they choose to join the invaders, they are perfectly safe; nay, there can be no doubt, that, if the people of France *wish* for *deliverance*, they will now be delivered.——If, therefore, they do not join our army; if they do not welcome Lord Wellington, they do not wish for deliverance; and that, wholly unaccountable as it may seem, they like the government of Napoleon.——This, I look upon as the greatest advantage that can attend the invasion of France; for, unless *the people* of France join us, that invasion must, after all, end in *a retreat*, and a retreat will be worse than if we had not been able to enter France with our troops.——Whether they *will* join us, is a question on which we need not hazard any opinion, seeing, that it *must* be decided in a very few weeks.——The *diversion* which may, by this movement, be made in favour of the Allies, can be of little use; besides, that the retreat of our army out of France will produce a re-action in the German calculations, which always turn upon the prospect of success that each power has.——It is said, that the Bavarians are turning against Napoleon; and, if they did not, under a prospect of *gaining* by the change, they must have changed their *nature*; for, who ever yet saw a German Prince act, for a single hour, upon any other principle than that of being on the *winning side*?——The worst feature in the circumstances of Napoleon is, that it is a *German Princess*, one of that haughty family, under the sway, and from the intrigues of whom, the French people have suffered such miseries and insults; that it is one of this very family, who is now his agent in calling forth the zeal and courage of the people of France. It is one of the *House of Austria*; it is *a niece of Marie Antoinette*, who is now calling on them to shed their blood for the glory of *her husband*. This fact is quite sufficient to awaken thoughts and to rouze feelings, calculated to obstruct the views of Napoleon. It is the Austrian race, that race so fatal to France, for which the gallant, and generous, and forgiving people of France are now called upon to shed their blood.——The Empress says not a word to them about fighting for freedom. She might have given them a long list of the advantages they enjoyed, in this respect, over the subjects of the German Sovereigns; she might have told them of what they have gained by the revolution; she might have dwelt with great force on the miseries and indignities they formerly had to endure. But, she seems to have avoided all such topics with great care; and to have endeavoured to persuade them, that the return of "*anarchy*" was all they had to dread.——Napoleon, in an hour most fatal to his fame, seems to have conceived the idea of handing his power down to his *heirs*. His weakness as to *family* became conspicuous in the appointing of his *brothers* to be kings, who have all proved unworthy of the preference he gave them; and, in two out of the four instances, they have added ingratitude to imbecility.——How many men have split upon this rock! In every state of life, if a man stands in need of persons to assist him in any design of magnitude, ninety-nine times out of a hun-

dred *relations* are the very worst persons for him to select. For, in the first place, he has so small a circle to select in; in the next, *he is blinded* by his partiality; supposing his relations to be naturally well endowed, they take liberties which strangers to his blood never think of taking; and, upon any reproof, they at once become disobedient.——But, his grand error was in choosing a wife out of one of the old Royal Families. Having *a wife at all* was bad for a man like him, who should have seen, that it was impossible for him to make sure of the *inheritance* of his power any more than of the inheritance of his mind. But, if he must have a wife. If he must be gratified with the whim of becoming a *Papa*, he should have avoided, as he would have avoided the assassin's stab, the embraces of a Royal Bride, and especially one of that race, which had so injured and insulted France.——He seems to have conceived the notion of reigning *in concert* with the old Families of the continent. Having humbled them; having put himself at their head, he seems to have thought, that he was safe in ruling after their manner. Hence, not a word ever escapes his lips in favour of freedom. He never talks of fighting for the independence and liberties of France. But dwells upon the *glory of the empire*, which is something very equivocal.——Were he not *married*, and married to such a person, I should be in hopes of seeing him return to his former principles, seeing that he is never to be forgiven by his new set of friends; but, with an Austrian wife at his elbow, he must, I think, be expected to go on, and endeavour to support himself as a mere wearer of a crown.——But, let us suppose the case of his government being overturned, and that it must be if *the people* decide against him; the next question is, *what will supply the place of his government*? ——Will the old family return? Will France be parcelled out amongst her enemies? Will she again become a Republic? ——I think the latter the most likely; because, if *the people* rise against his government, it must be a rising occasioned by his oppressions; and, it would be strange indeed if the same people who rose against his oppressions, should not be ready to resist all other oppressors.——It is, perhaps, too much to hope; but, it is just *possible*, that we may yet see the people of France in the enjoyment of that liberty, for which they first girded on the sword, and in the cause of which they have shed such torrents of blood.——Far is this, however, from being the wish of the enemies of Napoleon. They wish to see the people of France *slaves*. They are afraid of his power; they hate him for what he has done in humbling them: but, they would far prefer seeing him the master of all Europe, and being themselves his mere vassals, to seeing the people of France in the enjoyment of *real liberty*, an example too terrible for them to think of without horror. Of this the people of France are well apprized; and, therefore, it is that they quietly submit to the sway of Napoleon. There must be millions in France, who wish to be free: the few years of Napoleon's reign cannot have extinguished the spirit of 1795. The mass of *mind* is, doubtless, for freedom; but, it is not to be had without *another revolution*, and another foreign war. The enemies of Napoleon are more the enemies of freedom than they are of him; and, therefore, nothing is to be gained, by the people of France, in the overthrow of Napoleon.——Those who are at war against him, call him *ambitious* and *tyrannical*; but you never hear them express any desire to see the people of France *free*. If they were to do this, their own poor subjects might be astonished at the singularity of their love of liberty. If he would give them what they deem their share of power and dominion, they would gladly leave the people of France as they are. Luckily the ambition of Napoleon comes in here to favour, in this way, the cause of freedom, and to give it yet some little chance of being, at last, successful.

Ecce Homo.——This is the title of a book, lately published in London, purporting to be a *true* history of Jesus Christ and of the Christian Religion.——In another part of this Number, the reader will find a letter upon the subject of this book; and, though I do not agree with the writer in all his opinions, I must confess, that I could wish to see the book receive *an answer*. It is a work possessing great *literary* merit. It deals more in matters of *history* than in matters of speculation; and exhibits to the view of a reader a great mass of information.——I am very sorry that it has not been attacked by the arm of *reason* instead of the arm of the *law*. On whose mind can such a work produce an evil impression? Certainly on the mind of no one incapable of *reading* and of *understanding what he reads*. This being taken for granted, the ready way of combatting the errors of the work is, to show

those errors to be errors, which could be no difficult matter, because the same person who read the book, would naturally read its refutation.—Whereas to suppress the work by force may lead some persons to suspect, *that it is not in the power of any one to answer it.* The world will naturally reason thus upon the subject : "either the "work is bottomed on truth, or it is not ; "if the latter, it is easy to show the false-"hood of it : if the former, it is hard that "the author or publisher should be pu-"nished."——For my part, I think, that a *Censorship of the Press* would, especially in religious matters, be preferable to what is called its *freedom.* If the Bishops, or any body else, had the authority to prevent certain books from being published, nobody would be exposed to suffer for publishing. Men differ very widely upon religious subjects; and, if some are to be punished for promulgating their opinions, while others are not, who knows when he is safe ?——There is an *Artillery Officer* (I forget his name) who has lately very gallantly volunteered in defence of Christianity, in a couple of volumes, the matter of which is very weighty indeed, who says, that it was "*highly necessary*, that the meaning of "the Scriptures *should be difficult to be* "*understood.*" Admitting this fact, does it not follow, that for men to entertain different notions about it is a benefit?——But, what I think most worthy of public attention is this: that the *Unitarians*, or, indeed, any body else, may now by law, do as much against Christianity as the author of Ecce Homo has done, provided they do it in a certain way.——Any man may now openly deny the fact, *that Christ was the Son of God.*—He may openly deny, that Christ was begotten by God on the body of a Virgin, through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost. And, what can any man do more towards the demolishing of the Christian System? The author of Ecce Homo does not deny, that there was such a person as Jesus Christ about 1800 years ago; but he denies, that he had any thing of the nature of God in him any more than the rest of us, and he makes use of reasoning and facts to induce his readers to be of this opinion.——So that, it appears to me, that the Unitarians are precisely upon the same footing with this writer; and, if men are, by law, authorized to deny the *divinity* of Christ, what more can the law authorize them to do; or, rather, how is it *possible* for them to offend against the law in writing against the Christian System?——I said from the beginning, that Mr. Smith's Bill was a blow at the very *basis of Christianity;* for, what is the basis of it? In few words, the Christian System is this:—That the Maker of all things, having, many thousands of years back, created a Man and a Woman, and placed them in a very delightful garden, told them, that they might eat of all the fruits thereof except of the fruit of one particular tree; that the Woman was tempted by the Devil to taste that forbidden fruit; that she tempted her husband to do the same; that God thereupon drove them out of the garden; that they and all their posterity did, by that act, justly incur the penalty of being burnt in fire to all eternity; that God, in his infinite mercy, found out a way of satisfying his justice without enforcing this tremendous penalty; that he found one, who offered up his life as an atonement; that this was his own Son, who alone could be a sufficient sacrifice; that, in order to effectuate this purpose, a Virgin, viz. the blessed Mary, was chosen as the means of bringing the Son of God into the world; that the Holy Ghost was employed in the work of impregnation; that Mary, who was still a Virgin, was with child, in consequence of this divine intercourse; that Joseph, who was now become the husband of Mary, and who, for some cause not stated, had had no consummation with her, perceiving her with child, was minded to put her away; that the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and assured him, that his wife was still worthy of his love and esteem, for that her pregnancy arose not from any connexion with man, but from the cause, stated above; that, in due time, Mary was delivered; that Jesus Christ was the issue; that he, the Son of God, was put to death by the Jews at Jerusalem; that his life was accepted by his Father, as an atonement for the sins of the world in which he had been murdered.——This is the Christian system; and this the Unitarians deny. They deny openly, that Christ was any thing more than *a mere man.* The author of Ecce Homo is profane enough to say, that he was the son of some *soldier*, and is pleased to be jocular upon the manner in which Joseph was satisfied of his wife's innocence. I greatly blame this levity of expression; and, as a churchman, hold the opinion in abhorrence; but, in real substance, what *difference* is there between this writer and the Unitarian Preachers? If Christ was *not* the Son of God, what is it to us whose son

he was? If he was a *mere man*, he might as well be the son of a *soldier* as of any body else.——The Jews, who have the traditionary impudence to say that our blessed Saviour was an artful impostor do not go an inch beyond the Unitarians. The latter say, indeed, that he was a very *good* man; but, they deny all about his *origin;* they make him the son of a *Carpenter*, and, if that had been the fact, as it was not, he would have been an impostor and his Apostles, who wrote the Gospels, most impudent liars.——The author of ECCE HOMO has, at any rate, the merit of being consistent. He denies miracles, resurrection and all; whereas the Unitarians, joining the utmost degree of absurdity with the utmost degree of profanity, deny all that St. Matthew says, all that he so explicitly records, about the impregnation of Mary, while they choose to believe, and to send others to the devil for not believing, that thousands were fed upon a little fish or two and three or four barley loaves, and that the crumbs filled several baskets. They will not believe in the mystery of the Holy incarnation; and yet they will believe in this miracle of the loaves and fishes.——They tell you with as much positiveness as the author of ECCE HOMO, that it is *inconceivable*, that God should have recourse to such means; that the maker of the world should, through any instrumentality, have intercourse with a woman; that, even supposing this to have been the case, it is *inconceivable* how the Son could be God himself; and that, if he was God himself, it is *inconceivable* how the world should have existed while God was dead upon the cross, and they pretend to be horrified at the idea of the creatures' killing the creator; their whipping him, mocking him, and hanging him up betwixt a couple of thieves.——Oh, the modest gentlemen! It is *inconceivable* is it, and is it any *more inconceivable* than the *miracles* and the *resurrection?* Yet, in these they profess to believe!——Why, these are all *mysteries*. As mysteries they are given to us by our Church; and as mysteries we must receive them. We cannot *conceive* how they could be; but, as the Major of Artillery very shrewdly observes, that is an argument in support of their divine origin rather than otherwise, because it shews that they are above our mundane comprehension.——They ask us Trinitarians, *why* God should have died; *why* he could not have saved men from everlasting flames without first letting men add the murder of himself to all the rest of their sins; *why* he did not come at once and assume the form of man without the tedious process of incarnation, pregnancy, delivery, and growing up to manhood? In answer, we might ask them, *why* a chicken came out of an egg instead of being born as puppies are; *why* trees do not have their fruit at once and ripe too, without going through the process of budding and blooming; *why* they themselves, the Unitarians and Mr. Ecce Homo, were not made without the aid of mothers; and, indeed, *why* they were made *at all;* it being to most people, I believe, quite *inconceivable* what use they can be of in this world.——When Mr. Ecce Homo (who *has* some talent) has answered to these *whys*, I shall think it worth while to attend further to his.——Yet, I will say of him, that he is *consistent*. He disbelieves all the whole of the Book: Old Testament as well as New. That is to say, he treats the whole *as fable*, or the work of *imposture*. This, though I must consider it as profane, is *fair;* because he exposes himself boldly to all the numerous proofs that we are able to bring forth against him. But, the Unitarians, who are the same with the Socinians, whom Dryden compared to the *Fox*, slyly pretend to believe in *part*. They have not the hardihood to deny the whole; they dare not deny that Jonah lay days and nights in a whale's belly, that Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt for her impertinent curiosity, or that Balaam's ass spoke; nay, they do not venture to deny, that the Devil took Christ up to the pinnacle of the Temple; these things they do not dare to deny; and yet they must cavil and carp at the divine impregnation of the blessed Virgin Mary, though, if the context be regarded as truth, and the divine impregnation as falsehood, it is manifest that that Holy personage must have been what I will not name, but what the reader will at once perceive.——It really fills one with horror barely to think of the conclusions, to which the opinions, now openly promulgated by Mr. Belsham and his heretical sect, inevitably lead; and, though I am, I trust, behind no man, in respectful submission to the laws of my country, I must repeat an expression of my regret, that an act of parliament should have been passed, which seems to invite men openly to proclaim, that the fundamental doctrine of our religion is false.——It has hitherto been regarded as horrid blasphemy to say, that Mary was *not a Virgin* when she bore Christ. But

the fact is now openly asserted by this sect of wonderful impudence. Why, if she was not a *Virgin*, what was she? for we know from St. Matthew that she was *married* and that she had *not consummated with her husband*.——Talk of *libels*, indeed? If this be not a libel, it is hard to say what is.——Mr. Belsham and his sect do not, indeed, in express terms, call the Virgin Mary names; but, they state as facts what inevitably leads to the libellous conclusion. We *know*; every reader knows, that she had not known her husband, and that she was with child; and then these sectarians come and tell us, that her child was not the Son of God; that she became pregnant by no supernatural means. The conclusion is manifest. And yet Mr. Smith tells us, that he, in getting his bill passed, met with no obstruction from the Bishops! I am in hopes, and, indeed, I must believe, that their Lordships did not perceive the end, to which such a measure must finally lead. Why need any one wonder now at the appearance of Ecce Homo? Mr. Belsham asserts in the things, which he ludicrously calls *sermons*, as much as is asserted by the author of Ecce Homo; for it is impossible for any one to assert *more* than Mr. Belsham, of whose "*sermons*" I shall take more particular notice another time.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, 21th Oct. 1813.

Mr. Elton and Morality.

Mr. Cobbett,—Having carefully attended to all that you have lately written and published on the subject of the Trinity and Tithes, I was somewhat surprised to find you charged, in a letter subscribed "Charles A. Elton," inserted in your Register of the 18th instant, with appearing "to countenance Paine's book," and with wishing to "take religion from the people."—Surely your correspondent, Mr. Elton, is not aware how warmly you have of late advocated the cause of Mother Church, and so ably defended its doctrines, even against the enactments of Parliament, otherwise he would not have associated your religious opinions with those of Paine, a man who did more to overthrow the established religion, and to subvert the divine rights of the clergy, than any that ever wrote before him. It was a strange way indeed of apologizing for past injuries, and of proposing a general amnesty, to bring a new charge against you of so inconsistent a nature. It is to be hoped, however, that Mr. Elton will as readily discover and acknowledge his error in this particular, as he did in the former instance. But though the imputation of favouring the doctrines of Paine may not be applicable to *you*, and though *you* are evidently satisfied there can be no genuine morality unless it flows from a belief of Christianity, it is to be hoped, as you have allowed this statement to appear in your journal, that you will give equal publicity to the sentiments of those who differ in opinion from you and from Mr. Elton. Under that impression, I beg leave to make a few remarks on what, as laid down by that gentleman, appears to me to be a very fallacious, and, in many respects, a very pernicious doctrine. The part of Mr. Elton's letter to which I allude, is where he says,—"I am one of those who "think, that the experiment might be "safely tried of allowing the scriptures silently to steal their way among the natives (of India):—farther I would not "go. I regretted that you should appear "to countenance Paine's book. *If you "take religion from the people, what do "you propose to give them in stead?—Neither laws nor systems of philosophical "morals have the same mental influence "and restraint.*"

I know of no plea of the opposers of religious inquiry that has been managed with more dexterity, or crowned with greater success, than the one here resorted to by Mr. Elton; and I am free to confess, if it be well founded; if mankind are indebted to the Christian religion for the only pure system of morality; I would then feel myself called upon to acknowledge, that it would be highly criminal to "take religion "from the people," and that "neither "laws nor systems of philosophical morals "have the same mental influence and restraint."—But, however plausible this system may appear, and however much it may obtain, I am persuaded that it rests upon no solid basis. In the first place, it supposes, that the moral duties inculcated by Jesus Christ were peculiar to, or originated with himself; whereas it appears to me manifest, that he merely taught those precepts which had been promulgated many centuries before his birth, by those very philosophers and law-givers, of which Mr. Elton makes so little account. Secondly, I consider it equally clear, on contrasting the moral conduct of the people who existed before the coming of Christ, with that of those who afterwards lived under the im-

mediate influence of his doctrines, that the morality of the gospel has not been more conspicuous than the morality taught by what are usually denominated the heathen philosophers.—If I am successful in making out these propositions, I think I shall have gone a great length in setting aside the exclusive claim of Christianity, or, indeed, of any religion, to the only pure system of morality. Having so far prepared the way, I shall then meet the question proposed by Mr. Elton—"If you take religion "from the people, what do you propose to "give them instead?" and as I design in the sequel to shew that religion has been injurious to society, I am not aware that the difficulty of finding a proper substitute will be so great as your correspondent seems to think.

With regard, then, to the first proposition, that "Jesus Christ merely taught those precepts which had been promulgated, many centuries before his birth, by those very philosophers and law-givers of which Mr. Elton makes so little account," that gentleman will find I am sufficiently borne out in this statement, if he attends a little to the following extracts from the writings of a few of these celebrated authors.—Upwards of 600 years before the Christian era, Confucius inculcated the "doing unto another what you would they should do unto you," "desire not the death of an enemy," and "never revenge injuries."—Pythagoras taught, "let men revenge themselves on their enemies only by labouring to convert them into friends."—Socrates maintained that "it was not lawful for a man who had received an injury to revenge it by doing another injury."—Aristotle and Epictetus recommended "chastity of speech." Menander said, "that a good man could never consent to debauch a virgin or commit adultery."—Tibullus said, "*casta placent superis.*"—Mark Anthony "thanks the gods that he had preserved his chastity in his youth."—Father Tanchard informs us, "that the Siamans forbid not only dishonest actions, but also impure desires."—The Romans likewise enacted laws against adultery. From these facts, which, if necessary, could be greatly multiplied, it is evident that the principal moral precepts of Christianity, which have been so often and so exultingly appealed to as proofs of its divine origin, and of its vast superiority over all other religions, were inculcated and esteemed many hundreds of years before the birth of Christ. At a very early period, indeed, of the church, it was shewn by Celsus, in his dispute with Origen, that the best maxims which the Gospels attribute to Jesus, were taken from Plato; particularly the one which says, "that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." it appears also, that several of the fathers of the church believed that Christ framed his morality after the example of the Therapeutes, or Essenians, a sort of Monks or Jewish Cœnobites, of whom Philo gives a particular account. "The "Therapeutes quitted father, and mother, "wife, children, and property, in order to "apply themselves to contemplation. "They explained the scripture in a manner "purely allegorical; they abstained from "all oaths; they lived in common; they "suffered with resolution the misfortunes "of life, and died with joy."

It is, perhaps, proper I should here acknowledge, that I have been greatly assisted in my researches for the above facts, by the perusal of a work lately published by Mr. Eaton, for which I find he is about to be visited with another *ex officio* information. This work is entitled, "ECCE HOMO! *or a Critical Inquiry into the History of Jesus Christ; being a rational Analysis of the Gospels.*" Whether it deserves the title of *rational*, or not, may be a question with some. But leaving this point to be settled by those who are interested in the suppression of works of this description, I am glad to find that the whole tendency of the argument maintained in *Ecce Homo*, is to unfetter the human mind, and decidedly to inculcate a pure system of morality; not, indeed, upon theological enigmas, but upon "the nature of man, and his true relations with the beings of his species."

I am aware of having already encroached too far upon the limits of your invaluable Journal; but I hope you will still farther indulge me, by permitting me to conclude this letter with the following extract, in support of my argument, from a book which, scarcely before it issues from the press, has excited so much hatred and indignation.—"Were we to believe Chris- "tians, there could have been no true mo- "rality on earth until the coming of the "founder of their sect. They represent "the world as having been plunged in "darkness and vice at all times and places "where Christ was unknown. Yet mo- "rality was always necessary to mankind; "for without it no society can exist. We

"find that before the time of Christ, there "were flourishing and virtuous nations, "and enlightened philosophers, who continually reminded mankind of their duties. The precepts of Socrates, Confucius, and the Gymnosophists of India, "are by no means inferior to those of the "Messiah of the Christians. We find "amongst heathens innumerable instances "of equity, humanity, temperance, disinterestedness, patience, and meekness, "which flatly contradict the pretensions of "the Christians, and prove, that before "Christ was known on earth, virtues flourished which were as real as those he "came to teach."—*Ecce Homo*, p. 330.

With your permission, I shall resume this subject, and am respectfully yours,

OBSERVATOR.

Kent, 25*th Sept*. 1813.

TITHES.

Sir,—In my former letters I have endeavoured to point out the injustice of the tithe system, and its oppressive operation on the agriculturists of this kingdom; its difference from either ground rent, rent charge, or property descending by inheritance, and supported by the equity of those laws which have obtained the universal consent of mankind. I was naturally led to the subject of a remedy, and was going at once to treat of the expediency of a general commutation; but on referring to my first letter, I find two of the subjects proposed for discussion now remain for examination:—1st. That the tithe system on the Church is no part of the Constitution. The Constitution of Great Britain is described by Blackstone, De Lolme, and others, to consist of King, Lords, and Commons, having certain powers invested in them to legislate and govern for the benefit of these realms; and when I asserted that the Church was not part of the Constitution of this country, I have every reason to think I was correct; for, referring to the great authority of Blackstone's Commentaries, I find it stated, vol. i. p. 98 and 160, "The power and "jurisdiction of Parliament have sovereign "and uncontrolable authority in the making, enlarging, restraining, and repealing "of laws concerning matters of all possible "denomination, ecclesiastical or temporal." Dr. Paley, also, is of opinion, "that, to consider the Church as an ally "only of the State, in converting it into "the means of strengthening, or diffusing influence, or regarding it as a support of regal, in opposition to popular "forms of government, have served only to "debase the institution, and to introduce "into it numerous corruptions and abuses."

These quotations will be sufficient to point out (if estimable character and great learning stand for any thing) the difference between the Constitution, and the laws made and enacted by the constituted authorities of these realms.

These quotations also establish the right of Parliament to alter, model, or amend any or every part of the Church at its pleasure. The legislature has always acted in this manner, notwithstanding the efforts of churchmen to establish a contrary opinion. In the last Session, Parliament granted the Curates an additional salary from the pockets of the people; and if it has the power to grant, it has the power to resume, when it shall think fit or expedient. If, instead of granting this money from the pockets of the people, it had decreed it to be paid by those who employed the Curates, would any one have questioned its power or authority so to do, or its wisdom and justice in the determination? It must be obvious, if the legislature has the power to regulate in one instance, it has in all and every thing relating to the Church or its revenues. ——The enormous demand of tithe-gatherers; that their influence has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, is the next assertion I have pledged myself to prove.

When it is considered the law defines predial tithe "to be such as arises merely "and immediately from the ground,"* it is somewhat extraordinary that the value of tithe should be considered in proportion to the crops growing on the ground, raised at an enormous expense by the agriculturist. Such a construction, persisted in and acted upon, must be fatal to the landed interest; and it is truly surprising they are not in the utmost state of alarm. If it is contended, that the revenues of the Clergy should advance in proportion to the rent of land, the position is readily admitted; while the law stands as it is, there would be an appearance of justice in such a claim, and the value of tithe might be properly defined to be one-tenth of the rent, and the proper sum paid for its redemption would be one-tenth acre, or the value of it in money. This used to be considered satisfactory in the days of the papal church; but since

* See Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. iii. p. 408.

this new-fangled notion of valuing tithe in proportion to the *crops on the ground* has been acted on, modern writers advise the Clergy never to take less than one-third, or half the rent, as a commutation for tithe. The consequence of this must be, if tithe is commuted for in land, the landed interest must be dispossessed of one-fifth, one-fourth, or more of their land, to redeem the tithe: and here it is, that my complaint is against a mode of valuation so novel, so contrary to legal definition, "merely and immediately "arising from the ground," and so destructive to the landed interest, and, if I have not misunderstood your Register of June the 5th, there recommended. I am utterly astonished that you should recommend or countenance such a proceeding, which must in its operation place the landed interest in a state of vassalage to the Church, and which would aggrandize the Church, or lay impropriators in a manner unprecedented, unknown, or unheard of. And if the Government was to form a commutation of this sort, the landed proprietor would be mulcted of a large share of land, under pretence of the *right or just claim of tithe.* ——If it is asked, Would you not, then, commute or compound for your tithes, or would you abolish them altogether? I answer, as a matter of *right or just claim*, I would not; as a matter of expediency, I would. It may be said, Will you not, then, give a fifth, fourth, or half your lands to get rid of the evil you complain of? If I was asked such a question seriously by any of the tithe-gathering tribe, I would only answer him, by telling him to do his worst. The wolf being in my fold, I would certainly get rid of him in the best way I could; but did he ask half my flock as a commutation for his absence, I should say, kill and eat, if you can. I think it is proved beyond doubt, in my former letters, that the tithe system commenced in folly and superstition; that it proceeded by fraud and cunning of the priesthood; that a series of encroachments have taken place, unparalleled in any history but Church history, till our ancestors put a stop to the aggrandisement of the Church, by the statute of Mortmain. The learned Blackstone, speaking of the encroachment of the Church, says, "In deducing the history of which "statutes, it will be matter of curiosity to "observe the great address and subtle contrivance of the ecclesiastics in eluding, "from time to time, the laws in being, "and the zeal with which successive Parliaments have pursued them through all "their finesses; how new remedies were "still the parents of new evasion; till the "legislature at last, though with difficulty, "hath obtained a decisive victory."

More modern times shew, that other Parliaments, regarding the interest of agriculture and the country, exerted themselves in its behalf. The Acts of the 11th and 12th of William III. passed by restricting the claims of the Clergy to 5*s*. per acre, on account of the expense in the culture of hemp. The Parliament in George II.'s time, in the year 1758, to encourage the growth of madder, restrained the claims of tithe-gatherers to 5*s*. per acre also; and when the seisure of from a fifth to half of the land is claimed, and, in some instances, consented to by the unwary landholder; and the claims of tithe-gatherers are obstructing our agriculture, preventing enclosures of wastes from taking place, reducing productive lands to grass, and diminishing our corn crops, will the present legislature not dare to look at this accumulation of evils? Can the thought be endured for a moment, that the Parliament, who has granted so many millions for national independence, shall suffer our fields to be a prey to tithe-gatherers? Is the landholder to be called to part with the large portion of his land now demanded, and be made to drink this cup of popery to the very dregs? These are no false alarms that I am sounding, or fictitious complaints. Within a few miles from this very place, 1,500 acres of land have laid almost untilled and without crop, owing to the pernicious operation of the present notions on tithe, and at a time when bread was fluctuating from a shilling to 20*d*. a quartern loaf. Nor is it any exaggeration to affirm, that thousands of acres in this kingdom are bearing scanty grasses for the food of cattle, instead of bread for the sustenance of man, in consequence of the oppressive operation of the tithe system.

Suppose, however, your plan, proceeding in its course, a hop ground was surveyed, bearing 15 cwt. per acre, at £5. per hundred, its amount £150, the tithe worth £15 per acre, but commuted at 40*s*. *only:* If the extreme value is insisted on, the tithe-gatherer knows very well, whether clerical or lay, that hops would be no longer cultivated, and the value of a corn crop being much less than hops, by such a demand he would lose at once three-fourths of his tithe. The same may be said of a crop of corn, if the tithe is demanded in its full extent, adjacent to some city or market

town, if it is taken in kind, and valued at 32 years purchase; the fee simple of the land would not redeem it. Pardon me, Mr. Cobbett, if I should think this plan for commutation of your's more absurd than any thing which ever issued from Methodist pulpit. If the Church was to be allowed to put it in execution, it would realize a revenue so large, that it would place the mitre above the throne, and Protestant princes would be in danger of holding the stirrup of our Archbishop, and doing homage to our ecclesiastics, as King John did to the ecclesiastics of his time.

Rather than such a commutation should take place, let us defend ourselves as well as we can; squabble on, and do our best. Men of property can contend with unjust claims and unreasonable demands. Our gratitude is due to them for their exertions. But the poor unfortunate man, dependent on his farm for his living, fearful of change, must eat his bread by the sweat of his brow; and when joy should brighten his countenance and gratitude gladden his heart, cursing and reviling are on his tongue, for, to use the expression of the immortal Paley, "A stranger shares his "harvest." Wherever I turn my eye on the operation of the tithe system, put in force to the extent of modern claimants, I see nothing but wrong and oppression, and often misery and ruin.

> "How Custom steels the human breast
> "To deeds that Nature's thoughts detest;
> "How Custom consecrates to fame
> "What Reason else would give to Shame."

I am well aware, that what I have said applies principally to clerical tithe, and and that the lay impropriator will plead right of purchase; but the kind of property he buys is always known to be subject to legislative control, and its value has repeatedly been limited by law without a murmur; and I am utterly astonished at the notion expressed by some persons, that Parliament has no right to regulate the tithe system, who would also confound this species of property with land descending by inheritance, and supported by equity and law. When I hear persons who plead for personal liberty uniting their voice with ecclesiastics, to endeavour to perpetuate such an evil as the tithe system, however estimable they may be in other respects, I cannot help thinking they exhibit a sad specimen of the influence of selfish and sordid interest on the human mind. There is another fact, also, worthy remark: The lay impropriator knowing the property he traffics in, is generally of so unpleasant a nature, that he purchases a cheap pennyworth; and if there are such characters as revile the Church and fatten on its revenues, they are in danger of becoming the subjects of derision and contempt.

If it is asked what plan I would propose for getting rid of this evil, it is, that Parliament should assert its power, and regulate and limit the claims of the tithe-gatherer, and shew that no ecclesiastical property is beyond the control of law. If clerical tithe (which, with few exceptions, no one can purchase or bequeath) should be declared at the decease of the present incumbent to be national property, who would be injured? The landed interest would be called to give up a small degree of patronage, and to purchase their tithe at a moderate price, for the benefit of the State and the relief of agriculturists. The amount of composition for tithe I would propose to be limited to one-tenth of the rent, at a fair valuation; the amount of commutation equal to a tenth acre of the land: and I fully believe, that every lay impropriator would by this means redeem his purchase money; but if not, let Government return his purchase money; and the State would be supplied with an ample revenue to support the Church, and a large surplus, without injury to any one. I have now only to thank you for the indulgence you have given me, in allowing so large a portion of your Register to my remarks on this subject. I have endeavoured to avoid any reflections on the Clergy of the present time as a body. If they were supported by other means than tithes, so far from their best interests being in danger, the breach which seems widening fast between the people and themselves, would in a great measure cease; every Clergyman would meet his parishioner with a cheerful countenance, the grand source of their contention and strife being at an end.

There are many of the Clergy whose characters are ornaments to society; whose zeal and earnest endeavours to benefit and bless their parishioners is their chief desire and delight; they have their reward in the gratitude and love of their parish, and the veneration of mankind: while it cannot be denied, there are others of a contrary character, whose very residence in their parishes is a dreadful curse. Contention and strife, the natural consequence of no choice being left between vaxatious law suits or implicit submission to unjust claims; but our subject has been principally the revenue of, not the character of ecclesiastics.

with the courage of lions, and, after incredible efforts, drove them as far as Karwitz. This glorious conduct of the Russians had the effect, that dispositions could be made for attacking the enemy on the following day.——Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, Commander in Chief, ordered Gen. Barclay de Tolly to make the attack, which he executed with his usual judgment. On the 30th, in the morning, the divisions of Colloredo and Bianchi, and the Russian brigade of General Knorring, turned the left of the enemy, while the Russians engaged his attention on the right, and General Kleist directed his march in the rear of the enemy upon the pass of Hollendorf, so as to cut off every retreat. General Knorring, at the head of his superior cavalry, forced the first battery of the enemy, capturing three guns. The columns of Field-Marshal Count Colloredo most gallantly carried the heights on the left of the enemy, and drove them from Parchwit and Neudorf.——After an obstinate resistance, the pass of Holtendorf was forced by General Kleist; the enemy were driven to despair; surrounded on all sides, and in front constantly pressed by the Russians towards the defiles, only a small portion of the enemy's horse succeeded in forcing their way; the rest were either cut down or made prisoners.——The field of battle is covered with dead; about eight thousand prisoners have been brought in, and their number is increasing every moment, as search is making after them in the woods. Eighty-one guns, two eagles, and two standards, fell into our hands; not one of the enemy's cannon escaped; General Vandamme, the General of Division Haxo, the Brigadier-Generals Guyot and Heimbrodt, are prisoners; Generals Dumonceau, Montesquiou-Fezensac, and Prince Reuss fell in the battle. All the rest were either dispersed or wounded. The first corps d'armée, under General Vandamme, has ceased to exist.——The fruits of our former demonstration of acting on the offensive, are now apparent. On the 26th August, General Blucher attacked the corps of Macdonald, Ney, Lauriston, and Sebastiani, at Jauer, and defeated them after the most desperate opposition. The enemy is in the greatest disorder. By the last accounts eighty pieces of cannon and six thousand prisoners had already been brought in. The number of prisoners would be yet greater, had not our troops fought with uncommon animosity, and employed principally the bayonet.——Colonel Mensdorf operated very successfully in the enemy's rear, intercepting couriers, making prisoners, and dispersing several detachments of horse sent against him. He even kept in awe the garrison of Leipsig, consisting of eight thousand men, who did not venture out of the town.——The Crown Prince defeated the enemy on the 23d, between Teltow and Trebbin, and took from them many pieces of cannon.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Sept. 24.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated 13th September:—

"The Emperor's head-quarters were at Dresden.——The Duke of Tarente, with the 5th, 11th, and 3d corps, was placed upon the left bank of the Spree; Prince Poniatowski, with the 8th corps, was at Stolpen. All these forces were thus concentrated upon the right bank of the Elbe, within a day's march of Dresden.——Count de Lobau, with the 1st corps, was at Nollendorf, in advance of Peterswalde; the Duke of Treviso at Pirna; Marshal St. Cyr upon the heights of Borna, occupying the debouches from Fuestenwalde and the Geyersberg; the Duke of Belluno was at Altenberg.——The Prince of Moskwa was at Torgau, with the 4th, 7th, and 12th corps.——The Duke of Ragusa and the King of Naples, with General Latour Maubourg's cavalry, were marching upon Grossen Hayn.——The Prince of Eckmuhl was at Ratzbourg.——The enemy's army of Silesia was upon the right of the Spree. That of Bohemia, the Russians and Prussians, in the plain of Toplitz, and an Austrian corps at Marienbourg. The enemy's army of Berlin was at Juterboch.——The French General Margaron, with a corps of observation, occupied Leipsic.——The castle of Sonnenstein, above Pirna, had been occupied, fortified, and armed.——His Majesty had given the command of Torgau to Count de Narbonne. The four regiments of guards of honour were attached; the first to the mounted chasseurs of the guard; the second to the dragoons; the third to the horse grenadiers; and the fourth to the 1st regiment of lancers. Those regiments of the guards will furnish them with instructors, and whenever they march to battle, be joined to old soldiers, by whom they will be guided, and whose skeletons they will reinforce.——A squadron of each regiment of guard of honour will always perform the duty about the Emperor, with a squadron

furnished by each regiment of the guards, which will carry to eight the number of squadrons on duty."

Her Majesty the Empress and Queen has received the following intelligence from the army, dated 17th September:—

"On the 14th the enemy debouched from Toplitz upon Nollendorf, to turn Dumoncieu's division which was upon the height. This division retired in good order upon Gushabel, where Count de Lobau collected his corps. The enemy having wished to attack the camp at Gushabel, was repulsed, and lost many men.——On the 15th the Emperor left Dresden, and marched to the camp at Pirna; he directed General Monton Duviruet, commanding the 42d division, by the villages of Langenhenersdorf and Bera, thus turning the enemy's right. At the same time Count de Lobau attacked him in front; the enemy was led *l'epée dans les reins* all the remainder of the day.——On the 16th he still occupied the heights beyond Peterswalde, at noon we began to pursue him, and he was dislodged from his position. General Ornano made some fine charges with the division of the cavalry of the guard, and Prince Poniatowski's brigade of Polish light horse. The enemy was followed and driven in the greatest disorder into Bohemia. He made his retreat with so much activity, that we were only able to take some prisoners from him, among whom was General Blucher, commander of the advanced guard, and son of the Prussian General in Chief, Blucher. ——Our loss was trifling. On the 16th the Emperor slept at Peterswalde, and on the 17th his Majesty returned to Pirna. ——Thielmann, a General who deserted from the Saxon service, with a corps of partisans and deserters, has marched upon Saal. An Austrian Colonel has also, as a partisan, marched upon Colditz. Generals Margaron, Lefevre, Desnoulles, and Pere, have gone with columns of infantry and cavalry in pursuit of those parties, hoping to give a good account of them."

Copenhagen, Sept. 6.—Yesterday was published here the Danish Declaration of War against Sweden. It is conceived in the following terms:—

DECLARATION.

From the moment when peace was concluded at Jonkoping between Denmark and Sweden, his Majesty has made efforts, equally sincere as constant, to maintain friendship and good understanding with that neighbouring state; but at the same time he could not avoid seeing, that the Swedish Government, far from being animated with the same sentiments, had, but too frequently, given proofs of a different disposition. ——By the treaty of Jonkoping, Sweden was obliged to keep from her coasts ships of war and cruizers of the enemies of Denmark. They, however, continued not only to detain Danish ships quite close to the coasts of Sweden, but even seized some of them in Swedish ports. Rarely did she deign to reply, never did she afford any remedy to the reiterated complaints of the Danish Government, relative to the losses which resulted from that state of things to the commerce of Denmark and Norway. In this manner the Swedish coast in the Cattegat remained after the peace, with respect to the Danish navigation, in the same hostile position as it was during the war. The Declaration of War which the Swedish Government allowed itself to be persuaded to issue against England, produced in this respect no alteration whatever; and after the re-establishment of peace with Great Britain, the dangers which awaited Danish navigation was extended to all the Swedish coasts. The Danish navigator might have expected to find himself sheltered from all attack, from all capture on the part of the enemies of his nation, upon the coast of a friendly and neighbouring nation. He must have believed that a Government which constantly makes a parade about its liberty and independence, would have been disposed, had it only been out of consideration for its own dignity, to maintain its territorial rights. But the Danish sailors were but too frequently deceived in their expectations, when in the moment of danger they sought protection and succour on the Swedish territory, where the enemy's armed boats securely waited for an easy prey. Spoiled of their property, and often pursued by the enemy even upon the Swedish Continent, regret for their losses alone remained for them; but at the same time their just indignation was awakened at seeing the Government of that neighbouring State dispense with granting that protection which they had a right to expect.——The stipulation in the treaty of peace of Jonkoping, which states that all property of the respective subjects of the two States, which after the rupture had been placed under sequestration, should be restored, was executed on the part of Denmark without any delay, and with the most scrupulous exactness. In Sweden, on the contrary, they have still retained the property of several

Danish subjects. The frequently-renewed applications, in order to obtain it or its value, produced but frivolous subterfuges or promises of indemnification which they have hitherto vainly hoped to see realized.—Sweden did not confine herself to giving those proofs of dispositions so little friendly towards Denmark.——Already by a treaty concluded at the commencement of last year, between the Courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm, and which has since been confirmed at Abo, Sweden was assured of the assistance of Russia for the execution of the plan then fixed for seizing the kingdom of Norway. With the same intention a similar treaty was concluded afterwards between Sweden and Great Britain.——But before coming to open hostilities, she wished to make trial of more moderate but not less insidious ways.——By insidious proclamations, which from time to time were conveyed from Sweden to Norway, she endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants of the latter kingdom, and withdraw them from the dominion of their legitimate and hereditary Sovereign. At the same time, a great number of ships, laden with grain for Norway, which had been successively dispatched on account of the Danish Government and several individuals, were retained in Swedish ports, where they had been obliged to take shelter, either on account of distress, or to avoid the enemy's cruizers. All the representations made against a measure, violent in itself, and atrocious by its consequences to the inhabitants of Norway, were entirely ineffectual. As a reply, the Swedish Government made use of the pretext so little applicable to the shipments of the grain in question—that the exportation of grain was prohibited in Sweden. We could not misunderstand the object of the obstacles thrown in the way of provisioning Norway. It was by hunger that she wished to compel the Norwegians to submit to the dominion of Sweden.——The Swedish Government, relying upon its powerful Allies, was not even ashamed to propose to his Majesty to cede Norway for other countries, of which Sweden is not in possession, and which she neither can, or ever ought to expect to be able to freely dispose of.——Not being able to obtain its object, either by treacherous propositions, to which threats were frequently joined, or by their reiterated attempts to induce the Norwegians to betray their duty towards their Sovereign, the Swedish Government manifested its bad humour by the suspension of ministerial relations between the two States. His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires was ordered to withdraw from Stockholm, and the Swedish mission at Copenhagen was recalled. The Danish Consul-General at Gottenburgh was also sent back. Shortly after the Swedish Government suppressed all communication between the two States. In this manner Sweden had already broken off all friendly relations with Denmark. Access to the Swedish States was shut to all Danish subjects.——It did not stop there. The ordinary course of the post between Denmark and Norway, through Sweden, stipulated for by treaties, was interdicted.——Swedish ships were ordered not to pay the duties of the Sound, although his Majesty, by virtue of treaties anteriorly concluded with Sweden, and again confirmed by the treaty of Jonkoping, had the most incontestible right to it.——But it was not enough, that in this manner Swedish vessels should be dispensed by their Government, by fulfilling the obligation of paying the duties of the Sound, armed Swedish ships have even employed force to prevent the vessels of other nations from paying those duties.——At last a Swedish officer of the marine declared, by writing to the King's Governor at Bornholm, that he had orders to seize all vessels bearing the Danish flag, and interrupt the communication between Christiansoe and Bornholm. A short time after an officer of the royal marine, returning from Bornholm to Copenhagen, was stopped in the open sea by a Swedish brig, and conveyed to Ystadt, from whence he has not yet returned. The Swedish Government having in so many ways not only dispensed with fulfilling every duty of good neighbourhood towards Denmark, and having suspended all communications which in general subsist between neighbouring Countries and States between which a reciprocal good understanding exists, but having openly broken the peace between the two States, both by causing considerable losses to the King's subjects, and besides, in making with his Majesty's enemies engagements tending to the subjugation of Norway, his Majesty sees himself, although with regret, forced to have recourse to arms, to repel by force every ulterior insult on the part of a Government which for a length of time has exercised hostilities against the Danish States and against the King's subjects.——The necessary orders in this respect have already been given to the Chiefs of his Majesty's army and marine.——Never was defensive war more just—never did a Government

give greater proofs of forbearance and patience in deferring to have recourse to arms to maintain the safety of the State and protect the property of its subjects.——Necessity alone could induce his Majesty to take a resolution, repugnant to the sentiments of his heart. But they must necessarily give way to the duty of defending the States and subjects which Providence has confided to him, against perfidious and unprovoked attacks on the part of a Government whose hostile plans against Denmark the whole of Europe is acquainted with. ——His Majesty, who always relies with entire confidence upon the immovable fidelity and constant attachment of a cherished people, was not willing to purchase a shameful and precarious peace by the sacrifice of his brave and loyal Norwegians. But he sincerely wishes that the Swedish Government, by repairing the wrongs done to his Majesty's subjects, and by adopting and pursuing pacific principles, may give occasion for re-establishing between the two nations that good understanding which is alone adapted to their reciprocal interest. ——Done at Copenhagen, 3d Sept. 1813.

Paris, Oct. 1.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence from the army, dated September 26:—

"The Emperor passed the days of the 19th and 20th at Pirna. His Majesty ordered a bridge to be thrown across there, and a *tete de pont* to be established on the right bank.——On the 21st the Emperor came to sleep at Dresden, and on the 22d went to Hartaw; he immediately ordered to debouche beyond the forest of Bischoffswerda the 11th corps, commanded by the Duke of Tarente, the 5th corps, commanded by General Lauriston, and the 3d corps, commanded by General Souham. The enemy's army of Silesia, which had marched; the right, commanded by Sacken, upon Comenz; the left, commanded by Langeron, upon Neustadt, to the debouches of Bohemia; and the centre, commanded by York, upon Bischoffswerda, instantly retreated on all sides. General Girard, commanding our advanced guard, briskly followed it, and made some prisoners. The enemy was led fighting to the Spree. General Lauriston entered Neustadt.——The enemy thus refusing battle, the Emperor returned on the 24th to Dresden, and ordered the Duke of Tarente to take the position upon the heights of Weissig.——The 8th corps, commanded by Prince Poniatowski, has repassed upon the left bank. ——Count de Lobau, with the 1st corps, still occupies Giesubel.——Marshal St. Cyr occupies Pirna and the position of Borna. ——The Duke of Belluno occupies the position of Freybourg.——The Duke of Ragusa, with the 6th corps, and General Latour Mauberg's cavalry, are beyond Grossinhayn; he had repulsed the enemy upon the right bank, beyond Torgau, to facilitate the passage of a convoy of 20,000 quintals of meal which was going up the Elbe in boats, and which has arrived at Dresden. ——The Prince of Padua is at Leipsic, the Prince of Moskwa between Wittenberg and Torgau. General Count Lefebre Desnouettes was, with 4,000 horse, in pursuit of the deserter Thielmann. This Thielmann is a Saxon, and loaded with favours by the King. As a return for so many benefits, he has shewn himself the most irreconcilable enemy to his King and to his country. At the head of 3,000 horse, partly Russians, partly Cossacks and Austrians, he has plundered the King's stud, every where levied contributions for his own profit, and treated his countrymen with all the hatred of a man tormented by guilt. This deserter, decorated with the uniform of a Russian Lieutenant-General, marched to Naumbourg, where there neither was commandant nor garrison, but where he surprised three or four hundred sick. However, General Lefebre Desnouettes met him on the 19th at Freybourg, took from him the three or four hundred sick, which that wretch had torn from their beds, to make a trophy of them, made some hundreds of prisoners, took some baggage, and retook some carriages which he had seized. Thielmann then took refuge upon Zeitz, where Colonel Munsdorf, an Austrian Partisan, joined him. General Lefebre Desnouettes attacked them on the 24th at Altenbourg, killed them many men, among others a Prince of Hohenzollern and a Colonel.——Thielmann's march had caused some delays in the communications from Erfurth and Leipzic.——The enemy's army of Berlin appears to be making preparations for throwing over a bridge at Dessau.——The Prince of Neufchatel is unwell of a bilious fever; he has for some days kept his bed.——His Majesty was never better."

ARMIES OF ARRAGON AND CATALONIA.

Copy of a Letter written to his Excellency the Minister at War by Marshal the Duke of Albufera.

Villa Franca, Sept. 16.

Monseigneur Le Duc,—In the beginning of September Lord Bentinck, removing

from the sea and banks of the Ebro, established the Anglo-Espagnole army at Villa Franca, occupying the Col d'Ordel, forming magazines at Villa Nova, and making the corps d'armée of Generals Capons and Whittingham, and Sarsfield's divisions, manœuvre upon the Upper Lobrogat, towards Mamesa, Esparaguera, and Martorell.——The collecting of 30 pieces of cannon at one march from my line—all those dispositions and manœuvres, information announced to me a speedy attack. I resolved to anticipate it, and prevent my movements from being pressed and cramped to the gates of Barcelona.——On the 12th the army of Arragon was assembled upon the Lobregat, whilst the General in Chief, Count Dacaen, on my invitation, brought a part of the army of Catalonia.——I ordered him to restrain and keep from my right General Capon's troops; to afterwards march to Saint Saturni, upon Villa Franca, and co-operate in my attack by the high road. At eight in the evening I passed the bridge of Molens del Rey, with a fine clear moon, which favoured my march; and Harispe's division, which had marched upon Ordell.——That position, very difficult and very rugged, at which one can only arrive after passing a defile of three leagues, was occupied, and an advanced guard of 9,000 men, under the orders of General Frederick Adam, composed of English troops, Calabrians, and the picked men from Sarsfield's division.——The General in Chief, Lord Bentinck, had arrived there the same evening, with Admiral Hollowell, either to prepare his dispositions for a speedy attack, or upon some advice of my movement to reinforce the defence of that important point. The infantry in a position was supported by cannon and a reserve of cavalry.——On the first musket shots, General Meselop, commanding the advanced guard, briskly pushed forwards the voltigeurs of the 7th of the line, overthrew the posts, and formed his brigade in front of the redoubts. The enemy's cavalry were seen descending in column upon the road, with the intention of repulsing what they undoubtedly took for a reconnoissance, but our light artillery quickly made them disappear, and the voltigeurs rushed upon the mountain. The vivacity and extent of the fire which the enemy immediately commenced along his whole line front, shewed us his force. General Meselop ordered the first battalion of the 7th to advance, which he quickly supported himself with the 2d, whilst the 44th, on its side, mounted the redoubts; he re-formed, he repulsed tirailleurs, and, sword in hand, at the head of his column, directed the charge to be beaten, and the enemy's first position to be carried by main force.——A most obstinate combat took place upon this point; the enemy in a rage, and, with great cries, twice returned with fresh reserves to obtain possession of it, and were again twice driven to his second position, from whence he crushed us with his fire. Our infantry, accustomed to assaults, knew how to rally and return to the charge with constancy. A platoon of sappers, which had marched with the advanced guard, covered itself with glory; the Chief of Battalion, Feuchere, of the 44th, was wounded in spiriting his troops. I ordered Herbert's division to advance, which I formed on the left of the road, whilst General Harispe marched with his reserve, the 116th regiment of the line, to the support of the 1st brigade. A last general effort was combined, and undertaking the 2d battalion of the 116th was ordered to the left to turn the second redoubt, its Commandant, Bugeau, executed the movement with equal skill and vigour: Meselop's brigade rushed forward at the same time with irresistible fury, and we every where remained masters of the field of battle; it was in an instant covered with killed and wounded; the Spaniards and Calabrians fled in disorder by the woods and mountains.——As soon as the troops were rallied, I made General Desort, commanding the cavalry, advance to follow the English, who precipitately retired by the high road. I hoped to reach their artillery, which they had succeeded in putting in retreat. The fourth hussars defeated the Brunswick hussars, and notwithstanding some discharges from infantry, succeeded in taking four pieces of English cannon, which they brought me, with their horses and two caissons. We also took much baggage, and 500 prisoners, to add to 1,200 killed or wounded. The English 27th regiment of the line was almost destroyed; its Colonel, and General Frede-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——If all that we are told be true; even all that we are told in our own Extraordinary Gazettes, the affairs of Napoleon are in a very sad way, and his Austrian Empress, who, perhaps, is amongst the most bitter of his enemies, must betake herself, in good earnest, to *Te Deums*, and to every other aid, which her Bishops can suggest.——One would think, that the world has been sufficiently insulted by these paltry arts; but, unhappily, men are so prone to like deception, that every government seems to be invited to deceive them.——As to the *prospects of the war*, however, gloomy as those of the conqueror have been painted, they are not, it seems to me, nearly so gloomy on his side. He has experienced great disappointment, without doubt; but, he has France at his back; that is to say, if the people of France are sincerely attached to him still.——One would almost begin to doubt of this from the tricks that the Empress has resorted to. Her *Te Deums* might pass as an old stale device; but the following trick really seems to indicate, that the French nation stand in need of something pretty strong to keep them in the right way.——*Addresses* seem to be amongst the means that hated governments last resort to. They are much more base and even more impudent than *Te Deums*, and the miscreants, who, in general, put their names to them, deserve hanging as richly as the murderer Nicholson.——I did not, until now, think that France after all the purging that she has had, contained any of these base reptiles; but the following article from the Paris Papers shows that she does.——Here is the symptom of servility:——" *St. Cloud*, " *Oct.* 17.—To-day, Sunday, on returning " from Mass, her Majesty the Empress " Queen and Regent gave an audience to " the municipal corps of the city of Paris, " who were presented to her by his Excel- " lency the Minister for the Interior. The " Prefect of the Department of the Seine, " as President of the municipal corps of " Paris, had the honour of presenting to " her Majesty the following Address, " which had been voted by the municipal " corps:—" Madame, What Frenchman " could remain deaf to the voice of the Em- " peror, to the call of the country, and that " of honour! The appeals which your " Majesty has just made, has reverberated " in all hearts; they feel the necessity of " declaring those generous sentiments, " which were at all times the noble inhe- " ritance of France.——That esteem which " your Majesty so long ago conceived for " this great nation, the love which you " bore it, the hopes which you have given " rise to, shall not be deceived; the august " daughter of Maria Theresa can never, in " vain, invoke the courage and energy of " nations. Frenchmen will have no rivals " in their love for their Sovereigns; no sa- " crifices, no efforts, can be painful to them " when honour commands them; they " would not know how to live without " glory, and never shall the crown of their " Emperor be despoiled of its laurels. Such " is the unanimous oath which they to-day " take at all points of the empire; such are " the sentiments which the good city of " Paris come to express to you, by carrying " to the feet of your Majesty the tribute of " its respect and of its devotion.——Never " did the bond which attaches and unites " subjects round their Sovereign demand " to be more strengthened; jealous Powers " already divide among themselves portions " of this fine empire; they even convey " and negociate respecting them, even be- " fore having acquired any right over them; " and in order to render this delirium still " more odious in the annals of history, a " Prince, who owes his renown but to the " honour of fighting in our ranks, is the first " to set this unheard-of example. He col- " lects all those whom hatred and the love " of intrigue had forced far from us: he " misleads the policy of a nation at all " times our ally; he compromises a throne " to which the good offices of his Emperor " conducted him; he directs, without re- " morse and with good-will, the sword " against his country.——He has ceased to " be a Frenchman; let us forget that he " had a country! But will his image be pre-

"served among those of our faithful heroes? "But if some misled Frenchmen remain "with him, will they be able to forget honour which reproves them, laws which "condemn them, and sacred oaths which "bind them? Let us turn from a thought so "painful, and let the remembrance of this "memorable ingratitude, if it be possible, "be for ever effaced.——Madame, it is by "redoubling their zeal and love; it is by fixing their attention upon that august throne "to which your Majesty has carried with "all the virtues, the noble courage of your "Grandmother, that the inhabitants of the "good city of Paris will anxiously endeavour, as faithful subjects, to discharge all "that they owe to their Prince and to their "country.——We are, with the most profound respect, Madame, your Imperial "and Royal Majesty's very humble, very "submissive, and very faithful subjects,— "The Members of the Municipal Corps of "the City of Paris."

These gentlemen have found out, then, that the *House of Austria* produces most excellent people! Who told them, that the Empress, *long ago*, conceived an esteem for the French nation? *When* was it? When the latter put her aunt to death; or when they drove her father twice from his capital?——What an abominable, what an outrageous falsehood; and what must they have thought of the woman, who had muscles to enable her to hear it without laughing in their faces.——They go back to the virtues of *Maria Theresa;* why not take those of *Marie Antoinette* in the way?——Thus, through the channel of this Royal wife, is Buonaparté made to make common cause, as it were, with the old reigning family of France!——The Empress had just been *to mass*, it seems: a fit prelude to such a sequel. Whether she had prayed for the success of her *husband* or her *father*, the Address formed a very appropriate item in the proceedings of the day.——There can be no doubt, that this Address was, as such Addresses always are, prepared by the Ministers themselves, and sent to these poor Jacks in power to present. That is nothing new. But, it is of some importance to see and observe, that Napoleon is of opinion, that such means are necessary. The employment of such paltry means is a new thing with him.——The language of this Address, which, observe, was surely dictated in the very words by the government, shows, that there is a lurking fear of the people; for, who in all the world would have talked, or have made their puppets talk, of *the love which Frenchmen bear their Sovereigns*, if there had not existed some fear, that they most cordially hated them?——What induced Buonaparté to put the Empress forward as a Regent; to make her his mouth-piece; to give her such authority, it is impossible to know; but, it certainly must give rise to thoughts in the minds of the French people, which thoughts would otherwise not have existed. They must, whether they will or not, think of *Marie Antoinette* and all her doings.——If there be any thing more fixed in a Frenchman's mind than another, it is a hatred of the whole House of Austria, a family proverbially fatal to France. And, for them now; for Frenchmen, after having proclaimed their execrations of this family, to applaud it in this manner, is something too shocking to be thought of without horror.——These are the worst symptoms that I perceive in the state of Napoleon's affairs. It seems to be something too monstrous to suppose, that the people of France should endure this *Austrian* authority, and that, too, at the very moment that the father of the Empress is well known to have been the chief cause of the danger, which they are told exists as to the safety of the empire.——The Municipality talk of "*jealous Powers*" wishing to divide the empire. And who, what Power so evidently wishes to do this as the House of Austria?——It is too nice to distinguish the Empress from her family. She *cannot* wish well to France without wishing ill to her own House. That House has been humbled. She *must* wish to see it restored to its former power and splendour; and that she *does* wish it every Frenchman of common understanding must know.——Who knows to what an extent the intrigues of Austria may have been carried on through her means? She was the very last person in the whole empire to trust with confidence or power. Visible power in her hands must create hatred, and confidence in her must lead to treachery.——She will, if she can, deliver her husband and his people into the hands of the Philistines.——There is, I should think, more danger to be apprehended from this source than from any thing which the combined Powers can do against Napoleon in arms. They may push him back towards France; but, they dare not venture far; and, if France remain firmly attached to him, he must finally triumph.——His fate depends, as it ought, wholly upon the people of France; and it depends merely

on the manner, in which *they take the thing*, whether they will be with him or not.——If he fall, and the republic do not revive, the very hope of ever being free is gone from the inhabitants of Europe.——If the republic revive, a new shock throughout all Europe will be felt. At any rate, things can hardly change for the worse. That is a comfort which never forsakes the miserable.

Ecce Homo.——Subjoined is a letter of Mr. Fordham, containing some observations upon this book. They are, he must allow me to say, rather too harsh on that performance, which may be chargeable with any thing but *stupidity*.——I do not understand what Mr. Fordham means by calling the book *calumnious*. It speaks of history; it disputes about points of faith; and it is erroneous in denying what we believe. This I allow; but, I know of nobody that the book *calumniates*.——I allow, that the author is wrong; because he denies those revealed truths in which we believe; but, I cannot call him a calumniator, unless he calumniates some one whose existence he is acquainted with.——As to myself, Mr. Fordham has a very short way of dealing with me. I said, that the Unitarians make *Jesus an impostor*, and his apostles *liars*, by asserting that he was *not the son* of God and born of a Virgin.——No, says he, the Unitarians do no such thing; for "THE APOSTLES NEVER "WROTE THE STORY OF HIS MI-"RACULOUS BIRTH."——Nothing can be more brief or more easy than this way of dealing with a churchman, who, when he quotes scripture in proof of his faith, or any part of it, is to be told, that that part of scripture is an "*interpolation*," a "*forgery*."——This is fully equal to my Lord Peter, who said, that he would take care that, in future, *Knit*, should be spelt with a *C* instead of a *K*.——I had said, that the Unitarians denied all that St. Matthew says about the impregnation of Mary. "Here," says he, "the *fact* is against you again. They do not deny *any thing* that St. Matthew says; but *they deny that St. Matthew ever said or wrote it at all*, it being written *long after St. Matthew was dead and buried*."——Really, Mr. Fordham, this is going a little too fast. You should, if you please, have *proved* this; or, if not, you should give us, under your own authority at least, a correct version of the New Testament.——At present we are sure to be defeated in any dispute with you; for, the moment we appeal to an authority in support of our notions, you come and snatch the text out of our hands, and tell us it is a *forgery*.——If you can *prove* to us, that this text, which is the very basis of our faith, was forged after the death of the man, by whom we suppose it to have been written, you will make a hole in us indeed; but *prove* it, Mr. Fordham; do not assert it only.——But, all this vanishes like smoke, when we come to hear Mr. Fordham, in the name of the Unitarians, deny that there is *any such being as the devil*: "nay," says he, "there are some who DENY THE "AUTHENTICITY OF THE FOUR "GOSPELS EXCEPT LUKE'S."——And yet he takes upon him to censure the unbelief of the author of Ecce Homo.——Will Mr. Fordham promise us, that he will spare Luke's Gospel for another year?——Now, really, I put it, I must put it to Mr. Fordham's candour, whether any body can argue with him in this way. Who can argue upon the meaning of a book, any of the parts of which Mr. Fordham takes upon him to pronounce to be forgeries wherever he likes?——This shews to what lengths men will go, when they once begin to make *exceptions* as to the different parts of the Bible. I always said, and I still say, that the *whole* of the book must be of divine origin, or that it is *all* an imposture, played off upon credulous men by designing knaves of priests of various denominations.——Did I not say, that it was impossible for Ecce Homo to go further than the Unitarians in substantial hostility to our religion? And, how can he go beyond men, who deny the existence of the *Devil*, who is a personage absolutely necessary to the Christian system; for, if there were no Devil, why any one to *save* us from his claws. If there be no Devil, what becomes of *Hell*? And, if no hell, whence all the terrors of the wicked, and whence the necessity of *repentance* in order to escape Hell?——This Unitarian creed is a curious thing.——But, the good of it is, that Mr. Fordham, in this same letter, affects to laugh at my correspondent Observator, for saying, in answer to Mr. Elton, that he "designed to shew that religion had been injurious to society, and "that he is not "aware of the difficulty of finding a *sub*-"*stitute* for it."——Why is this so ridiculous if what the whole Christian world has believed be *false*? If there be *no Devil*; no hell; no *damnation*; all the Christians are in the wrong; and why should not Observator be able to find a substitute for

such a belief?——Mr. Fordham tells the people, that this belief is foolish; or, at least, he says, that it is founded in falsehood. He would take the Devil and Hell out of the scheme; and, is not that taking away all that has been supposed to be a check upon wicked men? He affects to laugh at the idea of *a substitute for religion;* but, he must, surely, have one of his own in reserve for us, if he takes away this which we have. For, what is our religion? It is this: we believe, that there is a Devil, who abides in a place called Hell, and that, if we be wicked, we shall, after death, be sent to Hell, there to be tormented by the Devil and his imps to all eternity. Mr. Fordham scouts all this, and would, to be sure, call that part of St. Luke's (even *St. Luke's)* Gospel *a forgery*, where it is recorded, that the rich man, being burning in Hell, looked up and saw his old acquaintance, a beggar, in a state of bliss; and becoming beggar in his turn, asked that Lazarus might come to him with a drop of water to *cool his tongue.*——But, at any rate, if Mr. Fordham will take this from us, let him point out his substitute; for, something, if he still pretends to *religion*, he must find, in lieu of the Devil and Hell. ——I should like to have a *distinct answer* from him upon this head; especially as he has ridiculed the idea of a substitute for religion.——If he were to go out into London Streets, and call out: "halloo, boys, there is no Hell: it is all a cheat;" and if he were to be believed, and the news were to spread; does he believe, that any body would be able to sleep in their beds? Let him, then, come forward with his substitute for this salutary dread of Hell's flames; or, let him cease to talk of the effects which *religion* has upon Society.——He does not, indeed, positively deny that there is such a place as Hell; but he denies that God ever condemned any one to *everlasting fire.* So that, he must disbelieve in hell altogether, or must have adopted the idea of a *purgatory*; and, even in this case, I think he will find it difficult to get rid of the Devil, who appears to be a necessary minister of God's vengeance in such case.——In short, I should be very glad to know, once for all, what is Mr. Fordham's *creed*, I should like to see it *clearly stated;* and should like also to know what parts of the Bible (by name I mean), he would have us look upon as forgeries.—At present I must say, that we are more fairly dealt with by the author of Ecce Homo, who boldly, though profanely, tells us, that the whole of the book is either *fable* or *imposture.*——He does not deny the truth of *parts*, and choose his own parts to build a creed upon; but lumps the whole together; and holds it forth as an object fit to excite our contempt. ——He tells us, that *all* those who had any hand in propagating our faith were artful rogues; that, for many years, nothing but the scum of the people believed in them; and that, the thing was taken up afterwards by government as a means of keeping the people in ignorance and slavery. ——This, though presumptuous, is open dealing; but, Mr. Fordham, while he talks about being a Christian, denies so much, and cuts such large parts out of the Book, that he really does more harm than the person whom he attacks.——I have heard of a modern saint, who, in preaching, a few weeks ago in Southwark, told his hearers, that there were more souls took their flight to heaven from the *gallows* than from most other quarters. According to this notion, Nicholson must be worthy of canonization; for he really appears to have been a murderer by instinct. This is, indeed, pushing things very far; but, perhaps, little farther than Mr. Fordham, who leaves us no Devil for the tormenting of murderers; and who thereby takes away our very sheet anchor. Nay, if there be no devil, what need is there of any priest, even an Unitarian priest?

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 28th Oct. 1813.

N. B. The letter, of which R. F. speaks, has never been received. It shall be inserted as soon as it comes to hand.

ECCE HOMO.

MR. COBBETT.—As truth is your professed object, I will take the liberty to correct some statements which you have made respecting the sentiments of the Unitarians. I mean the majority of them, I cannot speak as to individuals here and there. You have attributed to them opinions which they totally disavow. I will place *your* words between inverted commas, and then make my own remarks upon them. The Unitarians you say, "make Jesus the son of a Carpenter." But *they* do not *make* him so, the history of his life in Matthew, the 13th chap., expressly declares it. And how does this make Jesus an impostor, or the apostles liars, who never wrote the story of his miraculous birth, and therefore

no where contradict themselves? The Apostles are not answerable for *subsequent* interpolations and forgeries, any more than you will be, for any falsehoods that may, possibly be introduced into your Register, after your death; and which it is very unjust to impute to them. I am not now going to state what are the evidences against the account of the miraculous conception, which may be found in the notes to "The "Improved Version," and in various other unitarian publications; but to show the *incorrectness* of your statements. Again you say, "the Unitarians deny all that St. "Matthew says, about the impregnation of "Mary." Here the *fact* is against you, they do *not* deny *any thing* that St. Matthew says, but deny that St. Matthew ever said or wrote it at all; it being written long after St. Matthew was dead and buried. Again, you observe "they ask us Trinitarians why God should have died?" But they do *not* ask any such foolish question, as they deny the fact or statement, that God ever *did* or *can die;* neither do they ask "*why* he could not have saved men from everlasting flames, &c.," as they do not believe that he has *condemned* any one *to everlasting flames.* And the same answer applies to the next question. You say, "they dare not deny the whole." The reason is, because they *cannot* deny the evidences upon which some parts are founded. But in fact they *do* deny, *many* of those things which you incorrectly say, they dare not deny. For example, they deny that the Devil took Christ up to the pinnacle of the temple; they deny the very existence of such a being; nay, there are some who deny the authenticity of the four Gospels, except Luke's. Whether they be right or wrong in these opinions, it is certain that you are ignorant of what are their real sentiments, and argue upon an imaginary foundation. As to Ecce Homo, it is enough to say of it, that it contains *falsehoods.* If I were to say, that it is grossly calumnious, I should not exceed the truth, but I will content myself, by saying its statements are NOT TRUE. It is quite ridiculous to think of applying the arm of *law* to the author of so contemptible a performance, who if he have any lucid intervals, must feel sufficiently miserable, in his want of common justice and integrity. His mind must be inferior to the brutes. But to subject him to the Law is expressly forbidden by the spirit of Christianity, which gives the utmost liberty to men's thoughts and expressions; even the liberty to speak falsely of itself. I am not speaking of false religion, but of pure uncorrupted religion, between which there is as much genuine difference, as between the true principles of our Constitution, and its modern corruptions. "On whose mind," you ask, "can such a work produce an evil impression?" Certainly on no one. Those who are radically stupid, it will leave stupid, and those who are wise, honest, and discerning will easily detect its falsehoods and sophistry. Take a few examples out of a thousand of the dishonesty of this writer. Speaking of the miracle of turning water into wine, he says, "perhaps indeed this miracle was witnessed by the *steward alone,* with whom it is not impossible Jesus had secret intelligence," although the historian expressly tells us that Jesus said unto the *servants,* fill the water-pots with water; and said unto *them* again, draw out now, and bear to the governor of the feast.—He represents Jesus as a libidinous and debauched character, without producing a single fact, or even the shadow of a fact; and vilely insinuates that he was inclined to the most hateful, abominable, and unnatural practices!! The work is so full of falsehoods and black insinuations, that it was hard to conceive the human mind could be so wretchedly perverted. If the author have facts, plain, unequivocal facts, against the purity of Jesus' character, why does he not state them? If insinuations are to supply the place of distinct facts, no man's character is safe for a moment; and you and I, may by the same rule, be, to-morrow, pronounced adulterers or murderers. Self-defence ought to arm all mankind in argument against the assassin of posthumous reputation!—Now my pen is in hand, I will beg leave to make a remark upon the letter of "Observator." With regard to his first proposition, that Jesus *merely* taught the precepts of the ancient philosophers, who lived before him, let me ask him, which of these philosophers taught that there is but one only God, and that we should love him with all our hearts, mind and strength? —And, secondly, if some of the gospel precepts *are* the *same* with those which were previously laid down, it does not follow that Jesus received them, or gathered them from the creeds of the ancient sages; or that they are not friendly to the best interests of mankind; if they are intrinsically good, the circumstance of their being like other precepts taught by other masters, can *never* alter their *nature.* Mr. Elton's

question stands then, as it did before. "If you take religion from the people, what do you propose to give them in stead?"—The answer perhaps is, give them Ecce Homo. Burn the Gospels, and give the people Ecce Homo.—Admirable discovery, worthy of the age in which we live.—Observator tells us "that he designs to shew that religion has been injurious to society. I should like to see this design executed. But I hope this writer does not mean to take *false* religion for *true* religion; I hope he knows the distinction, and will not argue upon false premises; I beg leave to guard him against the rock upon which so many vessels have split.—He proceeds to say, that he is not "aware, that the difficulty of finding a proper *substitute* will be so great as your correspondent seems to think."—The age in which we live may be called the Age of Substitutes; we have potatoes substituted for bread; and physic for food; a regent for a king, &c. &c.—and now we are gravely promised a substitute for religion. I wait with impatience for the grand discovery, and hope it will not prove a piece of impudent quackery, but a universal panacea that shall cure all the evils in the present world.—I am glad that you make your Register, the vehicle of discussion, and hope, as the friend of truth, you will favour my letter by its insertion in your next Number.——Yours, &c.

G. G. FORDHAM.

Sandon, Oct. 25, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 544.)

rick, Aid-de-Camp to the Prince Regent, were wounded; a great number of officers fell in the action. Our loss was very trifling in comparison.——A part of the garrison of Barcelona, commanded by General Count Morice Matthieu, and a division of the army of Catalonia, with four Italian battalions, had marched, during the night, under the orders of the General in Chief Decaen, to pass Lobregat and the Noya. Before arriving at Martorell, General Matthieu had to fight and dislodge three of Erole's battalions in very difficult positions; in the evening he made some prisoners, and again set out for Saint Estevan and Saint Saturni. In the morning he saw Manso's corps, and some Calabrians in order of battle; he ordered them to be attacked by General Ordonneau, who, with some horse, and only his advanced guard of the 18th light horse, under the orders of the Chief de Battalion, overthrew the two first battalions; the enemy dispersed, leaving 30 prisoners and 60 killed or wounded. The General in Chief, Decaen, followed General M. Matthieu with all possible rapidity; but in consequence of infinite difficulties, after a march most long, and roads the most impracticable, the cavalry, and even the infantry, only being able to advance one by one, at a distance, day advanced before they were able to take a position at St. Saturni.——The attack of the Colonel d'Ordel, which did not finish till two in the morning, by slackening the march of the army of Arragon, favoured my design for the remainder of the day. The infantry followed at the break of day, General Delort, who marched in advance, the cavalry, and the battalion of the Commander Bugeaud, I ordered him to halt a league on this side of Villa Franca, behind the heights, from whence all the enemy's army was discovered in order of battle, in three lines; a great ravine, the road, and a bridge intersected, covered the front; his left approached the village of Cugat, in which our tirailleurs anticipated him. I had for an instant a hope that this army deployed would have given time for our movement being completed; but Lord Bentinck, no doubt informed of what there was dangerous in his position, only wished to make an appearance for a moment: he broke, and made a passage of lines. The retreat immediately commenced in good order, for Villa Franca.—— I made the artillery and cavalry advance; the cannon quickly caused some disorder in the enemy's columns, whilst we passed the ravine, and my infantry debouched to follow, without delay, the movement; the enemy left Villa Franca and re-formed in the rear. By an honourable confidence which has not been discovered, all the inhabitants remained in their houses, and have seen their property and their persons respected in the midst of one of the most lively actions The cavalry began reaching the rear-guard on leaving the town; Colonel Christophe, at the head of the hussars, and a squadron of cuirassseurs, briskly pressed upon what the cannon made impression; a fire from infantry in ambush, and the Brunswick hussars, covered the enemy's movement; charges were made on either side with great vigour. The brigade of the 24th dragoons and the Westphalian light horse manœuvred at the

same time upon the right; General Meyer, who conducted it, met the 20th English light horse and some black hussars; he charged them with two squadrons. The first, at the head of the troop, he found himself before Colonel Bentinck, commanding the enemy's cavalry; they exchanged several sabre cuts. Whilst mixed, a battalion concealed in some woods and vineyards, suddenly opened a most lively fire; the remainder of the 24th dragoons proceeded, followed by the battalion commanded by M. Bugeaud, which all the day formed the advanced guard of the army. The enemy, by favour of this last effort, passed a second ravine, and burnt the bridge upon the road, leaving more than 150 horses taken, and a still greater number of men killed, wounded, or prisoners. The Black, or Duke of Brunswick's hussars, have particularly suffered in these last engagements; from that moment deserters have arrived in considerable numbers; the English army occupied for a moment the position of Albos and of La Vendrille, from whence it gained in the night the Allafulla road, which is a continual defile upon the sea coast; it appears it is going to take a position towards Cambrils and Hospitalit; the sick have been withdrawn from Tarragona, and the whole fleet has presented itself to cover the retreat.——We have pushed forward to Vendril, where I have established General Meyer with an advanced guard. A part of the Spaniards having retired upon the road to Ignalada, the Westphalian light horse charged them with their usual bravery, and brought back some men and horses belonging to the Mancha dragoons, a troop perfectly well mounted and of good appearance.——General Bentinck, on the 15th, asked me by writing permission to pay the last honours to the Captain of dragoons, Hanson, a man of the greatest distinction for valour; I hastened to permit that an English Officer should assist at them.——The enemy has lost more than 3,500 men, not only in killed and wounded, but in prisoners and deserters, without including the loss of his baggage and artillery.——The troops which have fought merit the greatest eulogiums; the artillery served with the greatest distinction, and every arm evinced an unbounded ardour and devotion. I pray your Excellency to receive the list of the different soldiers who have deserved rewards, and to submit it to his Majesty.——I am, &c.

(Signed) The Marshal DUKE of ALBUFERA.

P. S. All the accounts which I receive from the places of Danea, Sagont, Peniscola, Morillo, Tortosa, Lerida, and Mequinenza, are satisfactory; the garrisons in them are in good condition; they have beaten the enemy wherever he has made movements too near them. General Baron Robert, who commands at Tortosa, has burnt all the boats they had collected upon the Lower Ebro, and gained brilliant advantages.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Thursday, Oct. 7, 1813.

Foreign Office, Oct. 7.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts and copies, have been this day received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. dated Toplitz, Sept. 13; and from Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. dated Prague, Sept. 14, 1813.

Extract of a Dispatch from General Viscount Cathcart, dated Toplitz, Sept. 13, 1813.

The Austrians have kept possession of the roads leading to Saxony by Marienberg and Altenberg, and General Kloinau from the former place to Chemnitz and Freyberg. The country between the Elbe and the Elster is over-run by several Partisan Corps from the Allies. These report that the enemy has been employed in moving the sick and convalescents and baggage to Leipsic.

Prague, Sept. 4, 1813.

My Lord,—On the 8th instant, the corps of Count Wittgenstein, and that part of General Kleist's corps under the orders of General Liethen, which had advanced again through the mountains beyond Peterswalde and Zehista, on the road towards Dresden, were attacked by a very superior force of the enemy, and a very sharp affair took place.——Count Wittgenstein had his head-quarters at Pirna, when the enemy began their advance. The chief contest during the day was for the village of Dohna, which was defended with much valour and bravery by the Allies; but the enemy bringing up increasing numbers towards the evening, Count Wittgenstein determined to fall back and evacuate Dohna; Gen. Ziethen's corps, therefore, was ordered to occupy Pirna in the evening, and Count Wittgenstein's corps retired towards Peterswalde.——The loss of the Allies, in

this day's action, may be estimated at about one thousand men killed and wounded; that of the enemy was much more considerable.——His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland was in the field, and assisted at this day's action.——General Kleinau, with a corps, had been detached towards Freyberg and Chemnitz on the left, while the Austrians had moved, as I stated in a former dispatch, to Aussig and Leutmeritz, on the Elbe.——On the 9th the enemy continued his advance, and the Allies retired, fighting every inch of ground in the mountains. Buonaparté had arrived, and a very large force was advancing, either with a determination to make a general attack, or for the purpose of great demonstration, to cover a retrograde movement, and the removal of a large magazine of powder from Konigstein to Dresden.——On the advance of the enemy, orders were immediately sent for the Austrians to countermarch, and the Allies immediately began to collect all their forces in the already victorious fields of Culm and Toplitz.——On the 10th the enemy pressed seemingly with greater force from the mountains on Culm towards Toplitz: they had advanced not only with the columns that followed Count Wittgenstein's rear, but also with another very considerable corps by Zinnwalde and Kraufen. At this time the Austrian columns had not come into close communication from Aussig and Leutmeritz; and it was known that the Russian and Prussian force, in front of Toplitz, was greatly outnumbered by the enemy: it was, however, determined, in the most gallant manner, to give him battle in the event of his advancing, and the disposition was accordingly made.——Being under the necessity of being removed from head-quarters, I learn from Colonel Cooke, that the enemy continued on the 11th to make such demonstrations as indicated a general attack; and on the 12th they advanced and took possession of the village of Nollendorf, and came close to Culm. Above half the Austrian corps had now rejoined the army, and come into position: they had been marching in very bad weather and worse roads, without intermission, from the 10th, but arrived in excellent order: and Buonaparté could now perceive the allied army, upwards of one hundred thousand men, in position, with eight hundred pieces of cannon, ready to give him battle. It seems, however, that he began his retreat, about midday, from Nollendorf. The Allies began immediately to clear their front, and to send out strong reconnoitring parties; and General Klinau's corps was again detached to the left, reinforced by two divisions under Prince Lichtenstein.——Up to midday on the 13th, the enemy still continued his retreat, breaking up and destroying all the roads in every direction towards Dresden. This will somewhat delay the pursuit of the Allies, and will make even any lateral or flank movement more difficult. ——Accounts have been received of General Blucher's having entered Bautzen on the 10th, but I have received no official bulletins from the Prussian head-quarters.—— The Russian Colonel Prince Modatoff, of the Alexandrowski guards, executed a brilliant *coup* on the 9th, between Bautzen and Dresden. He blew up two hundred ammunition waggons, took a part of Buonaparté baggage, and made one thousand two hundred prisoners.——I congratulate your Lordship most sincerely on the brilliant victory of the Prince of Sweden. The additional lustre which is reflected in this day's battle on the arms of his Prussian Majesty, is forcibly dwelt on by his Royal Highness, who states that the soldiers of the Great Frederick are again visible in every action in which they have been engaged.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Lt.-Gen.
Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Prague, Sept. 14, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, two reports I have received since I left Toplitz from Colonel Cooke, respecting the operations of the Allied and French armies on the 11th and 12th inst.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART.
Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Toplitz, Sept. 11, 1813.

Sir,—The enemy advanced against us about an hour after you had been removed from hence upon the 10th instant.——The utmost uncertainty appeared to exist, as well as to their number as the point upon which they would attack.——Towards evening, a strong detachment of the enemy's light troops got possession of the road which leads through the pass to Altenberg, and drove in the grenadiers of the Russians nearly to the plain below.——As the enemy made use of no cannon, and did not appear upon the Peterswalde road at the same time, there appeared no indication of a serious attack at so late an hour in the

day.——The Allies, however, threw back their left, placing troops and guns all along the foot of the hill, between the village of Culm and Toplitz, while the whole army were formed in position of two lines, having their right appuyé upon the mountain adjacent to the town; columns of infantry were in reserve on either flank.——The ground was crowded, and could afford little advantage, in the event of a serious effort, upon the front of the French.——The firing ceased about sunset, and the Allies remained in position during the night.——I am inclined to attribute this movement upon the part of the enemy to a desire of learning the general feature of the country about us, and the number of troops we had at hand.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Henry Cooke.

To Sir Charles Stewart.

Toplitz, Sept. 12, 1813.

Sir,—The enemy increased considerably in number during the whole of yesterday; towards evening great motion was perceptible upon their left flank. They soon advanced with guns upon the high road, and above the Russians, under Count Pahlen, from the village of Nollendorf, nearly into Culm.——Towards night we were reinforced by above twenty-five thousand men of the Austrian army. These troops were immediately placed in position upon our extreme left, a certain distance up the mountains. They had marched with little inruption since the morning of the 10th instant, and during the whole night, but were in good order and without stragglers.——Every thing indicated a general attack upon the ensuing morning.——The prisoners accounted for the skirmish of yesterday, by stating, that Buonaparté had reconnoitred us, and at night the whole range of mountains was covered with the enemy's fires.——The corps of St. Cyr and Victor, the whole cavalry of the guard, and the remainder of Vandamme's division, were the troops in front of us.——About twelve o'clock this day, however, the enemy commenced his retreat from Nollendorf.——It is believed, they have detached strongly towards Kommatau. In consequence of this, General Kleinau has been reinforced by two divisions of Austrian light troops, under the orders of Prince Litchenstein.——The Allies are otherwise posted, as I reported to you on the 10th.——The remainder of the Austrians, detached towards the Elbe, are covering the Aussig road upon our right.——Dispatches have reached us this day from the Prince Royal of Sweden, announcing the joyful tidings of a victory gained by the Allies, under his Royal Highness's command, in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg.——Upwards of 8,000 prisoners, 60 guns, 200 tumbrils, and 40 pieces of cannon, had been taken. The Prussians are said to have sustained the brunt of this affair, to have lost many people, and to have done great honour to their army. This was fought upon the 7th and 8th inst.——I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Henry Cooke.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Oct. 7, 1813.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Count Wallmoden, dated head-quarters, Domitz, Sept. 20, 1813.

My Lord,—Since my last report, dated Schwerin, the 4th instant, Marshal Davoust continued upon the river Stocknitz.——Having moved to Domitz, I caused a bridge of boats to be there built across the Elbe, with a *tete-de-pont*, in order to pass the river as soon as the enemy should appear upon the left bank, although he remained combined with the Danes, with whom I imagined he had ceased to co-operate in consequence of the late disjoined march of the French troops upon Ratzeburgh, and of the Danes upon Lubeck; the enemy conticued, contrary to my expectations, in a state of inactivity for several days. I consequently once more made a movement towards him, fixing my head-quarters at Hagenow on the 12th instant.——But having been apprised by intercepted letters of Marshal Davoust's intention to detach eight or nine thousand men, in order to clear the left bank of the Elbe, and advance towards Magdeburg, I crossed the river at midnight, on the 14th instant, near Domitz, taking the troops under my command, with the exception of the Swedes and Mecklenburgers, who remained in the position of Grevesmullen, and the Hanseatic legion, which I left with the infantry of Lutzow's corps on the right bank. On the 15th I occupied the position of Jetzel, near Dauenberg.——In the mean time, Marshal Davoust had detached the General of Division Pecheux, with the chief part of his division, which having passed the Elbe, had marched upon Dahlenburg.——Late on the evening of the 15th, I was informed this force had taken up the position of Gorde.——On

the following morning, the 16th, at day-break, I put the troops in motion. The enemy had occupied the heights in front of Gorde, on the Dannenberg road. I posted my troops in the valley, with the view of concealing my numbers from the enemy, as well as there to await his attack.——Towards mid day, I received intelligence that he had but partially occupied Gorde, and that the main part of his force was between the villages of Oldendorf and Eichsdorf, a quarter of a German mile in rear of Gorde. No time was now to be lost in making the attack.——I caused the Hanoverian infantry, with two batteries, to march, under the command of Major-General Lyon, upon the great road leading to his Majesty's castle of Gorde, in order to attack the enemy in front; General Tettenborn, forming the advance guard, with three regiments of Cossacks. I directed at the same time six battalions of infantry, one battery, and a regiment of hussars of the Russian German Legion, to move under General Arentschildt, by the forest of Gorde, to turn the enemy's right flank, and I detached Gen. Dornberg upon the enemy's left, towards Dubbelwald, at the head of the 3d hussars of the King's German Legion, the hussars of Estorf, one battery of horse artillery, and the half of the rocket brigade.——The enemy's outposts in the wood, making little or no resistance, retired to the extremity of the forest, where, having pursued them, I found the enemy's corps very advantageously posted on a height in front of the Dannenberg road.——At four o'clock in the afternoon our two columns were seen advancing out of the forest, and the enemy returned but feebly the fire of our artillery with eight or ten pieces of cannon.——Surprised at seeing a large body of infantry, while he imagined he had merely light troops to encounter, the enemy began to make a disposition for retiring, at the moment that our battalions were forming for the attack. It is very probable he would have earlier determined upon retreating, but that General Pecheux, the Commandant of this corps, was actually with the advanced posts in the forest, at a distance from his position, where he had only time to arrive just when our troops were preparing to form against him. The enemy's left began to fall back—the right stood fast to cover its retreat. This flank was formed upon the height in three columns of battalions, and made the most astonishing resistance, when at half past five o'clock our infantry attacked two of these columns on all sides.——The first and second battalions of the Russian German Legion commenced a very heavy fire, at the distance of ninety paces.——At the same time, the column of the Russian German Legion arrived at one side, and General Dornberg, with the third hussars of the King's German Legion, appeared on the other. The first regiment of hussars of the Russian German Legion charging the enemy, broke one of his squares. The third hussars of the King's German Legion charged with two squadrons another of these squares, which at a little distance was advancing at the *pas de charge*. These hussars broke its ranks, while they in their turn were assailed, in flank and rear, by the enemy's artillery and infantry, posted in rear at some small distance. Forced to draw back a little, this regiment, with two more squadrons, made a second charge, and soon after a third, with an intrepidity not to be surpassed.——Meantime the light infantry of the battalion of Bremen had on its first onset lost its Commandant, Major Devaux, and four officers. I instantly ordered a charge with the bayonet. The battalions of Langrehr and Bennigsen, under the command of Brigadier Halket, carried it into effect with great intrepidity, forcing the enemy to retreat, who seeing no other resource now remain but that of the most desperate resistance, formed anew in retiring, and resumed a fire. The artillery in the interim, of the King's German Legion, under Major Bruckman, arrived on our right, and opened a well-directed cannonade, seconded by the rocket brigade, whose commandant had taken up his ground close under the fire of the enemy's infantry.——At this period the greater part of the enemy's squares, terrified and broken on all sides, began to give way, and fled in all directions to the neighbouring heights, where the general disorder soon communicated itself to those who had been placed there to cover the retreat.——The attack and pursuit having been pushed as far as Nahrendorf, the enemy saw himself cut off from the road to Dahlenburg, and retired upon Bleckede, and the ensuing morning repassed the Elbe near Zollenspicker. General Pecheux having lost his horses and baggage, was forced to betake himself to flight on foot.——Towards half past seven in the evening I committed the pursuit of the flying enemy to the Cossacks, and assembled the troops, to whom the darkness of the night and the unfavourable nature of the ground rendered the following of the

fugitives quite impossible.——I had besides received information that the enemy was advancing on the right bank of the river, in order to dislodge my detachment at Boitzenburg, and to approach Domitz and the bridge at the other side.——The corps of the enemy over which the troops under my orders have had so signalized a success, was from five to six thousand strong, including six hundred cavalry and ten pieces of artillery. Their loss is from fifteen hundred to two thousand killed and wounded. The number of prisoners taken amounts to fifteen hundred, among whom is General Mielozinsky, two Aides-de-Camp of General Pecheux, Colonel Fitz-James, and several other officers.——We have taken eight pieces of artillery and twelve ammunition waggons.——After the action, General Tettenborn, with the advanced guard, occupied Bleckede and Luneburg.——I am entirely satisfied with the bravery of the troops, and I am particularly indebted to Major-General Lyon, who has shewn upon this occasion the activity and intrepidity so well acknowledged in him; as also to Brigadiers Halket and Martin, and to Major Bruckman.——The battalions of Langrehr and Benigsen distinguished themselves highly.——Gen. Dornberg led on the cavalry with all the spirit and vivacity so characteristic of that officer. ——I cannot sufficiently commend the bravery of the 3d regiment of hussars of the King's German Legion, so conspicuous in their repeated charges, headed by their Commander Major Kuper; as likewise that of the 1st hussars of the Russian German Legion on the enemy's squares. I lament that the glory which the first of these regiments gained is acquired with so considerable a loss. I should be glad that the attention of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent should be drawn upon the conduct of Major Kuper, in command of this regiment, at the head of which his gallantry was so very conspicuous.——I cannot omit to mention the services I have on this occasion received from my Adjutant-General Lieut.-Colonel De Berger, and my Quarter-Master-General, Lieut.-Col. De Clausewitz. I have also experienced the greatest assistance from my personal Staff. Capt. De Grabbee, an officer of the Russian guard, I have found extremely useful, as also Lieutenant-Colonel Count Ferdinand Kielmansegge. I am much indebted to Lieutenant-General Count Louis Kielmansegge, for the assistance he has rendered me on all occasions.——I beg in this place to draw the attention of your Lordship to a very brilliant affair, Count Frederick Kielmansegge, Colonel of a corps of chasseurs, had some weeks since with the French, and which I have not had an opportunity of mentioning hitherto. It was in consequence of this affair, wherein the French lost upwards of a hundred and fifty prisoners, that we were already in possession of Dannenburg and its vicinity, and found our light troops there on the arrival of our main body.——The loss sustained by the corps under my command amounts to nearly five hundred men killed and wounded; among the former are Major De Vaux, Captain Hugo, and Cornet Cramer, besides two officers of the Russian German Legion. The Cossacks, under General Tettenborn, on the following day, advanced as far as Harburg, and cutting off all the communications of Marshal Davoust, he will be under the necessity of detaching another force to establish them. ——It is the consideration of the enemy's great superiority that alone restrains me from gratifying my most anxious wish by at once attacking him on the Steekintz. On the 17th, the enemy having pushed his advanced guard from Mollen towards Wittenburg, on the road to Schwerin, gave me cause to apprehend an offensive movement on the other bank, whence I had taken the troops for this expedition. My end being attained, I therefore resolved to repass to the opposite side, and accordingly I have established my head quarters at Domitz, with a view to be in readiness to act on both sides of the Elbe, as the enemy may afford me an opportunity.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) L. Count WALLMODEN,
Lieut.-General.

P. S. I have the honour to make a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 16th instant.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and, Missing of the Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-General Count Wallmoden, in the Action of Gorde, Sept. 16, 1813.

1st and 2d Battery of the King's German Artillery. 4 serjeants, 8 rank and file, wounded; 5 horses killed, 8 horses wounded.—Rocket Brigade. 2 horses wounded, 1 horse missing.—1st Battery Russian German Horse Artillery. 3 horses killed.—3d Hussars, King's German Legion. 1 captain, 1 cornet, 11 rank and file, 47 horses, killed, 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet, 64 rank and file, 70 horses, wounded, 16 rank and file, 15 horses, missing.—1st Hussars, Russian German Legion. 2 serjeants, 7 rank and file, 14 horses, killed, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 cornets, 12 rank and file, 12 horses, wounded; 7 rank and file, 8 horses, missing.

Division under Major-General Lyon.

Bremen and Venden Batt. 2 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 14 rank and file, wounded.—Anhalt Dessaw Batt. 10 rank and file wounded, 2 rank and file missing. —Lauenburg Reg. 6 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.—Batt. of Bennigsen. 3 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 12 rank and file, wounded.—Batt. of Langrehr. 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded; 28 rank and file missing.—1st Batt. Russian German Legion. 1 captain, 1 ensign, 13 rank and file, wounded.—2d Batt. Russian German Legion, 13 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 42 rank and file, wounded.—3d Batt. Russian German Legion. 1 ensign, 2 rank and file, killed; 9 rank and file wounded. —4th Batt. Russian German Legion. 12 rank and file wounded.—5th Batt. Russian German Legion. 7 rank and file wounded.—6th Batt. Russian German Legion. 4 rank and file killed; 6 rank and file wounded.

Division of General Tettenborn.

Lutzow's Cavalry. 1 lieutenant, 5 rank and file, 24 horses, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 4 serjeants, 30 rank and file, 29 horses, wounded; 4 rank and file, 29 horses, missing.—Lutzow's Infantry. 4 serjeants, 18 rank and file, killed; 3 lieutenants, 39 rank and file, wounded; 30 rank and file missing.—Battalion of Reiche. 4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 19 rank and file, wounded, 1 rank and file missing.—Cossacks. 9 rank and file, 24 horses, killed; 4 serjeants, 26 rank and file, 46 horses, wounded.

Total--1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 6 serjeants, 78 rank and file, 117 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 8 captains, 11 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 16 serjeants, 335 rank and file, 173 horses, wounded; 90 rank and file, 33 horses, missing.

(Signed) Av. Berger, Lieut.-Col. and Dep.-Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

3d Regiment Hussars, King's German Legion. Captain De Hugo and Cornet Bremer, killed; Captains De Bula, De Both, and Heisse, Lieutenant and Adjutant De Bruggemann, and Cornet Oehlers, wounded.—1st Regiment Hussars, Russian German Legion. Lieutenant-Colonel Von der Goltz, and Cornets De Noeltchen and De Heidenreich, wounded.—Bremen and Verden Battalion. Major de Vaux, wounded, (since dead); Lieutenants De Quisterff and De Buttner, and Ensign De Bremen, wounded.—Battalion of Bennigsen. Lieut. De Diemar, wounded. —Battalion of Langrehr. Captain De Bothmer and Lieut. Luders, wounded.—1st Batt. Russian German Legion. Captain De Schacher and Ensign Leistikon, wounded.—2d Batt. Russian German Legion. Major De Fiercks, Capt. De Bronsant, Lieuts. Druzilowsky and De Schleiter, and Ensign Aderkas, wounded.—3d Batt. Russian German Legion. Ensign De Stempel, killed.—Lutzow's Cavalry. 1 officer killed; Major De Lutzow, Captain De Bornsted, and First Lieutenant De Garden, wounded.—Lutzow's Infantry. Captain De Hack, and Lieutenants De Lutwitz and De Tusted, wounded.—Batt. of Reiche. Lieutenant Schlesky, wounded.

Bulletins of the Crown Prince of Sweden.

Head-quarters, Leydu, Sept. 12, 1813.

The Prince Royal moved his head-quarters to this place yesterday evening.—Many of the officers made prisoners at the bridge of Torgau affirmed yesterday that the Prince of Moskwa was dead. Others say that they saw him in the *tete du-pont*, exhorting the troops to defend it. The same officers also relate, that a few moments before the Swedish and Russian columns appeared in the plain, the Prince of Moskwa put himself at the head of the reserve, composed of two divisions, and exclaimed, in marching towards the Prussian army,—"Victory is our's; in two days we shall be in Berlin." He, however, slackened his pace, on seeing the multitude of battalions which were arriving, and the disorder became complete on the arrival of the cavalry. ——The divisions of the Prussian army which have suffered the most, are re-organizing and repairing their loss. It is difficult to display more bravery or more perseverance than the young Prussian soldiers have shewn. The Battalion of Landwehr may even now be compared with the best troops in Europe.——There exist no jealousies in the Combined Army. It presents a picture of a family of brave men, who have sworn to conquer or to perish in defence of the honour of their Sovereigns and the liberty of Europe.——General Winzingerode has already moved across the Elbe some thousands of Cossacks, and Gen. Czerniecheff already occupies Dessau and Cothen.——The army is on the Elbe, and materials are collected at many points for the passage of that river. Three thousand of the Prussian Landsturm have passed the Elbe at Lenzen, for the purpose of protecting the former subjects of Prussia.——The Landsturm of Swedish Pomerania has already been in active service. Two thousand burghers of Stralsund have voluntarily offered to work upon the fortifications of that place.——The reports of our secret agents at Leipzic state, that Couriers had arrived there, announcing the entry of the Austrian troops into Munich.

Berlin, Sept. 18.—From the head-quarters of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden we have just received the following Bulletin.

Head-quarters, Koswig, Sept. 14, 1813.

The Crown Prince removed his head-quarters to this place the day before yesterday.——The army has made a general movement to the Elbe. It is engaged with the means of having strong points upon that river, in order to assist the Grand

Army.——The armies of the centre, commanded by Generals Blucher and Bennigsen, are approaching Dresden. The Swedish Captain Platan, of the Morner hussars, who was sent to effect a junction with General Blucher, has accomplished that purpose in the vicinity of Bautzen.——The ardent wish of Napoleon to annihilate the combined army of the North of Germany, has occasioned that Sovereign to lose much time and many men in marches and counter-marches. In order to support the operations of Marshal the Prince of Moskwa, he sent the corps of the Duke of Ragusa to Hoyerswerda, on the 7th September. This corps, about 25,000 strong, had orders to proceed to Berlin, and to effect a junction there with the Prince of Moskwa. A strong detachment was, hereupon, to be sent upon the right flank of General Blucher, and to force him to retreat. The Duke of Ragusa arrived early on the 8th at Hoyerswerda; but on receiving intelligence of the battle of Dennewitz, he hastily retreated two hours afterwards, marching by way of Konigsbruck to Dresden, which the Emperor Napoleon, who was before him, entered on the morning of the 9th.——Twice did the Emperor Napoleon, with his guards, and the corps of the Duke of Ragusa, make offensive movements upon the left of the army of Germany; and twice was he compelled by circumstances to retire with precipitation and loss.——In the retreat of the 8th the corps of the Duke of Ragusa was attacked at Hoyerswerda by the detachment of the Colonel Figner, of the Russian guards. The Colonel, at the head of 800 horse, pursued the Duke of Ragusa to Konigsbruck, killed many of the men belonging to his rear, and took a thousand prisoners. Continuing without intermission the pursuit of the enemy's rear, this officer fell in with its baggage, took the greatest part of it, killed a great number of men, and carried off with him 400 of draught horses. Turning upon this towards Grossenhayn, he put to the rout two squadrons of the enemy belonging to Girardin's division. Persons whom this officer had sent to Dresden, assured him on his return, that that city was provided with no more than a fortnight's necessaries for the army, and that there was nothing left for the inhabitants.——The Saxon Court, formerly so happy and so tranquil, now sees its capital exposed to all the horrors of a siege. The King himself, so lately blessed by his subjects, is a wretched witness of the calamities which oppress his people, without the possibility of alleviating them, without any other prospect than that of seeing them still farther aggravated.——The Saxon nation is sensible of its own and its Sovereign's degradation; it is desirous of resuming its rank among independent states: a patriotic spirit is already manifested, and soon will there be seen in Saxony 100,000 hands armed in defence of the interests of Germany, and the great cause of Europe.——The Saxon legion is forming at the same time with that of Baden, and the Germans can demonstrate that they are worthy of their forefathers. It is to be hoped, in a short time all the nations from the coasts of the Baltic to the right bank of the Rhine, will rise in a mass to drive back the oppressors of the Continent to the left bank of that river. Fear cannot longer deter them, for 400,000 victorious warriors are ready at all points to support and assist them.——The Allies have no designs against France; they love, they respect the French; but they are determined to be governed by their own Princes and their own laws. If the French of the present day are worthy of that glorious name, they will cease to fight for a cause which has already brought such calamities upon mankind, and which exposes their reputation to so much danger.——According to intelligence from Italy, the Viceroy has been completely routed by the army of General Hillier.——A deserter, who has this moment arrived from Leipzig, reports, that the Duke of Dalmatia (Soult) has again been beaten on French ground by the Marquis of Wellington.——The illness of General Lagerbring, Chief of the Staff of the Swedish army, deprives the army of his services for a time. General Von Sparre supplies his place, and will perform his duties as far as his other occupations will permit.——Prince Charles of Mecklenburg Schwerin has taken the command of the Landsturm of that country.——Small Swedish detachments have already passed the Elbe, and exchanged some musket shots with the French advanced posts.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 16, 1813.

The Crown Prince yesterday removed his head-quarters to this town. General Czernitscheff will pass the Elbe to-day with a corps of cavalry and artillery. He will strike terror into the rear of the enemy, and effect a junction with the partizans of the grand army of Bohemia.——The Russian Captain Fabeck, belonging to the corps of General Czernitscheff, who had already

passed the Elbe, has advanced to Naumburg, where he found General Thielmann, with about 1,000 horse. Captain Fabeck, who had only 80 Cossacks with him, attacked the enemy at Querfurt, and took prisoners a Bavarian Colonel, a French Lieutenant-Colonel, 40 officers, and 500 privates. He delivered the soldiers over to a Cossack regiment of General Thielmann's corps, and has sent all the officers to this side of the river.——Accounts from Cassel state, that the utmost consternation prevails in that city and the adjacent country. The members of the diplomatic corps are making preparations for their departure. The French Minister, Reinhardt, manifests great uneasiness.——The Prince of Eckmuhl still occupies the line behind the Stecknitz, and on the 12th inst. had his head-quarters at Ratzeburg. He had detached General Pecheux with 8 or 9,000 men to Magdeburg. General Count Wallmoden was apprized of this movement by letters which had been intercepted on the left bank of the Elbe. He proceeded with part of his force to Domitz, to watch the motions of the enemy, and, if opportunity should offer, to act offensively against him. ——The advanced guard of General Blucher's army was on the 13th at Bautzen, and continued its movement upon Dresden, pursuing the French troops as they retreated. Intelligence received yesterday from General Wobeser, who is at Talkenberg, before Heitzberg, where General Tauenzien has his head-quarters, states, that two of the enemy's corps d'armée, under the command of the King of Naples, with 13 regiments of cavalry, were upon the right bank of the Elbe. The patroles advanced to the position of General Wobeser, and attempted to intercept a convoy of provisions, but without success.——Generals Blucher and Bennigsen will give a good account of these two corps, should they not return to the left bank of the Elbe. General Tauenzien will accordingly act in concert with the allied army, whose left wing he forms.—— The head-quarters of the Swedish troops are at Roslau. The van is already on the left bank of the Elbe, and pushes its advanced posts to Dessau. General Bulow has his head-quarters before Wittenberg, the siege of which will immediately commence. The garrison of this place has been reinforced.

PROCLAMATION.

The Crown Prince of Sweden to the Saxons.

Saxons,—The combined army of North Germany has passed your frontiers; not to wage war with the people of your country, but only to attack its oppressors.——You cannot but ardently wish for the success of our arms, whose sole object is to revive your ruined prosperity, and to restore to your Government its splendour and independence. We continue to consider all Saxons as friends. Your property shall be respected; the army shall observe the strictest discipline, and its wants shall be supplied in the manner least burdensome to the country. Forsake not your houses, and pursue your usual occupations as before. ——Soon will important events deliver us from the danger of an ambitious policy. Be the worthy descendants of the Saxons of old, and if German blood must flow, let it be but for the independence of Germany, and not for the pleasure of one single individual, to whom you are bound by no tie, by no common interest. France is fine and extensive enough; the conquerors of antiquity would have been content with such an empire. The French themselves wish to return within the limits which nature herself has prescribed them. They hate tyranny, even though they are subservient to it. Venture at length to tell them, that ye are resolved to be free; and these same French will admire you, and will, themselves, encourage you to persevere in your generous undertaking.

CHARLES JOHN.

Head-quarters, Juterbock, Sept. 10, 1813.

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Oct. 9, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Oct. 6, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have this day been received at Earl Bathurst's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, 19th and 27th Sept. 1813.

Nothing of importance has occurred since I addressed your Lordship on the 10th instant, in the positions of the army.——The garrison of Pamplona having made several sorties during the blockade, in all of which they were repulsed with loss, made one in considerable force on the 10th, possibly with a view to reconnoitre the force by which the blockade was maintained, but they were immediately driven in. Mariscal de Campo Don Carlos d'Espana, who commands the blockade, was unfortunately

wounded, but is still able to exercise his command; and he has reported most favourably of the officers and troops employed under his command on this occasion.

Lezaca, Sept, 27, 1813.

I have the honour to enclose the copy of a dispatch of the 15th and 17th instant, which I have received from Lieut.-General Lord William Bentinck, from which it appears that his advanced guard, under Col. Adam, was attacked by a considerable force of the enemy, on the night of the 12th instant, in the pass of Ordal, and that they were obliged to retire with the loss of four pieces of artillery. I hope that the loss of men has not been considerable; but I have not received the returns of that sustained by the corps engaged on this occasion.——It gives me great satisfaction to report, that the Spanish troops engaged, viz. the regiments of Badajoz, Tiradores of Cadiz, and Volontarios de Aragon, being a brigade of infantry belonging to General Sarsfield's division of the second army, behaved remarkably well, as well as the 2d battalion 27th regiment, the Calabrese light infantry, and the rifle companies of the 4th line bastalion King's German legion, and of De Roll's regiment. In consequence of this event, Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck retired to the neighbourhood of Tarragona, and the enemy have, I understand, again recrossed the Lobregat.——Nothing extraordinary has occurred in front of the army under my immediate command.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, K. B. to Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. dated Tarragona, the 15th and 17th September, 1813.

According to the intention expressed in my letter of the 27th of August, the army moved forward, and arrived at Villa Franca on the 5th September. All the intelligence continued to corroborate the departure of a considerable part of Suchet's force to France. It was only on the 27th that doubts began to be entertained of the truth of this fact. It appears that great detachments had been made with convoys going to France, who returned with others of salt meat and ammunition; and as far as I can learn, not above three thousand men have left Catalonia. The public had been deceived by the removal of the officers, of all the Spanish employés, and by the preparations made for the defence and supply of Barcelona.——The French force had been hitherto dispersed on the Lobregat, at Sabadell, and about Barcelona.——On the 11th the enemy united about twelve thousand men at Molino de Rey, all his disposable forces from the Ampindan, and the garrisons had arrived at Barcelona, and every thing appeared to indicate a general movement.——The British army were posted at Villa Franca, and in the villages in its front, as far as the mountains on the Lobregat. The pass of Ordal, over which passes the great road, was occupied by the advance of the army, under Colonel Adam, and three battalions of General Sarsfield's division. The pass was very strong, and I had no apprehensions of its being forced. The probable line of attack, as being a certain one, was by turning our left by Martorell and San Sadurni, where was posted the first army.——I had not numbers equal to those which the French could bring against me; I had been obliged to leave the division of General Whittingham at Reus and Vals, from the want of provisions and means of transport. The division of Gen. Sarsfield was also without subsistence, but in order not to retire entirely to the rear, or to be unprepared to take advantage of any favourable circumstances, I took upon myself to anticipate the supplies which I knew were coming from General Elio, and which I could command from being embarked in British transports. I doubted the intention of the enemy to advance, but if he did, the strong post in my front, or the detour by Martorell, if coming by that road, would give me ample time to retreat in security.——On the 12th, however, at midnight, the enemy attacked the pass of Ordal, and carried it, after an obstinate resistance, by great superiority in numbers. The corps were obliged to save themselves in the mountains, and two six-pounders, with two mountain guns, unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands. The only consolation I have to offer, is the bravery both of British and Spaniards; of the steadiness and gallantry of the latter, every British officer present speaks in terms of the highest admiration. I am sorry to say that Colonel Adam has been severely wounded, as well as Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves, and several other valuable officers of the 2d battalion of the 27th regiment. The Calabrese did not suffer materially. I can give no exact return of our loss, but I hope it will eventually not be considerable; I have heard of two thousand men having joined Col. Manzo, near San Sadurni, among whom are two hundred of our own troops, and

great numbers have already joined from different parts of the coast, and are hourly coming in. I immediately put the army in retreat; the enemy's dragoons and cuirassiers pressed closely upon us, but they were so gallantly charged, though in very superior numbers, by our own cavalry, that about mid-day they gave up the pursuit. ——I am much indebted to Colonel Lord Frederick Bentinck, for the judgment and spirit with which he directed the operations of his brigade. The 20th dragoons, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Hawker; the Brunswick hussars, by Lieutenant-Colonel Schraeder; and the Sicilian cavalry, by Captain Stagapede, very much distinguished themselves. The army made their retreat without any loss to Vendrells, from whence it marched again the same night to Altafiella, and yesterday evening took up its ground in front of this town.

Sept. 17.—I enclose the reports of the different officers commanding corps, and the artillery of the affair of Ordal, for your Lordship's information.

Sept. 17, *nine p. m.*—I have just received intelligence, that the enemy left Villa Franca this morning, and have returned to Molino de Rey on the Lobregat. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded.

Tarragona, Sept. 15.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform you, that about eleven o'clock on the evening of the 12th, the enemy attacked the picquets, posted in front of the position of Ordel. The Calabrian free corps had been previously moved from the hill, on the left of the position, to occupy the ground more to its right, on which is the ruin of an old fort. At twelve the enemy attempted to force the pass; the time of night made it impossible to ascertain precisely what were the enemy's intentions, or to discover the extent of his force; the attack on the left of the road was resisted with great gallantry, and the enemy were repeatedly driven back by the Spanish troops, which had occupied the ground between the road and the place on which I was posted; the principal force of the enemy were directed against the right of the position. About two o'clock, Captain Baron Gumains reported to me, that Colonel Adam and Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves were both wounded, that the enemy were gaining ground and overpowering the troops on the right. I advanced with the Calabrians, and attacked the left of the enemy's column. The enemy had already succeeded in turning the right of the position, and the troops that had defended that flank were obliged to retire; I therefore determined to fall back, keeping the hills on the left of the road.——At day-light I sent a patrol into the valley of San Sadurni, and in consequence of the information that the town of San Sadurni was occupied by Spanish troops, I marched with the intention of rejoining the army by the road leading from thence to Villa Franca; after crossing the river which was in front of the town, I was attacked by a considerable number of the enemy, both infantry and cavalry, and forced back towards the Barcelona road. I succeeded in crossing the main road unperceived by the enemy, and from thence proceeded in the direction of Sedges, in the hope that the enemy had not occupied that place, and that I should be able to embark the corps there, or at Villa Nueva, which I have the satisfaction to report was effected at the former place, during the night of the 13th.——I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, the reports of the attack on the right of the position, which I have received from Captain Muller, commanding De Roll's rifle company, and from Captain Waldron, who commanded the 2d battalion of the 27th regiment, after Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves and Captain Mills had been wounded.——I am, &c.

(Signed) J. Carey, Com. C. F. C.

Lt.-Gen. Lord W. Bentinck, &c.

Tarragona, Sept. 15, 1813.

Sir,—Agreeably to your directions, I beg leave to report to you the following occurrences, which took place on the night of the 12th instant.——The enemy attacked the position of Ordal at about midnight. I defended an old work, which commanded the main road, with the rifle companies of De Roll's regiment, and that of the 4th battalion King's German legion, besides two companies of the 27th regiment. We resisted a considerable time the repeated attacks of the enemy, but our ranks being at last much thinned, whilst the attacks of the enemy became more and more impetuous,

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——"And, if he "*now escape*, why God forgive him too!" said Macduff. So say we, at present, with regard to Buonaparté, who seems to have been deserted by the whole of the *old families*, to whom he had endeavoured to link himself. On some of them he had conferred enormous favours; some he had spared when under his very feet. They had professed the most unbounded gratitude towards him. They owed their very existence to his clemency. Yet, the moment they perceived a fair prospect of destroying him, they deserted him, and joined those, against whose arms he had protected them. ——Whether this defection will lead to any defection in France, where much of the power has been placed in the hands of the *old families*, they being the fittest instruments to carry on a monarchical government; whether here, too, Napoleon will find enemies, where he expected to have provided himself with firm friends, time will show; but, I remain of opinion, that, if the people of France continue attached to his cause, he will finally triumph.—— And, if he does, though it be hard to say what effects may be produced by the intrigues of his wife, he will hardly again run the risk of being destroyed by the *old families of Europe*.——The reader must see, that the whole of Napoleon's present difficulties and dangers (and they are very great) arise from his desire to connect himself with the old families, and from his desire to ennoble and royalise his own race. ——He must be a *father* forsooth! A legitimate papa! Un père de famille! He has found that these are *luxuries*, incompatible with the glory of conquest. Talents and courage are not hereditary. It is a folly beyond all follies; it is a weakness unworthy of any man to expect that his son will possess talents, because he himself possesses them.——But, that Buonaparté; that this man, whose mind seems to have so boundless a stretch; that *he* should have expected to find in sons and other relations co-operators and imitators, is truly surprising; that *he* should have run any risk to his fame for the purpose of royalising his family, and leaving a *successor*, is wonderful indeed.——The writers in the London news-papers seem to suppose, that the hour of Napoleon is at hand. I do not think so, and, if I did, it would be far from being a matter of joy with me, unless I could be well assured, that the re-establishment of all the old despotisms would not follow his fall.——There are some persons, who suppose, that the old governments, if they once recovered their former territories and power, would, seeing what they have suffered, take good care not to expose themselves to the like again by acts of oppression on their subjects, but would, in future, treat them well, and give them so much freedom and happiness, that they would desire no change, and would be ready to shed their blood against every attempt to subvert their government.——This would be extremely desirable, and, if I could rely upon its taking place, oh! how I should pray for the fall of Buonaparté, who, though he has done a great deal for the good of mankind, is now acting a part not worthy of a friend of freedom.——But, I cannot rely upon this taking place. On the contrary, my fears tend the other way. I fear, that the old governments, once safe from without, once the absolute masters of their people, having no longer any need to fear their ill-will, would reason thus:— "We have been in danger; we have experienced humiliation; we have had a narrow escape; let us take care that this "danger happen not again; let us keep "down the people; let us so fastly bind "them, that they never can rise against us "again; and, above all things, let us eradicate the last fibre of liberty in France, "whence the pernicious plant first sent "forth its seed." Such, I fear, would be their mode of reasoning; such their purpose, to carry which into effect, their being now so amply *armed*, would give them more than sufficient means. And, if such were to be the consequence of the fall of Napoleon, what friend of freedom must not regret his fall?——There would be, too,

something of *revenge* mix itself with the motives of the old governments, who have heard the execrations of their people, the moment that these latter dared to speak their mind. In short, it would, all things considered, be wonderful in the extreme, if the fall of Napoleon were not attended with the consequence that I have here pointed out.——The way to convince the world that there is no danger of this, is for the old governments explicitly to declare to the people of France, to begin with, that they only seek the fall of an oppressor, and that they will assist the people of France to shake off his yoke, then leaving them to choose their own rulers and model their own government.——But, in all the proclamations that we see, we look in vain for any sentiment favourable to freedom. The old governments complain of the *insatiate ambition*, of the *tyranny*, of Napoleon; but, this complaint extends no farther than to *themselves*. They say not a word about giving *freedom to any people;* and, if they make use of the word, it is only as applied to *themselves*. They want to be freed from a master; but, they never talk of giving freedom to their subjects.——The present situation of our own army, which is *in France*, appears to me to offer a fine opportunity for a declaration, on our part, of our views. Why should not Lord Wellington issue a proclamation, assuring the people of France of our desire to be at peace with *them;* of our wishes to defend ourselves against the ambitious and tyrannical views of their Emperor; of our love of freedom, and our desire to see them free; of our anxious wish to assist them in shaking off a yoke which oppresses, and to leave them at full liberty to form that sort of government which they like best?——This, it seems to me, is pointed out not less by sound policy than by justice: and, it would; as far as relates to ourselves, at any rate, tend to remove those fears, which the people of France may have of a change.——Till now I was not aware, that, even in the case of Sweden, Napoleon owes the defection to his foolish rage for aggrandizing *his own family*. The following article, which I take from the Courier of the 1st instant, is very well worthy of attention. ——"*Leipsic, Oct.* 6.—The Gazette of "this city contains the following article: "The Prince of Sweden has for some time "been issuing publications, which may, "literally, be denominated pamphlets. It "is inconceivable, that this Prince should "so forget the rank to which he has been "raised, as to sign productions issuing "from the brains of a Kotzebue, a Schlegel, "a Sarrazin, or a Goldschmidt. The public asks, with astonishment, is not this "Prince the same Prince of Ponte Corvo, "whom the French Government deigned "to appoint Marshal, and has since loaded "with favours and gifts? Is he not the "same Marshal, who in Hamburgh, Hanover, and Elbing, imposed *such heavy "contributions, merely to fill his private "coffers?* Is he not that Bernadotte, that "violent Jacobin, who, during his legation "to the Court of Vienna, displayed the "tri-coloured flag, and occasioned his expulsion from that city? Is he not the "same Bernadotte, *whose principles France "contemns*, and who, but for the indulgence and protection of the Emperor Napoleon, *who generously forgave his errors, in consideration of his alliance with "his family*, must now have been grovelling in the dust? Assuredly this is the "very same man—he who owes his elevation to the throne of Sweden only to the "admiration and regard which the power "and successes of France had excited in "Sweden, and who could not have seated "himself on that throne but with the permission and consent of France. It shocks "us to behold ingratitude, degradation, "and disregard of every honourable feeling, carried to such an extreme. According to the opinion of persons who "have the best means of information, the "reason of this conduct is, that being paid "by England, it has been imposed upon "him as a duty to degrade himself, and to "break for ever with France; and with "this view he has been led to accept Guadaloupe, a French possession, and has "promised to sign all the libels that the "English may think proper to compose. "Some deem it quite natural, that the "Prince of Sweden, like all other renegadoes, should figure as the most violent "enemy of his country. Others, in short, "think that this Prince is rather to be pitied, inasmuch as *his mother having been "deranged, and some of his brothers and "sisters being actually insane*, he may "have been impelled to his present line of "conduct, *by attacks of the same malady.* "The destiny of Sweden, in fact, is truly "singular. She expels from the throne a "Prince of disordered intellect, and calls "to it a French General, who, born a Catholic, is compelled, as the first act of his "government, to abjure his religion; and "this same General, the twentieth only in

"rank in the French army, *whose principles and moral character are held in such slight estimation in his native country*, is "the son and brother of lunatics, and already begins himself to experience the "attacks of that malady."——Thus, we see, then, that Bernadotte was made heir to the Swedish Crown because he had formed *an alliance with the* FAMILY of Napoleon!——Supposing all that is said here to be *true*, it then follows, that, though Bernadotte had laid heavy contributions, merely to fill his own private coffers; though his principles were despised in France; though his mother was deranged, and some of his brothers and sisters are actually insane; notwithstanding all this, Bernadotte, only the twentieth General in rank in the French army, was chosen as the man to be made Sovereign of Sweden, *because* he had married amongst the relations of Buonaparté! A much severer thing could not have been said of the latter.——The Emperor "*generously* forgave his errors." *Generously*! no; that is not the word. He discovered no generosity here. He discovered *partiality*, *injustice*, *aristocratic pride*, and *folly*, but, not one grain of generosity. It was *self* that weighed here. He forgave offences against the public; because the offender was related to *himself*.——This is what nations have so often complained of in their rulers. It is the great sin of monarchy and aristocracy, which but too often forces unfit persons into places of public trust, merely because they are related to kings and nobles.——The writer of this article must have been in a strange dilemma. He obviously wished to blacken Bernadotte; but it was impossible not to give the Emperor a lick at the same time.

ECCE HOMO.——In another part of this sheet is a letter from Mr. FORDHAM, and also one from OBSERVATOR, in answer to Mr. Fordham's last.——I shall not attempt to judge between these two gentlemen; but, I must say, that, as to myself, Mr. Fordham does *not answer me*.——I asked him to *prove*, that the passage of St. Matthew, which records the supernatural conception of the Virgin Mary, was a *forgery*. And what does he say in answer? Why, that he can "*only refer me to the works which contain this evidence*," without even *naming* those works. But, by his leave, I beg leave to reject this mode of *proving*. For, in the first place, I have not, thank God, the works in question; and, if I had, I do not see why I should be subjected to the labour of reading them. Besides, what are these works in the way of *authority*? How am I to be sure, that what is stated in them is not a "forgery" too?——This will not do. I must have the *proof* from facts and argument produced by Mr. Fordham; or, I cannot give up my creed to him, when I see it founded in a plain and circumstantial relation of facts, contained in a book, every word of which I have always been taught to look upon as unquestionably true.——But, Mr. Fordham, in the fulness of his complaisance, says, he will afford me *two or three* proofs. One will be enough, if it be a *real* one.——Let us see.——"In the first place," says he, "this *extraordinary* event is no "where alluded to in any *other* passage of "the sacred writings." I am glad (by the by) to hear that he calls them "*sacred*," in spite of all the "*forgeries*" which he has discovered in them.——"In no *other* passage?" And what *proof* is that of the falsehood of this particular passage? The speaking of Baalam's ass is not alluded to in any but one passage. The same may be said of the Prophet's covering his beard with cow-dung, and of his lying such a great number of days and nights upon one side. The same may be said of Noah's flood; of the punishment of Lot's wife; and even of the issuing of the Ten Commandments. What! Mr. Fordham, are we to look upon a recorded fact as false, merely because it is not alluded to more than once in the same book?——*Proof* the 2d.—"If "this account had been true, Jesus would "have been called, Jesus of *Bethlehem* (where "the account says he was born), according "to the uniform custom of the Jews, and "not Jesus of *Nazareth*."——How this, which relates merely to the *place* of the birth, and not at all to the manner of the conception, can be considered as a *proof* of the falsehood of the statement relative to the conception, is wholly above the cut of my comprehension.——*Proof* the 3d is a clencher.——"The account was *wanting* "*in the copies* used by the ancient Hebrew "Christians." *Alias*, it was *forged*. But, my good Mr. Fordham, if you go on at this rate, we may as well drop the controversy; for you *prove* the truth of one assertion by making another assertion. Before you brought forward this fact, you should have *proved the fact itself*.——Mr. Fordham asks for *my proof*, that the Bible is of "*divine origin*, or *written by inspiration*."——I never made any such asser-

tion. I never pretended to be able to prove any such thing. What I said was this: that the Bible must *all* be of divine origin, or must *all* be a tissue of fable and imposture; and this, I think, I have *proved* over and over again. My *belief*, indeed, is, of course, as a Churchman, that it was all of divine origin; but, my belief has nothing to do with the *proof* of the truth of the thing believed. I believe the fact, because I have it from good authority. If Mr. Fordham were to tell me, that he had seen my father forty years ago, I should *believe* the fact, and relate it as fact; but, I should not be able to *prove* it, if Mr. Fordham were to die before I were called upon for the proof. ——I quit this subject for the present, with begging the reader to attend carefully to the two letters of *Observator* and *Mr. Fordham*, who seem to be pretty fairly pitted against each other.——Observator requires *an answer*, and I make no doubt that he will have it from a person of Mr. Fordham's candour.

Wm. COBBETT.

HOLY TRINITY.

Mr. Cobbett, I thank you for your politeness, in so readily inserting my letter in your last Register. One object of that letter was, to correct some of your statements respecting the real sentiments of the Unitarians, to which you reply by asking for my individual creed. Now I thought I had pretty freely *confessed* to you before, considering that you are not a Spiritual Father in God, and therefore I *humbly conceive* not entitled to a *full* and *plenary* confession of faith. But, in truth, I have nothing to conceal, and will endeavour to gratify you, in due time. Another purport of my letter was, to exhibit the *falsehoods* of Ecce Homo. You say, you know of nobody that the book calumniates; what is calumny, but to misrepresent, to vilify, to insinuate falsehoods against human character? If the character of the dead, it is the more mean and unmanly, because they can neither speak nor write in their own defence. If the author have clear and indisputable FACTS against the purity of Jesus' character, nothing is easier than for him to produce them. And whatever can be *proved*, it is fair and honourable to write. You say, "the author of Ecce Homo tells us, that *all* those who had any hand in propagating our faith were artful rogues." And where, and how, Mr. Cobbett, does he *prove* this? Let him produce, if he can, a single instance, in the Apostles, of want of integrity or sincerity. They sacrificed all their temporal prospects, and subjected themselves to numberless calamities; and this they did, you will please to observe, not merely for *speculative opinions*, about which, men may differ all their lives (like the martyrs), but for *facts*, palpable to the senses, and which, if false, they must have *known* to be false. For every effect there must certainly be an adequate cause; but who can assign any possible cause for conduct so absurd, unnatural, and unaccountable? The conduct of the Apostles, according to this hypothesis; that is, knowing the facts to be false (and they could not be mistaken respecting whether the blind were or were not restored to sight, &c.), is a greater miracle than any recorded in the New Testament. I should be happy to meet any Unbeliever on this ground, and challenge him to enter the lists against me; as I have before done, to Methodists and Churchmen, who are the Pharisees of the present day. Though "*all* those who had any hand in propagating our faith" were not artful rogues; yet, I readily admit, that a great many of them, *subsequent* to the Apostles' time, were nothing more than knaves and thieves, who converted religion into the means of keeping the people in ignorance and slavery. To these "unclean beasts" we owe the corruptions of religion, and the forgery of the miraculous conception, which the impudent knaves called "pious frauds;" and whose descendants are to be found in the modern times. The whole priesthood is (at least in my opinion), *directly opposed* to the precepts and spirit of christianity; it is a system of imposition, founded on the ignorance and credulity of mankind, under the pretence that religion is a mystery, and requires a priest, who must be paid to unveil it, and employed to mediate, by prayer, between God and the deluded people. What a libel upon the divine goodness, and upon the simplicity and majesty of pure religion! I do not make an exception to the Unitarian priesthood, which, as a *priesthood*, is equally objectionable.—You ask me for a *substitute* for all this trumpery; I refer you to the pure religion of Jesus Christ shorn of its corruption, in the same manner as you would restore the primitive constitution of England. The cases are exactly parallel, and I need only copy your political arguments and apply them to religion. You are peculiarly anxious, I

observe, for the preservation of the Devil, who, you say, "is a personage *absolutely necessary* to the Christian system;" by this system you mean, of course, "your church;" I am not disposed to question this position; he is, perhaps, an old and venerable member of it; and you strive so hard, and plead so strenuously for him, that I am induced to give him up to you. It is true, I did once entertain the idea that the word Satan or Devil only signified the personification of evil, in the language of eastern allegory; but if I am mistaken, I am very willing to be corrected. The word hell-fire, too, I always understood figuratively; it is used by the scriptural writers with very different meanings; and in the present case, I presume, only signifies the acute misery which vice necessarily produces in the bosom of man, who carries his hell in his own breast. If we deprive the people of the Devil and his dominions, and of the priests, what, you ask, do I propose in lieu of them? Seriously speaking, I refer them to the instructions of Jesus Christ, who clearly informs us, that we must place our happiness upon the basis of virtue. Let us propose, therefore, that they withdraw their minds from the vagaries of foolish imaginations, and look to their own individual exertions for the source of all happiness in this world and in the next; and which happiness alone constitutes the true heaven of man.

"Know then this truth, enough for man to know,
VIRTUE alone, is happiness below."

In short, if men will not rationally admit the evidences for the corruptions of religion, and make just allowances for the language and country in which it was written, there is no end to the nonsense and absurdities which may be ingrafted upon it. You ask me to *prove* the forgery of the miraculous conception, &c. I can only refer you to those works which contain this evidence. But I will afford you two or three proofs. In the first place, this extraordinary event is no where alluded to in any other passage of the sacred writings; *on the contrary*, Jesus is *repeatedly* called the son of Joseph and Mary. In the next place, if this account had been true, he would have been called Jesus of Bethlehem (where this account says he was born), according to the *uniform custom* of the Jews, and *not* Jesus of Nazareth. In the third place, this account was wanting in the copies used by the ancient Hebrew Christians, &c. &c. Here then I answer your call upon me for proof. And now I think it but fair in return to ask *you* for proof, when you venture to say the Bible is of "divine origin," or written by inspiration, which I will be happy to see from you.——I remain, sincerely your's, G. G. FORDHAM.

MR. FORDHAM AND MORALITY.

MR. COBBETT—Though Mr. Elton appears to decline entering the lists with me on the subject of Morality, I find I have got an opponent in your correspondent Mr. Fordham, who, in the plenitude of his zeal for religion, laid himself open, in your last Register, to your just censure for the harsh and illiberal language which he made use of. As I understand, however, that Mr. F., though he calls people madmen, and asserts they are worse than brutes, is a very worthy man, I shall endeavour, regardless of his holy frenzy, to obviate the difficulties which he has chosen to suggest in so early a stage of the discussion. This may not, perhaps, be altogether agreeable to this impatient gentleman, who writes as if he would "take "heaven by storm;" but if the delay which this may occasion in the developement of what he sneeringly designates, my "universal panacea," should increase his fretfulness, he has only himself to blame for this, and must in consequence exercise a little more Christian patience than he seems to have done hitherto.——In my last letter I said, that Jesus Christ had *merely* taught the *moral precepts* which were inculcated many years before his birth, by lawgivers and philosophers. Mr. Fordham attempts to refute this, in an interrogatory way: he asks, "which of "these philosophers taught that there is "but one only God, and that we should "love him with all our hearts, mind, and "strength?"——In reply to this, I would ask Mr. F. in turn, how he can make it appear, that the *belief* of one only God, or even the *belief* of any other religious point of faith, is a *moral precept?*—As well may he assert that the *belief* in the Devil, or in all the other Christian mysteries are moral precepts. Morality is a *science* founded on the nature of man; it is a science of *facts.*—The *belief* in a Deity is a matter of *faith*, totally unconnected with the duties which men, living in society, owe to one another. Mr. F. supposes that mankind, *before* the preaching of Jesus Christ, were altogether ignorant of the existence of one only God. He likewise admits, at least he does not deny, that the moral duties were taught and

practised during that period. Upon his own principles, therefore, it is proved, that morality may exist independent of all belief in a Deity. His question then as to which of the philosophers "taught "that there is but one God?" had nothing to do with my argument, which related altogether to a matter of *practice*, and not to a theological *speculation*, which, whether believed or not, is admitted not to be absolutely necessary to the proper regulation of the conduct of man.——But I do not argue the point upon this ground, merely because I think Mr. Fordham is right in his supposition, that *none* of the ancient philosophers "taught that there "is but one only God." Moses may not be termed a philosopher; but he cannot be denied the character of a legislator. He was a theist, and taught the Jews, many thousands of years before Christ, that "the Lord our God is *one* Lord."—Of Moses, however, it may be said that he taught from Divine inspiration. Be it so; this does not prove the less fatal to Mr. F's. assertion, that the belief of one only God was *peculiar* to Jesus Christ. But to meet Mr. F's. question more direct—if he will turn to Hume, he will find that able historian stating, that "the doctrine of "*one* Supreme Deity, the author of na-"ture, is *very ancient*; has spread itself "over great and populous nations; and, "among them, has been embraced by all "ranks and conditions of persons." Accordingly it appears, from the writings of Confucius, that the Chinese have for ages acknowledged *one* supreme intelligence. Even "our ancestors in Europe, *before* "*the revival of letters*, believed, as we do "at present, that there was *one* Supreme "God, the author of nature." Herodotus gives an account of the nation of the Getes, (who were called immortal, from their belief in the immortality of the soul,) in which he states, that they believed "in "*one* only true God," and asserted that the worship of all other nations was fiction and chimera.—Hume says, that the Getes were "genuine theists and *unita-"rians*." The ideas of Seneca, as to the being and perfections of a God, cannot be surpassed, if they are even equalled, by the Christian theology. "Do you not under-"stand," says that sublime writer, "the "majesty and authority of your judge? "He is the *supreme* governor of heaven "and earth, and the *God of all your Gods*; "and it is upon him that all those powers "depend which we worship as deities. "This God, when he laid the foundations "of the universe, and entered upon the "greatest and the last work in nature— "the ordering the government of the "world; though he was himself ALL AND "ALL, yet he substituted other subordi-"nate ministers as the servants of his "commands."——"Consider the majesty, "the goodness, and the venerable mer-"cies of the Almighty: a friend that is "always at hand. What delight can it "be to him, the slaughter of innocent "creatures, or the worship of bloody sa-"crifices? Let us purge our minds, and "lead virtuous and honest lives: his "pleasure lies not in the magnificence of "temples made with stone, but in the "piety and devotion of consecrated "hearts."——On perusing these exalted sentiments of the Deity, Lactantius, an early father of the Christian church, could not refrain from asking, "And in how "many other things does this *heathen* "speak of God like unto ourselves?"——I trust it is unnecessary for me to trouble you with more quotations, to prove that the notion entertained by Mr. Fordham, as to the belief of one only God, is erroneous. If he moderates a little of his zeal, and exercises somewhat more patience than appears to characterize him, I am persuaded he will be of the same opinion. But if, after all, I should be mistaken, and that gentleman should, as in your case, "snatch the text out of our "hands, and tell us it is a *forgery*," it would then be impossible to convince him by a thousand authorities.——As a *second* proposition Mr. F. has said, "If some of "the gospel precepts are the *same* with "those which were previously laid down, "it does not follow that Jesus received "them, or gathered them from the creeds "of the ancient sages; or that they are "not friendly to the best interests of man-"kind; if they are intrinsically good, "the circumstance of their being like "other precepts taught by other masters, "can *never* alter their *nature*."—Certainly, Mr. Fordham, the circumstance of Jesus Christ teaching a morality in itself *intrinsically good*, or which had been previously taught by philosophers and lawgivers, can never render it unfriendly to the best interests of mankind, or alter its nature. But what is this to the purpose? I never said that the preaching of a *pure morality* by Jesus Christ was *prejudicial* to mankind. What I stated was that "if "I am successful in making out the pro-"positions which I have maintained, I "think I shall have gone a great length in

"setting aside the EXCLUSIVE CLAIM of "Christianity, or indeed of any religion, "to the *only* pure system of morality." I further stated, that it was my "design, "in the sequel, to show, that *religion* has "been injurious to society," and that "I "am not aware the difficulty of finding a "proper substitute will be great." But there is a very wide difference indeed between asserting that *religion* has been injurious, and that *morality* has been prejudicial. By *religion* can only be understood what immediately relates to the worship of God: by *morality* what solely respects our duty to our neighbour. The confounding these two principles, has given rise to the greatest mischiefs that ever afflicted suffering humanity; and the same error has led Mr. Fordham to attribute opinions to me which I never even hinted at, and to infer conclusions which the premises can never justify.—He has even assumed, that a question put by Mr. Elton, *the consideration of which I had expressly reserved for a subsequent letter,* "stands as it did before." But where else should it stand? I have not yet had an opportunity of answering it. I would have been surprised indeed if any one should have been so stupid as to suppose that I had answered it, by merely saying that it was my intention to do so at a future period. Mr. Fordham himself, perverted as he appears to be in intellect, does not believe, notwithstanding all his pious sneers, that I have even attempted this, for he professes to be under great "impatience" till I take up the subject. I am greatly obliged to this gentleman for the caution which he gives me, to beware of *false* religion. It was certainly well meant. But if he had attended properly to the nature of my statement, he would have found it unnecessary. I have expressly said, without the least exception, *that religion has been injurious to society.* From this it is clear that I mean to have nothing to do with religion, whether it be the *true* religion or whether it be the *false*. Mr. Fordham might also have saved himself much trouble and anxiety on my account, and he would have found it unnecessary to "guard me against the rock upon which so many vessels have split;" had he been at half the pains to ascertain the "premises" upon which I mean to answer Mr. Elton's question, that he has been to commit his thoughts to paper. If he will turn to your Register of the 23d of October, he will find that I expressed myself "glad that the whole tendency of the argument maintained in *Ecce Homo*, is to unfetter the human mind, and decidedly to inculcate a pure system of morality; not indeed, upon theological enigmas, but upon '*the nature of man, and his true relations with the beings of his species.*'" This is what I hold to be the only premises upon which genuine morality, a morality which will suit all ages, and all circumstances, can be founded. All other premises, I mean to shew, have been false, and that unless mankind return to these, they never can discharge with propriety the duties incumbent upon them, nor enjoy any just portion of happiness. Whether I shall be successful or not in convincing such men as Mr. Fordham, I know not. Indeed, when he seems already almost disposed to regard my premises as "a piece of impudent quackery," I despair that any, even the most incontrovertible arguments, will ever make any impression upon his mind.——I had almost neglected to notice what Mr. F. says as to my remark, that Jesus Christ *borrowed* his morality from the ancients. He does not deny the fact, that some of the gospel precepts are *the same* with those which were *previously* laid down; but he says, that "it does not follow that Jesus received them, or gathered them from the creeds of the ancient sages." The presumption, however, appears to me very difficult; and when I find that presumption, supported by the testimony of writers who had the best means of ascertaining the fact, and who have expressly stated that Jesus *did borrow* his maxims from the ancients, I cannot conceive a stronger ground on which to rest the belief of any opinion. Even supposing, though not admitting, that Jesus Christ might have deduced his morality, like other sages, from a just apprehension of what was necessary for the well-being of society, this would not justify the assertion that the moral precepts *originated* with him; far less entitle his followers to arrogate to themselves the possession of the only pure system of morality that ever was, or can be, promulgated.——I am your's respectfully,

Nov. 2, 1813. OBSERVATOR.

ECCE HOMO.—P. S. As I was the occasion of your noticing the book entitled *Ecce Homo,* it may probably be expected that I should say something on what Mr. Fordham has advanced respecting that work. It certainly was my intention to have done this; but, on second thoughts,

and referring again to the publication itself, I find that Mr. F. has brought charges against the author which I do not think justified by the text. In particular, he says, that *Ecce Homo* "represents Jesus as a *libidinous* and *debauched* "character," and that the author "vilely "*insinuates* that Jesus was inclined to the "most *hateful, abominable,* and *unnatural* "*practices.*" Now, *if this be true,* Mr. Fordham can have no difficulty in referring to the passages where these insinuations are thrown out. I dare say, if he quotes them at full length, you, Mr. Cobbett, will have no objection to publish them; for I candidly confess, that I have not been able to discover any passage in the whole work, and I think I have read it with sufficient attention, where the most distant allusion is made to Jesus Christ being "inclined to the most hate-"ful, abominable, and unnatural prac-"tices." I suspect strongly that Mr. F. has been reading the strictures of some furious bigot upon *Ecce Homo,* rather than exercising his own judgment respecting it. But be this as it may, he has brought the charge, and he is bound to make it good in the way I have stated, the more especially as he has accused *Ecce Homo* of stating what is "*not true,*" and asserted that the work is "*full* of falsehoods and black insinuations." When he shews a *practical* regard for truth, instead of mere *professions,* and employs *reason* in place of *hard names,* I shall then, probably, consider his objections deserving of some attention.

Observator.

TITHES.

Marden, Oct. 2, 1813.

Sir,—If the brief history of tithe which I have given is correct, which I believe it is, then is the view Tranquillus has of them right; which, in your letter of June 5th, you state to be, that he evidently regards them as a mode of contribution to support the clergy, originating voluntarily on the part of some of the people who have compelled the rest to join in that contribution; and you may, Sir, judge of my surprise, when I read your assertion, "that tithes are a *real property* as much as the land itself;" if this assertion mean any thing it must be, that tithes are a *rightful property* as the land itself; if it means not this, it is a nonentity; every body knows that my plate, for instance, is real property, whether it is in my own hands or in the hands of the person who took it from my house, or in the hands of the receiver who purchased it from the thief: but the question is, whose rightful property is it, the man's who took it from my house, the receiver's, the purchaser's, or mine.—The whole of such like inquiry will, and must, depend on rightful or just claim. Your next assertion, that they descend with, and are much safer, than that of the land, is equally extraordinary; "and that the landowner has no more reason to complain of the tithe than a man would have to complain of a ground-rent who should purchase a house with such a charge."——The difference between the title of landed property and a tithe property appears to me perfectly distinct; the written law which conveys to me my land, is that which is acknowledged to be founded in equity, and received the common and universal consent of mankind; no legislature ever has or ever will deprive persons of their estates, or dispossess the owners, whose title is thus founded on equity supported by law. The law is plain, and equity being its basis, the opinion of mankind has for ages remained unalterable; and the justice of the laws, supporting the rightful possession of property, is so manifest, that it still has the universal approbation of mankind. The same may be said of the case of ground-rent or rent-charge: if I purchase, subject to this deduction, it is expressed in my title-deeds the sum fixed; I have my estate just so much the cheaper for it, it never can become the subject of dispute; who ever heard of any person applying to the legislature to interfere: between the parties paying and receiving rent-charges, the just claim being so obvious, the case has never occurred. But the case of tithe is totally different: if I purchase an estate subject to the payment of the tenth of the produce of the ground, I purchase it with a disputable contingency; no man can touch or claim a single rood of my ground: if the tithe is unpaid, the amount or value of the tithe is wholly dependent on the mode the occupier chooses to farm; and often, when the ill-advised tithe-holder has been informed of the increased value of his tithe, it has happened, when he has put in his claim, finding he has a man of property to deal with, instead of realising his exorbitant and unjust demand, he has found his supposed right an ignis fatuus, and lost it in the very grasp. The party also possessing the power to gather tithe, has generally only a life-interest dependent upon

services performed by him, how is it possible that tithe-property can, with any sense of propriety, be compared to freehold or other estates descending by inheritance?——The person who purchases an estate subject to the payment of tithes, has a well-grounded hope that this contingency will be got rid of either by a moderate commutation with the party collecting tithe, seeing the disputable and indefinite nature of his claim, or by the increasing wisdom of legislative interference, totally abolishing the tithe system in all its branches. Modern history points out to him, that the tithe system exists no longer in Scotland; that the Irish legislature, seeing the unjust claims of tithe-holders, by a single resolution of their House, abolished the whole of the small tithes, which was sanctioned and confirmed in Parliament by the act of Union. It is only a part of the United Kingdom which groans under the tithe system; the continent of Europe is released from this curse; even despots will no longer support such unjust demands; nor can I imagine, when English tithes shall come under the consideration of a British legislature, that it will much longer find protectors there.——But I am answered, the law of the land. The law of the land cannot alter the nature of justice; it may give a power and sanction to acts of themselves cruel and unjust! No one doubts, that every law which passes is intended to be founded on justice; it is on this principle that laws which are found to operate unjustly are so frequently repealed. A few years since, persons suffered fine, imprisonment, and even death itself, for differing from those religious opinions which were established by the law of the land: but do we not read these accounts with horror and detestation; or will any one in the present day be found to justify such scenes of cruelty and oppression as history has left us on record, because they were sanctioned by the law of the land. The law of the land sanctioned the flogging of soldiers; but, if my recollection fails me not, its cruelty and oppression has been complained of both in and out of Parliament, and some modification on this subject has taken place; no more is asked of the tithe laws, the injustice of their operation is almost universally admitted, even when the right or the power is insisted on. The injustice of giving one part of the community a power to enter the fields of another, to take the tenth of his labour, tillage, and produce of the land, has ever been considered by the most enlightened lawyers, philosophers, and statesmen as the most unjust power ever granted to one human being to exercise over another. Blackstone, treating on the rights of things, asks this question, "Who would be at the pains "of tilling the ground, if another might "watch an opportunity to seize upon and "enjoy the product of his industry, art, "and labour?" So outrageous a power does he consider this, that he thinks it would produce an abandonment of the land itself. If the law of the land is considered as giving the power to collect tithes, then are tithes nothing more or less than a tax for the support of the national church; and if this tax be unjust or oppressive in its operation, why not alter, modify, or repeal it, as has been done in cases of the *excise establishment*, or any other mode of taxation sanctioned by the legislature. If the necessity of a church establishment is admitted, why is the mercantile or monied interest to be excused from a due share of its support, and the entire pressure of the national church left to bear on the industrious and laborious agriculturist? This inquiry alone is sufficient to point out the injustice of this mode of supporting a national church. This is the light in which tithes are considered by that learned and enlightened divine Dr. Paley. In his Moral Philosophy he says, "Agriculture is discouraged by "every constitution of landed property, "which let in those who have no concern "in the improvement to a participation of "the profits; of all institutions which are "in this way adverse to cultivation and "improvement, none is so noxious as that "of tithes; a claimant here enters into the "produce, who contributed no assistance "whatever to the production. When years, "perhaps, of care and toil have matured "an improvement; when the husbandman "sees new crops ripening to his skill and "industry; the moment he is ready to put "his sickle to the grain, he finds himself "compelled to divide his harvest with a "stranger.—Tithes are a tax not only upon "industry, but upon that industry which "feeds mankind; upon that species of exertion, which it is the aim of all wise "laws to cherish and promote; and to uphold and excite which composes the main "benefit that the community receives from "the whole system of trade and the success of commerce"——The learned Dr. A. Smith says, "The tithe, as it is frequently a very unequal tax on the rent, "so it is also a discouragement both to the

"improvements of the landlord and to the "cultivation of the farmer. The one cannot venture to make the most important, "which are generally the most expensive "improvements, nor the other to raise the "most valuable, which are generally, too, "the most expensive crops, when the "Church, which lays out no part of the "expense, is to share so very largely in "the profit."——Can the injustice and oppressive operation of the tithe system be more clearly pointed out than by the above quotations, or any longer doubted? Surely both are sufficiently manifest to lead all classes of the community, not interested in their collection, to wish for a remedy. But this leads me naturally to the subject of the expediency of a general commutation, which must be deferred for another letter, if admissible in your Register.

Yours, respectfully, R. F.

N. B. This letter was sent for insertion before the last letter, but never came to hand. The reader who is interested in the subject, will readily perceive its insertion necessary, to preserve the chain of argument adopted by the writer.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

London Gazette, Oct. 9, 1813.

(Continued from page 576.)

we were at last driven from the old redoubt. I rallied the troops about sixty paces in rear of it, behind some old ruins, from which place we succeeded twice to retake the higher part of our old position, attacking, in conjunction with the Spanish brigade, which was close on our left, and which fought and charged with the greatest intrepidity.——We had fought for about an hour and a half on these spots, when Baron Gumains came up, and informed me that I was to give directions to our troops there, as Colonels Adam and Reeves were wounded. I immediately proceeded to the right, where the 27th regiment was posted, and desired some of my party to follow me. I had scarcely joined them, when I was informed, that the enemy were turning our right flank; I occasioned this to be reinforced, but it was in vain they attempted to withstand any longer, the enemy continuing to gain ground. At the same moment I saw the Spanish brigade on our left retiring; there was not a moment to be lost, and I ordered the 27th regiment to retire. We gained the main road, for the purpose of arriving at a hill, in rear of the first position, before the enemy could get possession of it: in this we succeeded. We continued our retreat, keeping close to the right of the main road, during the whole night, meeting at several times parties of the enemy on all sides. I was in hopes, that by day-light the progress of the latter would be stopped, and offer me the means of joining some of our troops; but being disappointed in this, I gained by that time the higher part of the woods, and was not discovered by the enemy till I had gained the village of Bonneoles, but his attempt to prevent our retreat was fruitless.——Our march was of the most fatiguing nature that can be imagined; many men, worn out by fatigue, remained behind, so that the party with which I joined the first division (by about two o'clock in the afternoon) consisted only of about seventy men; but I can assert, that a great number are still in the woods, and will be able to join.——I have omitted to say, that the artillery, under Captain Arabin, had been ordered to retire about half an hour before the position was forced, and previous to my succeeding to the command. The guns have been overtaken by the enemy's cavalry near Venta de Ordal.——I am, &c.

(Signed) N. Muller, Capt. De Roll's.

Lieut.-Col. Carey, commanding Calabrese Free Corps.

Tarragona, Sept. 15, 1813.

Sir,—On the night of the 12th instant, about twelve o'clock, the enemy, in great force, attacked the position of the 2d battalion 27th regiment at Ordal; and shortly after, Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves and Captain Mills being wounded, the command of the battalion devolved upon me. At this time the fire from the enemy's sharp-shooters was extremely heavy, as well as that of his artillery, under cover of which heavy columns of infantry were advancing upon my front and upon my right flank. Notwithstanding the inferiority of my force, and the loss already sustained, I was determined to keep my ground as long as possible, more especially when I witnessed the gallant, brave, and determined conduct of the Spanish troops on my left, who charged with the bayonet three times, and forced the enemy to retire with great loss.——I continued to maintain the positions for an hour and three quarters, exposed to an incessant fire along my front, the enemy's light troops on my right flank, and even in rear of it. I did not think of falling back,

until I saw the gallant Spaniards overpowered by numbers and almost destroyed. My left being thus uncovered, I conceived it my duty to save as many as I could collect of the battalion, and accordingly I retired, with five officers, eight serjeants, and sixty-six rank and file, under a heavy fire, and followed by the enemy's cavalry. ——I beg leave to state, that nothing could exceed the brave determined conduct of the officers and men of the 2d battalion 27th regiment; and I feel it justice to mention the good conduct of Lieutenant Felix, of the royal marines, attached to the battalion. ——I have the satisfaction to add, that many of the brave men, who were unavoidably dispersed during the action, have since joined; and I trust our loss altogether will not exceed two hundred men.——I am, &c.

(Signed) J. Waldron,
Capt. 2d Batt. 27th Reg.

Lieut.-Col. Carey, commanding Calabrese Corps.

Tarragona, Sept. 17, 1813.

Sir,—As the official reports made to the Commander of the Forces, by the different officers upon whom the command of the advance devolved, at the attack of the heights of Ordal, on the night of the 12th instant, cannot, owing to the circumstances in which the troops were placed after the heights were carried by the enemy, detail the particulars attending the loss of the brigade of guns under my command, I feel it necessary to state them to you, in order that you may be enabled to prevent any unfavourable impression from being received at the head-quarters of our corps, which could only occur in consequence of the circumstances not being rightly understood. ——I feel confident, that the Commander of the Forces, as well as every officer in this army, are convinced of the impracticability of bringing off the guns, and will do me justice in their own minds: nevertheless, should you deem it necessary to shew this letter to his Excellency (to whom I have already had the honour of reporting the business verbally), you are at liberty to do so. Shortly after the action commenced, Colonel Adam was severely wounded and obliged to quit the field, the command then devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves, who, perceiving that the enemy was gaining ground on all sides, gave me orders to retire with the guns: I accordingly withdrew them about one hundred yards, when, perceiving that the Spanish troops, who had given way on the left of the road, had rallied and returned to the charge, I halted the guns, being fearful of the effect their retreat might have on the minds of the soldiers.——Previous to this period, Lieutenant-Colonel Reeves had gone to the rear, severely wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel Carey (the next in command) was posted so far to the left, that I could receive no orders from him; all the other officers who were senior to me, were either wounded, or at so great a distance, that I was obliged to act entirely from my own judgment; but I was supported in my opinion of the propriety of halting the guns, by Brigade-Major Holmes and Captain Waldron, of the 27th regiment, who agreed with me in thinking it was absolutely necessary to remain on the ground, and again to bring the guns up to the support of the Spaniards, should they be so fortunate as to repulse the enemy. But the numbers of the enemy, who continued to bring forward fresh troops, at last prevailed; and the infantry (British and Spanish) were, after a most determined and obstinate resistance, obliged to withdraw from the heights, and to retire through the mountains to the right and left of the road. I then commenced retreating with the guns, covered by about fifty cavalry (Spaniards), and an officer and twelve men of the 27th. In about half an hour the 4th hussars came up with us, and, attacking the covering party of dragoons, obliged them to retreat with so much precipitation, that, in the confusion which they occasioned by galloping past the guns on a causeway, it was impossible to unlimber; and the French cavalry followed them so closely, that I found we were surrounded, even before I knew the cause of this sudden movement of the Spaniards.——The enemy guarded their prisoners badly; it being night, I had myself the good fortune to escape by riding on with the French hussars, who continued their pursuit of the Spaniards, after they had placed a guard over their guns: and I have the satisfaction to add, that the greater part of the non-commissioned-officers and gunners have effected their escape into the mountains and have joined the army, with the different detachments of infantry which have been constantly coming in since the night of the action.——Previous to the commencement of the retreat, I had been informed by Colonel Teros, commanding the Spanish troops, that the infantry were retiring along the road in rear of the guns. The very sudden movement of the French cavalry was,

therefore, entirely unexpected on my part: as I supposed I should always have had ample notice of such an event from the rear. ——I am, &c.

(Signed) F. ARABIN, Capt. Rl. Artil.

Maj. Williamson, commanding Rl. Artil.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the British Force commanded by Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. Lord W. Bentinck, K. B. in action with the French Army, commanded by Marshal Suchet, on the night of the 12th and morning of the 13th Sept. 1813.

General Staff. 1 colonel, 1 subaltern, wounded. —20th Light Dragoons. 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, killed; 4 serjeants, 23 rank and file, wounded; 6 rank and file, 24 horses, missing. —Brunswick Hussars. 8 rank and file, 6 horses, killed; 3 subalterns, 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 1 serjeant, 17 rank and file, 24 horses, missing.—Foreign Troop Hussars. 1 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.—Sicilian Cavalry. 6 rank and file killed; 4 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 5 horses, missing.—Royal Artillery. 1 subaltern wounded; 1 horse, 40 mules, missing.—1st Batt. 27th Foot. 2 rank and file wounded.—2d Batt. 27th Foot. 1 subaltern killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 5 subalterns, 1 staff, wounded; 2 subalterns missing.—1st Batt. 58th Foot. 1 rank and file missing.—1st Batt. 81st Foot. 2 rank and file killed, 5 rank and file wounded; 6 rank and file missing.—Calabrian Free Corps. 1 subaltern wounded; 2 captains, 1 subaltern, missing.—De Roll's Rifle Company. 1 subaltern killed.—Rifle Company, 4th Batt. King's Ger. Legion. 2 subalterns wounded.

Total Loss.—1 captain, 2 subalterns, 1 serjeant, 24 rank and file, 7 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 13 subalterns, 1 staff, 7 serjeants, 53 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 1 serjeant, 32 rank and file, 54 horses, 40 mules, missing.

The number of rank and file killed, wounded, and missing in the 2d battalion 27th regiment, Calabrian free corps, rifle companies of Roll's regiment, and 4th battalion King's German Legion, cannot be clearly ascertained, as these corps were obliged to disperse in the mountains. Seven hundred men have already come in, and others are known to be on their march to join the army. For the same reason it is equally impossible correctly to ascertain the loss of the Spanish brigade.——The British corps, viz. 2d battalion 27th regiment, Calabrian free corps, and rifle companies, did not exceed eleven hundred men in action.

Names of Officers killed.

20th Light Dragoons. Captain Hanson.—2d Batt. 27th Foot. Lieutenant and Adjutant Taylor.—De Roll's Rifle Company. Lieut. Seggessar.

Wounded.—General Staff. Colonel Frederick Adam, 21st Foot, commanding the advance, severely (not dangerously); Lieutenant Campbell, Marine Artillery, D. A. A. G. severely (not dangerously).—Brunswick Hussars. Lieut. Schaefer, Cornet Micheler, Cornet Ahlers, severely (since dead).—Portuguese Artillery. Lieutenant T. F. Madeira, slightly.—2d Batt. 27th Foot. Lieut.-Colonel Reeves, severely (not dangerously); Captains Mill and Winser, severely; Lieutenants M'Pherson, Drewe, Manly, Talbot, and Shea, severely (not dangerously); Assistant-Surgeon Fitzgerald, slightly.—Calabrian Free Corps. Lieutenant Tarento.—Rifle Company 4th King's German Legion. Lieut. Graaffe, severely (since dead); Lieutenant Blackmeister, severely.

Missing.—2d Batt. 27th Foot. Lieut. Steele, Ensign Leatham, severely wounded.—Calabrian Free Corps. Captain Oliveira, Captain and Adjutant Choissnel, Lieutenant Vita.

(Signed) C. A'COURT.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Oct. 5.—Her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent has received the following intelligence of the situation of the armies on the 29th of September:—

"The Emperor has given the command of one of the corps of the young guard to the Duke of Reggio. The Duke of Castiglione has put himself in march with his corps, to take a position upon the debouches of the Saale. Prince Poniatowski has marched with his corps upon Peneg. General Count Bertrand, on the 26th, attacked the enemy's corps d'armée of Berlin, which covered the bridge thrown over at Wartenbourg, forced it, took some prisoners, and drove it fighting to the *tete-de-pont.* The enemy evacuated the left bank, and destroyed his bridge. General Bertrand immediately caused the *tete-de-pont* to be destroyed. The Prince of the Moskwa marched upon Oranienbaum, and the 7th corps upon Dessau. A Swedish division, which was at Dessau, hastened to repass upon the right bank. The enemy was likewise obliged to destroy his bridge, and the *tete-de-pont* has been razed. The enemy has thrown some shells into Wittenberg from the right bank. On the 28th, the Emperor reviewed the 2d corps of cavalry, upon the heights of Weissig.——The month of September has been very bad, very wet, contrary to what is usual in this country. It is expected that the month of October will be better.——The Prince of Neufchatel's bilious fever has ceased; the Prince is convalescent."

Paris, Oct. 4.—The Senate assembled to day, the 4th of October, at noon, under the Presidency of his Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, who was received according to the usual forms.——His Serene Highness having taken his place, opened the sitting, and said:—

"Gentlemen, I bring to the Senate, according to the orders of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the documents relative to the war with Austria and that with Sweden.——This communication, determined by the laws of the State, and by the will of

the Sovereign, has only been delayed by unforeseen accidents.— Explanations upon so great interests would add nothing to the conviction which you must feel on a knowledge of the facts, which alone inform, and could not be supplied by reasoning.—— There is, however, Gentlemen, one circumstance on which I will dwell, and which will neither escape your wisdom, nor the regards of Europe. The continuation of the war is contrary to his Majesty's wish. He has done every thing to prevent the resumption of hostilities, and that even when the hope of accommodation was lost, you will see that the Emperor has manifested a desire that a Congress could again be assembled, and seriously labour to reconcile the interests of the different belligerents."

His Serene Highness having ceased to speak, one of the Secretaries read the following official documents. After this communication, the Senate, upon the proposition of his Excellency Count de Lacepede, annual President, deliberated upon presenting to his Majesty the Emperor and King an address of thanks, and charged the proper officer to prepare it.

Official Documents.

Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

"Sire,—Your Majesty, by a treaty signed at Fontainbleau, on the 31st of October, 1807, with the King of Denmark, guaranteed to that Sovereign the integrity of the dominions. Although those engagements were known by Sweden, she offered, in 1807, to make a common cause with France in the war, she was preparing against Russia, if your Majesty would consent to guarantee Norway to her, which she coveted, without other rights, without other titles than her convenience. Your Majesty considered this proposition as an affront. No consideration could induce you to betray the interest of your Ally.——Sweden had to seek elsewhere a support which your Majesty refused to her ambition. She joined your enemies to rob your Ally: she proposed to Russia, as the price of her good offices, in taking part in the war against France, the employment of forces that would ensure to her the acquisition of Norway. A special article of the treaty signed at Petersburgh on the 24th of March, 1812, determined that, in the event of Denmark consenting to the cession of Norway, indemnities would be granted her, which could only be taken from the French territory. These engagements, unexampled in the annals of nations, have become common in England, and by a transaction on the 3d of last May, that Power acceded to the conventions already existing between Russia and Sweden, and guaranteed the uniting of Norway to his Swedish Majesty's dominions. By these two treaties Sweden placed herself in a state of war against your Majesty; but already for a long time she had violated the treaty of the 6th of January, 1810. Forgetting the generous conditions your Majesty had granted her; despising the obligation she had contracted, as the price of the restoration of Swedish Pomerania, of shutting her ports against English commerce—she opened them to it the very same year—they became true English colonies, British Consuls resided in them, and although Sweden had declared war against England, the fleets and convoys of that Power freely entered and remained in her roads. Colonial produce and English goods accumulated in the ports, to be transported into Pomerania, and from thence inundate the Continent. This was not enough for Sweden; she came to open acts against your Majesty's subjects; they were assassinated in the port of Stralsund, without its being possible to obtain sufficient reparation for this offence. Two vessels, bearing your Majesty's flag, were ill treated in the open sea by ships belonging to the Swedish marine; one of them, the Mercury, attacked, by main force, in the Sound, by the brig of war the Venta Lille, was conducted into a Swedish port, where her crew were put in irons. All the representations from your Majesty's Government having been useless, you ordered that Pomerania should be occupied till the moment that Sweden should have given that satisfaction which she owed to the dignity of your crown. Your Majesty regretted using rigour towards a nation that you esteem, and which for nearly 200 years had followed the system of France. Those dispositions, Sire, which had no other object than to bring back to more just sentiments a friend who misunderstood his obligations, struck at an enemy already engaged against us. It is in execution of those engagements, the principal stipulations of which I am going to place before your Majesty, that the Swedish troops, at the commencement of this campaign, dared to invade the French territory. Your Majesty, by a new treaty with Denmark, drawing closer the bonds which attach you to that Power, and uniting yourself more closely to her cause, has taken the reciprocal engagement of declaring war against Sweden. I propose to your Majesty to

cause the state of war between France and Sweden to be published, and at the same time to order that the Treaty of the 10th of July last, concluded between France and Denmark, be communicated to the Senate, and promulgated as the law of the State, conformably to our constitutions.

(Signed) " The Duke of BASSANO,
" Minister for Foreign Affairs.
" *Dresden, Aug.* 20. (A true copy).

Copy of a Treaty, signed at Copenhagen on the 10th July, 1813, between France and Denmark.

His Majesty the Emperor of France, &c. &c. &c. and his Majesty the King of Denmark, &c. wishing to draw still closer the bonds of alliance which happily subsist between them, and judging it necessary to understand each other upon what is required, in the present circumstances, for the interest of the common cause, have named for their Plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of France, &c. &c. &c. has appointed Baron Alquier, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Copenhagen; and his Majesty the King of Denmark, Sieur Niels Rosencranz, and his Privy Minister, and Chief of the Department for Foreign Affairs—who after having communicated their full respective powers, agreed upon the following Articles:——Art. 1. The two high contracting Powers mutually guarantee each other the integrity of their possessions, whether European or Colonial.—2. Russia, having in accord with England, engaged to support the views of invasion by Sweden on Denmark; Prussia having on her side adhered to those engagements, which, by their nature, constitute Sweden, Russia, and Prussia in a state of hostilities against Denmark; and Sweden led to those projects of invasion against a power allied to France, although she knew of the guarantee of the Danish States, stipulated the 31st October, 1807, by the Treaty of Fontainbleau, but having besides entered, in concert with England, Russia, and Prussia, into an engagement to compel Denmark to unite her forces with those of the enemies of France, in order to conquer an indemnity for Norway, from the territory of the French empire. The two high contracting Powers will declare war, viz. France against Sweden, and Denmark against Russia, Sweden, and Prussia. The declaration of war shall take part on either side, within twenty-four hours after the notification of the rupture of the Armistice now existing between France and Russia, and their respective Allies.—3. The two high contracting Powers engage to mutually assist each other with all their means, for the defence of the common cause.—4. They also engage not to treat for a peace with their common enemies but in concert.—5. The anterior Treaties existing between the two Powers are maintained and confirmed in all the dispositions which are not abrogated by this present Treaty.—6. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications changed at Dresden within fifteen days, or sooner, if it can be done. In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed and sealed them with our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, 10th July, 1813.
(Signed) The Baron ALQUIER (L. S.)
(Signed) NEILS ROSENCRANZ (L. S.)

Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

" Sire,—The first war of Austria against France lasted six years. It was terminated by the preliminaries at Leoben. The French army was then master of Holland, of Belgeum, the banks of the Rhine, the Italian provinces belonging to Austria, of the county of Goriu, of Istria, of Carentia, of Carniogle, of the Tyrol, and it was upon the heights of Sumering-Bera, at a short distance from Vienna, which the Court had already abandoned.——The moderation of the Conqueror appeared a guarantee for the duration of peace; but scarcely had fifteen months passed, when they succeeded in persuading the Cabinet that every thing was changed in France; a French army was on the Nile, and the disorder of the interior Administration had led to the disbanding of a great part of the troops. Austria flew to arms.——The treaty of Luneville put an end to the second Austrian war, which lasted two years. The French armies were upon the Saave, and at this same Leoben, where the first Austrian war was terminated.——We now flattered ourselves peace would be of long duration; we wished to believe that the Austrian Cabinet, having been induced to break the engagements made at Leoben, by a consideration of the condition in which the interior of France then was, would no longer have any motive to break the peace, when those circumstances no longer existed.——France consecrated all her efforts to the re-establishment of her marine, and to the preparations directed against England. Italy was without troops, and our military state was upon the peace establishment. Our only army

was assembled at Bayonne.——The Cabinet of Austria forgot past lessons; it coalesced with Russia and England, and the Austrian armies marched upon Bavaria. The French army was quickly master of the capital and three-fourths of the monarchy; you could have dictated hard terms; you consented to moderate conditions, and the treaty of Presburg was signed in the capital of Hungary.——The third Austrian war was thus terminated in three months; it finished like the third Punic war, by the taking of the capital. This unfortunate city, not having partaken the passions of its Cabinet, a stranger to the ambition which had dictated the policy of it, lamented the faults of which it was the victim, was the object of the Conqueror's regard.——We persuaded ourselves that the Cabinet of Vienna, enlightened by experience, would henceforth think but of preserving peace. But four years after your Majesty was in Spain, and Austria, placing her confidence in the immense armaments which she had so long been preparing, having 400,000 men under arms, seeing no army which was able to prevent her from arriving almost on the banks of the Rhine, did not examine whether a new war would be just; she only calculated the chances of it; she believed success certain, and determined alone by this consideration, invaded Bavaria.——In three months the French army carried its conquests into Hungary and Moravia, occupied a second time the capital, and was master of the greater part of the territory of the monarchy. The existence even of the empire of Austria was compromised. But the views of the Emperor were constantly directed to one single end—that of forcing England to, at last, acknowledge the maritime rights of all nations, without which there can neither exist equilibrium nor repose in Europe; he consented to sign the treaty of Vienna, which concluded the fourth Austrian war, and the moderation of which astonished the world. If we did not believe that peace would be eternal, we at least flattered ourselves it would be of a long duration.——In fine, the Cabinet of Vienna seemed to understand its real interests, to think at last of only repairing its losses—to heal the wounds which the paper money had received, which consumed the public fortune and that of individuals, and to found the return of the State upon a wise policy and a long peace. It abandoned its army, and the wants of the interior organization fixed all its attention.——War between France and Russia became imminent—Austria outstripped the wishes of France, and proposed her alliance. A treaty was signed on the 14th March, 1812; an Austrian army marched with the French army, for the defence of the grand interests of the Continent, and Austrian blood flowed in the battles against the Russians. Politicians who considered the principles hitherto professed by the Cabinet of Vienna, were astonished at an alliance which they knew to be contrary to its secret sentiments; but other politicians, not less enlightened, judging its dispositions according to its real situation, seeing Austria come out, after so many sacrifices, of a contest which four times had been fatal to her; considering the disastrous state of her finances, the embarrassment of her Administration, the complication of its interior organization, thought that she would renew the system of Kannitz, and ensure herself, as by the treaty of 1756, a long peace, which would give her time to recover her ancient prosperity; they thought her interests well understood, would keep her in the alliance. As a particular transaction, the treaty of the 14th of March was a fault of the Cabinet, but considered independently of the war with Russia, which was but the occasion and the corollary of it, viewed as to bases of a system which was to ensure forty years of peace, the alliance appeared to be dictated by great views; it was the most officacious means to cicatrize so many wounds which still bled. Those considerations, all-striking as they were, did not prove founded. The alliance of 1812 was not the result of a system, but the effect of circumstances. As soon as the disasters of the months of November and December last were known by the Cabinet of Vienna, it judged that France was abandoned by fortune; it hastened to pass to another system; from an allied Government, Austria became an enemy: the auxiliary corps which fought with the French army was the ground-work of the principal army destined to fight France. Nevertheless, unexpected events baffled all foresight; they had not entered into the calculations of Austria; she was without finances, without armies; it is proved that all her efforts did not succeed in placing 60,000 men under arms in January last. Having taken her resolution previously to having the means of supporting, and calculating that six months were requisite to be in a condition to present an army upon the field of battle, the Cabinet of Vienna felt the necessity of concealing her intentions under the appearance fidelity

to her engagements and the love of peace. It offered its mediation to the belligerent Powers, but at the same time began its levies, and ran to arms. The Minister who directed the finances, entirely devoted to the restoration of the monarchy, although he personally nourished hatred towards France, adhered to the alliance as the only means of succeeding in the re-establishment of interior economy. He opposed the greatest resistance to the war, and a successor was appointed to him. Immediately a new paper money for 100 millions of franks was created; the plans of order and economy hitherto pursued were overthrown, and the Cabinet precipitated itself into war. In vain did enlightened men represent that the army no longer existed; that the skeletons could only be filled with recruits; that the *materiel* was destroyed; that not less than eighteen months were requisite to reorganize the military state of Austria; that the affairs of great nations were not conducted by starts, nor a great system instantly composed; that since they had not refused to enter into connexions with France, it was requisite to have remained neutral in 1812, and been occupied in re-establishing the army, but that having adopted the alliance in 1812, it was requisite to persist in it in 1813: they represented, that by a wise policy, and with a little management, Austria might derive advantage from circumstances, by reaping real advantages, without exposing herself to the chances of a war, in which she would become a principal, which demanded armies in Silesia, in Saxony, in Bavaria, in Italy; that to present herself, in this serious contest, without being prepared for it, was to expose herself to fatal catastrophes, or at least to plunge herself in all the uncertainties of a long and general war, into which she was going to plunge Europe. That if, nevertheless, circumstances were favourable for enabling Austria to recover her influence, they were deceived in not perceiving that the laws of all grandeur for a State is good finances, or a good money system, and armies well organized, well equipped, and that a good army does not consist in a great number of men, but in the quality of the soldiers; that by persevering some years in the system of the alliance, Austria would have recovered its ancient prosperity, and with it that real independence which a good interior and military administration lays the foundation for.——But the partisans for the war replied, that they reasoned as if France was the same, whilst that her fortune had changed—as if she had armies, when the elite of her soldiers had been destroyed by the severity of the winter: they said, that if Austria had only recruits, it would be against recruits she fought; that it was beyond the power of any Government to reinstate that so formidable French cavalry which, at Ratisbon and at Wagram, had decided victory; that the moment had arrived for again raising the Austrian eagle—for humiliating the French eagle, and making France return within her ancient limits.——From the month of April, the Cabinet of Vienna occupied itself; it promised the enemies of France to be, on the 20th of June, upon the field of battle, with 150,000 men; whilst Austria, openly armed, the Cabinet carried on a war of insinuation to weaken France, by tempting the fidelity of her allies. It shewed Austria to Denmark, to Saxony, to Bavaria, to Wirtemberg, and even in Naples and in Westphalia, as a friend, an ally of France, who wished for nothing but peace; who desired nothing for herself, and engaged them, not to make useless armaments, not to give France succours, as the point was not to fight but to make peace, as Austria had 150,000 men to place in the balance against which of the two Powers wished to continue the war. Those insinuations could not impose a moment but on Cabinets so little enlightened as to believe in the disinterestedness of the Austrian. But the battles of Lutzen and Wurschen, still more than the disasters of November and December, astonished those who had so ill calculated the means of France, and so little foreseen events; perhaps they would have been glad to retrace their steps, but the Cabinet was engaged; it endeavoured to attribute the new victories to causes independent of the force of the French armies; however, its proceedings became uncertain, it advanced the most contradictory pretensions, it wished to be the ally of France, by placing in reserve all the causes of the treaty of alliance; it wished to be mediator, and remain bound to our enemies.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH.——On the 4th instant, the Session of Parliament opened with a Speech from the Prince Regent in person, and in the following words, upon parts of which, after inserting them, I shall offer some remarks:——"My Lords "and Gentlemen,—It is with the deepest "regret that I am again obliged to an-"nounce to you the continuance of His "Majesty's lamented indisposition.——The "great and splendid success with which it "has pleased Divine Providence to bless "His Majesty's arms, and those of his "Allies, in the course of the present cam-"paign, has been productive of the most "important consequences to Europe.——"In Spain the glorious and decisive victory "obtained near Vittoria has been followed "by the advance of the Allied Forces to "the Pyrenees, by the repulse of the ene-"my in every attempt to regain the ground "he had been compelled to abandon, by "the reduction of the fortress of St. Sebas-"tian, and finally by the establishment of "the Allied Army on the frontier of "France.——In this series of brilliant "operations you will have observed, with "the highest satisfaction, the consummate "skill and ability of the great Commander "Field Marshal the Marquis of Welling-"ton, and the steadiness and unconquer-"able spirit which have been equally dis-"played by the troops of the three nations "united under his command.——The ter-"mination of the Armistice in the North "of Europe, and the Declaration of War "by the Emperor of Austria against France, "have been most happily accompanied by "a system of cordial union and concert "amongst the Allied Powers.——The ef-"fects of this union have even surpassed "those expectations which it was calculat-"ed to excite.——By the signal victories "obtained over the French armies in Sile-"sia, at Culm, and at Denevitz, the ef-"forts of the enemy to penetrate into the "heart of the Austrian and Prussian terri-"tories were completely frustrated.——"These successes have been followed by a "course of operations combined with so "much judgment and executed with such "consummate prudence, vigour, and abili-"ty, as to have led in their result not only "to the discomfiture of all those projects "which the Ruler of France had so pre-"sumptuously announced on the renewal of "the contest, but to the capture and de-"struction of the greater part of the army "under his immediate command.——The "annals of Europe afford no example of "victories more splendid and decisive than "those which have been recently achieved "in Saxony.——Whilst the perseverance "and gallantry displayed by the Allied "Forces of every description, engaged in "this conflict, have exalted to the highest "pitch of glory their military character, "you will, I am persuaded, agree with me "in rendering the full tribute of applause "to those Sovereigns and Princes, who, in "this sacred cause of national independ-"ence, have so eminently distinguished "themselves as the Leaders of the Armies "of their respective nations.——With "such a prospect before you, I am satis-"fied that I may rely with the fullest con-"fidence on your disposition to enable me "to afford the necessary assistance in sup-"port of a system of alliance, which, ori-"ginating chiefly in the magnanimous and "disinterested views of the Emperor of "Russia, and followed up as it has been "with corresponding energy by the other "Allied Powers, has produced a change "the most momentous in the affairs of the "Continent.——I shall direct Copies of "the several Conventions which I have "concluded with the Northern Powers to "be laid before you as soon as the ratifica-"tions of them shall have been duly ex-"changed.——I have further to acquaint "you, that I have concluded a Treaty of "Alliance and Concert with the Emperor "of Austria, and that the powerful league "already formed has received an important "addition of force, by the Declaration of "Bavaria against France.——I am confi-"dent you will view with particular satis-"faction the renewal of the ancient con-"nexion with the Austrian Government:

"and that, justly appreciating all the value "of the accession of that great Power to "the common cause, you will be prepared, "as far as circumstances may permit, to "enable me to support his Imperial Majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the "contest.——The war between this country and the United States of America still "continues; but I have the satisfaction to "inform you, that the measures adopted "by the Government of the United States "for the conquest of Canada have been "frustrated by the valour of His Majesty's "troops, and by the zeal and loyalty of his "American subjects. —— Whilst Great "Britain, in conjunction with her Allies, "is exerting her utmost strength against "the common enemy of independent na- "tions, it must be matter of deep regret "to find an additional enemy in the Go- "vernment of a country whose real interest "in the issue of this great contest must be "the same as our own.——It is known to "the world, that this country was not the "aggressor in this war.——I have not hi- "therto seen any disposition on the part of "the Government of the United States to "close it, of which I could avail myself "consistently with a due attention to the "interests of His Majesty's subjects.—— "I am at all times ready to enter into dis- "cussion with that Government for a con- "ciliatory adjustment of the differences be- "tween the two countries upon principles "of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent "with the established maxims of public "law, and with the maritime rights of the "British Empire. —— *Gentlemen of the* "*House of Commons*,—I have directed the "Estimates for the services of the ensuing "year to be laid before you.——I regret "the necessity of so large an expenditure, "which I am confident, however, you will "judge unavoidable, when the extent and "nature of our military exertions are con- "sidered.——I entertain no doubt of your "readiness to furnish such supplies as the "public service may require.——I congra- "tulate you on the improved and flourish- "ing state of our commerce, and I trust "that the abundant harvest which we have "received from the bountiful hand of Pro- "vidence during the present year, will af- "ford material relief to His Majesty's peo- "ple, and produce a considerable augmen- "tation in many branches of the revenue. "*My Lords and Gentlemen*,—I congratu- "late you on the decided conviction which "now happily prevails throughout so large "a portion of Europe, that the war in "which the Allied Powers are engaged "against the Ruler of France, is a war of "necessity, and that his views of universal "dominion can only be defeated by com- "bined and determined resistance.—— "The public spirit and national enthusiasm "which have successively accomplished the "deliverance of the kingdoms of Spain and "Portugal, and of the Russian empire, "now equally animate the German people; "and we may justly entertain the fullest "confidence, that the same perseverance "on their part will ultimately lead to the "same glorious result.——I cannot but "deplore most deeply the continuance of "this extended warfare, and of all those "miseries which the insatiable ambition of "the Ruler of France has so long inflicted "upon Europe.——No disposition to re- "quire from France sacrifices of any de- "scription inconsistent with her honour or "just pretensions as a nation, will ever be "on my part, or on that of His Majesty's "Allies, an obstacle to peace.——The re- "storation of that great blessing, upon "principles of justice and equality, has "never ceased to be my anxious wish; but "I am fully convinced, that it can only be "obtained by a continuance of those efforts "which have already delivered so large a "part of Europe from the power of the "enemy.——To the firmness and perse- "verance of this country these advantages "may, in a great degree, be ascribed. Let "this consideration animate us to new ex- "ertions, and we shall thus, I trust, be "enabled to bring this long and arduous "contest to a conclusion, which will be "consistent with the independence of all "the nations engaged in it, and with the "general security of Europe."——In its tone of exultation the Speech is certainly very moderate; but, where his Royal Highness speaks of the *conditions of peace*, he is, in my opinion, not sufficiently explicit. ——He says, that "No disposition to re- "quire from France sacrifices of any de- "scription inconsistent with her *honour*, or "*just pretensions*, as a nation, will ever be "an obstacle to peace."——But, he does not give us even a hint at *what* he looks upon as being consistent with her honour or just pretensions. We do not know, that he may not deem the restoration of the Bourbons and the Gabelle as consistent with the honour of France, and as necessary to the permanent tranquillity of Europe.—— If this, or any thing like this, be the scheme now on foot, there is, perhaps, less prospect of peace than ever.——The *death* of Na-

poleon," indeed; or his captivity, or even his total discomfiture and flight into France, might produce a counter-revolution, especially as so much power has, of late years, been placed in the hands of old royalists; but, short of some such event, there is no chance of the Allies being able to compel France to submit to any such terms.——The whole thing, the whole of the result, depends on *the disposition of the French people towards Napoleon.* He has so many fortresses at his back; he has such means gathering about him as he recoils upon France, that the Allies will never be able to push him into that country, if France is still disposed to support him.——This being my opinion, I cannot help thinking, that this was the precise time for England to declare explicitly, that she would not interfere in the imposing of any set of rulers, or any species of government, upon France. But, that, she would leave the people of France to do that which they always had a right to do: namely, choose their own government and their own governors.——The *deliverance of Europe* is a phrase too vague to convey any decided meaning. *What* is it to be delivered from? From *oppression?* Yes, the oppression of Buonaparté; but, *who* does he oppress? He oppresses the kings and princes, we know; because he takes from them their dominions; but, I should like to see it proved, that the *millions* of Europe will be delivered from oppression. This is the event to be desired; and, if this be not produced by the fall of Napoleon, I do not see any reason that any man in common life can have to wish for his fall.——Viewing him merely as an Emperor and a conqueror, no man need care a straw about his fate; but, if his fall is to lead to the *re-establishment* of all the old governments of Europe, in the persons of all the old families, in the plenitude of all the old and terrible oppressions on their people, ought we not to reflect well before we express our wishes, in too unqualified a manner, that his power may be annihilated?——The French revolution was productive of great calamities and crimes; but, no man can deny, that it has led, in many respects, to great good in the world; that it has tended to the enlightening of the people of Europe; that it has, in France itself, produced an entirely new way of thinking as to the rights of sovereigns and of subjects; and that it may yet lead to the emancipation of the enslaved minds of many millions.——To *superstition* it has given a blow, that the monster will hardly recover. All the craft of priests will now scarcely be sufficient to bring mankind back to the state of degradation in which they were twenty-four years ago. It has put an end to the Inquisition; it has shook to atoms the monkish system; it has scattered the Cardinals and all their buffoonery; it has stopped the trade of the ministers of St. Januarius; it has, in short, given to that monster of all monsters, Superstition, a blow that she will never recover.——If Napoleon's power be destroyed, another season for *discussion* will arrive. The press of France, again let loose, will issue forth something to enlighten men. At any rate, there will be a short interval, during which men may *speak their minds;* and such an interval, though it last but for a month, is cheaply purchased by half a dozen years of war: but, to fight and pay, and to be *muzzled* at the same time, is a little too hard for flesh and blood to bear.——The fall of Napoleon is not going to take place like a dream. It will cause a *stir*, and a stir is always good for the mass of the people in all countries.——If the friends of freedom rise again in France, they will triumph, as they did before; but, it may be, that they will have a longer war to carry on.——As to "the *Declaration of* "*Bavaria*," of which the Prince Regent speaks, it was nothing but what every one expected, in case the Emperor of France should appear to be in serious danger. His *German* allies were what German allies have always been found to be; and I should not be at all surprised to see the coalition broken up now by some boon offered by Napoleon to one or other of the great Powers leagued against him.——This would be the very worst that could happen; for then, they would all sit down, he amongst the rest, and become rivals in nothing but oppressing their subjects; and, the people of France, after all their sacrifices, would still be doomed to submit for ages to a half-Austrian race of rulers. Much better than this it would be for Napoleon to be flung dead into a ditch, leaving France to the chances of a new revolution.——What the Prince Regent says about the United States of America being the *aggressors* in this war, I shall simply say that I dissent from; but, I take the liberty wholly to differ with him in opinion as to the *interest* of America being *the same with that of our Government* in the issue of this great contest.——It is not the interest of America, that our Government should be more powerful than it is. America must

wish to see our maritime power kept within bounds. And, if the present coalition against France were to produce the fall of Napoleon, and the diminution of the power of France, is it clear, that America would have nothing to fear? It is the interest of America, that France should be in a situation to keep England in check; and this is the principle, upon which the statesmen in America have always proceeded in their transactions with the Powers of Europe. ——I do not know, why his Royal Highness should "*regret* the necessity of *a large* "*expenditure*," seeing what a generous and rich people he has to draw upon, and a people withal so fond of war. They are panic-stricken at the prospect of peace. All those who have any thing to say as to public affairs, thrive by war, and dread nothing so much as its termination. I verily believe, that peace would cause a million times more tears to be shed, than all the butcheries of war have. And, what is to become of the army and navy? There is scarcely a family above the rank of day-labourers, who is not, in some way or other, interested in the continuation of war. Every new tax gives to the Government a fresh accession of power, in the attachment which its application purchases. Why, then, should his Royal Highness regret this large expenditure; especially when he must perceive, that in proportion as the people are loaded with taxes, they become submissive and patient? —— What his Royal Highness says about the *abundant harvest* has puzzled me. He imputes it to the hand of *Divine Providence*. But, to whom do we impute *scanty crops?* If Divine Providence interferes to send us long and full ears and plump grains of corn, it must be Divine Providence who expressly blasts the straw and shrivels up the wheat; and I have never yet heard these evils imputed to any thing but the blights and mildews. ——Besides, in what way is this abundant crop of corn to produce an augmentation in the revenue? Does it leave a quantity of it to be *distilled* into a taxable commodity? Is that the meaning of this part of the Speech? But, if people expend their money upon home-made spirits, will they consume an equal quantity of foreign? I cannot comprehend how an abundance of corn can add to the receipt at the Exchequer.——Rather than have indulged in these very doubtful speculations, I would, had I been the framer of the Speech, have availed myself of this fair opportunity of inculcating from such high authority, that truth, so necessary to be universally known, that the price of corn and bread *depends wholly upon the magnitude of the crop*, and cannot be affected by any combination of individuals, nor by *the mere state of war or peace*.——If combinations of those who possess corn or flour, in any case, keep up the price of bread, why have they now suffered bread to become so cheap? If war could, in any case, make bread dear, why has bread become cheap, while the war is daily becoming more extended?——Farmers, in general, *fear peace*, as the cause of lowering the price of their produce; but, if they were to look back for a hundred years, and see, as they would, that corn has, upon an average, been full as dear in times of peace as in times of war, they would cease to desire that the sword may continue unsheathed.——This was a good opportunity for uttering a wholesome truth to the people, and it has been lost.

Ecce Homo.——Mr. Fordham has sent me another letter, which, it appears, is to be his *last* upon this subject.——The reader will see, that he cites the passages from *Ecce Homo*, which he said imputed to the Son of God (for so Mr. Fordham will excuse me for calling him), an irregular passion for women, and also a propensity too abominable to be imputed to any man, without the fullest proof.——Mr. Fordham was called upon by Observator to point out the passage, in which this atrocious accusation was contained, which passage is, it seems, as follows: "With "respect to John, who was a very fine "lad, he became the favourite of his mas- "ter, and received from him marks of "distinguished tenderness." —— Now, really, though I had read this passage in the work along with the context, it never entered into my head, that any thing in the smallest degree improper was here insinuated; and, upon a re-perusal of this part of the book, I must say, that I think the charge wholly unsupported by the evidence. I wondered, indeed, that the charge should have been made by Mr. Fordham; for I could recollect no passage in the book, containing any such imputation, and my wonder was certainly not diminished, when I came to see the ground, on which it rested. ——I am sorry, on one account, that Mr. Fordham has withdrawn from the controversy; because, I was in hopes of seeing from his pen something in answer to those parts of the book, which relate to interesting facts; and, in my disappointment, I

cannot help saying, that I do not think his *reason* for laying down his arms sufficient. ——He says, that, *as* Observator will have *nothing to do with religion*, whether it be the *true* religion, or whether it be the *false*, he, Mr. Fordham, will, *of course*, have nothing to do with the subject.——Nay, nay, Mr. Fordham; for Observator told you, at the out-set, that he meant to show, that *all* religion was injurious to man. He told you so, and you took up the pen against him upon that very ground.——He was *wrong*, I know very well; but that was his proposition; and, therefore, if you chuse to decline a continuation of the controversy, you should have assigned some *other reason* for so doing.——The real truth is, that it is impossible for an *Unitarian* to fight against *Ecce Homo*. For us, who take the *whole* of the Holy Scriptures to be true and to have proceeded from God, we are a match for him, who says that the *whole* is a fable or an imposture. But, Mr. Fordham begins the contest in behalf of the Bible by asserting that a great part of it consists of *forgeries*.——If one part is forged, why not another part? If several parts, why not the *whole?*——Ecce Homo can be in no fear of an antagonist like this, who begins the combat by surrendering the strongest of his positions.——But, when he comes to be pitted against us, who maintain the authenticity of the whole book, to the very letter, he has something to do; he has to prove, inch by inch, that we are wrong, and to strip us of all the authorities of the great Councils of the Church, by which the Christian system was settled. ——Mr. Fordham says, that the Book is "*perfectly infamous.*" Agreed; but, then, I must say, that it is not more so than almost any one of the Unitarian Sermons, which make the Mother of Jesus to be a very so so person. They always affirm, that Christ was *not* the Son of God; that he was *not* conceived by the Holy Ghost; that his mother was *not* a Virgin when she was delivered of him, or, as the more polite phrase is, *confined* with him. Now, we know, that the Bible tells us, that she was a married woman and *had not known her husband* at the time when she was so confined. *What*, then, I ask, do the Unitarians impute to the mother of Jesus?——To be sure, and I have said it before, Ecce Homo is deeply censurable for treating Jesus in the manner that he does, with so much levity and ludicrousness, that one is, every moment, ready to burst out in laughter, were one not checked by the horror which the profanity of the Book excites; but, as the Book is not *more* wicked than the sermons of the Unitarians, who, and with almost equal levity, scout the idea of God being born of a virgin and being hanged up between two thieves; and, this, by the by, they are now allowed to do *by law.* ——They are allowed openly to deny, to proclaim the falsehood, of that which not to believe, the law says will ensure us damnation. For the reader should bear in mind, that the Creed of St. Athanasius has the sanction of *Acts of Parliament.*——I shall always regret this liberty given to the Unitarians. It was sapping the main pillar of our Church, which rests upon that very part of St. Matthew's Gospel, which Mr. Fordham calls *a forgery*, and which he says was not written till long after St. Matthew was dead and buried.——What can Ecce Homo say worse than this? Verily, Mr. Fordham, the Unitarians are not the proper people to attack this writer, who, though he is wrong in his notions, deals fairly by his readers.——As Mr. Fordham is now going off the stage, I must tell him, on my own part, that I did not think that he answered me about *the Devil.* That personage I said was absolutely necessary to the Christian system, and that for a man to pretend to be a Christian without believing most firmly in the existence of the Devil, was far more absurd than any thing which I had yet heard of.——If there were no Devil, why should any one have come either to save us or instruct us? ——In answer to this Mr. Fordham merely told me, that, as I appeared to be so very fond of the Devil, he wished me joy of him, and requested me to keep him to myself.——This was *no answer* to my reasoning upon the subject, which, feeble as it might be, certainly merited a little word or two in the way of refutation.——To be sure, I have never *seen* the Devil. There are very respectable persons, whose words ought not to be doubted, who solemnly declare that they have seen him. I really never have. But, if I am not to believe in the existence of the Devil, merely because I have not *seen* him, why does Mr. Fordham believe in the existence of a God, whom he does not pretend to have seen? ——But, Mr. Fordham, after taking from us the Son of God, may pretty safely take away the Devil, the former being quite useless without the latter, and the latter without the former.——In short, what is *religion* for, if there be *no Devil?*——I really wish for an answer to this question,

nd I hope, as to this one point, Mr. Fordham will depart from his resolution and renew his correspondence.

The Whigs.—"Rake not up the ashes "of the dead," is a common saying, and that the Whigs are defunct every one must now allow.——These military successes, following, as they do, upon the heels of a coalition, of which England is the animating soul, give the death-blow to the very hopes of the *outs*. That *Lord Liverpool;* that *he* should be the great Deliverer, at last, after all the Pitts and the Foxes had failed! This is, indeed, something to cut down "the *Talents*."——The "*march to* "*Paris*" and the "*Jack Boots*" used to be talked of in ridicule; but, what do the Whigs say to them *now?*——I do not think, however, that his Lordship will actually march thither; but, he may send some one, perhaps, to perform the office for him.——At any rate, the *out faction* is defeated, and that gives me great pleasure. All their complaints against their opponents of want of *energy* are now blown into air. All the set may now go and mumble over their prayers backwards.——It is useless to talk. They can now make no impression. *Events* are against them. The Extraordinary Gazettes are their answer. They must be ready to gnaw off their very fingers. *Lord Liverpool has delivered Europe!*——Ropes and rat's-bane must, I should suppose, be in great request.——At any rate, the complete annihilation of this perfidious and insolent faction must give pleasure to every one.——If the tide of success continue a little longer, we shall have no speechifying at all this winter. No one will dare dissent from any thing that the ministry may propose. If any one question their wisdom in any thing, the answer will be, "*Look at the continent!*" The Morning Chronicle says, that the war is *now* carried on upon "*true Whig principles!*"——But, really, this is too pitiful to notice seriously.

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, 12*th Nov.* 1813.

Mr. Fordham.

Mr. Cobbett.—Observator writes word that you have justly censured me, for the use of *harsh* and *illiberal* language. Very well. He then proceeds to accuse me of "holy frenzy;" and affirms that "I am perverted in intellect," "impatient," and "fretful." And now, perhaps, you will also censure *him* for the use of *harsh* and *illiberal* language *on his part.*——Observator has said, that Jesus *borrowed* his morality from the Ancient Philosophers. Has he *proved* it? I think, not in the least. It can never be understood that Moses belongs to the class of those who are usually denominated Ancient Philosophers or Heathen Sages. I will admit, that the ancient Getes were, and that the Chinese were also, and still are, believers in one God: and that many of the ancient sages taught excellent precepts of virtue. But let it be proved, that Jesus derived his system of morals, from any of these sources. It appears to me, that there is nothing in any ancient heathen writer, or teacher, that can be compared, for purity, benevolence, and capacity of universal application, with the gospel morality, AS A COMPLETE SYSTEM.—Observator says, "I mean to have nothing to do with religion, whether it be the *true* religion, or whether it be the *false.*" Then, of course, I will have nothing to do with this subject; and Observator may write whatever he pleases, unnoticed by me. As I have said, that Ecce Homo "represents Jesus as a *libidinous* and *debauched* character, and vilely *insinuates* that Jesus was *inclined* to the most hateful, abominable, and unnatural practices;" I will produce some passages from that work, and leave the readers to judge for themselves. When writing about the history of Jesus and the Samaritan woman, he says, "The Messiah, who was not so *delicate* as the *ordinary* Jews, undertook the conversion of the female heretic, for whose *sex* and *profession*, we find in him a *weakness* through the *whole course* of his history. Page 123, in the note, it is said, "It appears, notwithstanding all his gravity, that the *ladies* were the *foible* of Jesus; melancholy persons are not the least susceptible of this weakness," &c. &c. And in page 104, he says, "with respect to John, who was a *very fine lad*, he became the favourite of his master, and received from him marks of *distinguished tenderness.*" The book, in my estimation, is perfectly infamous. And here I finish my part of the correspondence.——Yours, &c.

G. G. Fordham.

Sandon, Nov. 8, 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 608.)

——We answered it—that Austria was at liberty to renounce the alliance; that France

would not be hurt; but that she did not like those half measures, the common resource of irresolution and weakness. We accepted the opening of a Congress, although we foresaw that it would not have a prompt result for the present war, but as the means of keeping open negociations, which would one day lead to peace. I will not here point out in what manner the Cabinet of Vienna exercised the mediation of Austria. I will not more dwell upon the details of the Congress at Prague; it has not existed. After the battles of Lutzen and Wurschen, Russia and Prussia would have been sincerely disposed to treat, if they had not had the hope of drawing Austria into their quarrel, and throwing upon her the burden of the war. Such is the vicious circle in which the Cabinet of Vienna has placed Europe; it pretended to be the bearer of peace to our enemies, by connecting itself with them; by taking upon itself the greater part of the chances, dangers, sacrifices, it encouraged them to war. It thought it led the Powers; it was led by them: they drove it to war for their own interest. Russia hoped, by raising the people from the Vistula to the Rhine, to erect between her and us a barrier of disorder and anarchy: that attempt having been unsuccessful, another mode offered, she seized it, she precipitated Austria into war. —— Could the Austrian Cabinet think, after the serious proofs which it has had of the power of the French armies, to drive us in some months into our ancient limits? Twenty years of victory would be requisite to destroy what twenty years of victory has erected. But since such was her thought, why, after the peace of 1809, did Austria disband her armies? Why in 1812 did she ally herself with France? None of the proceedings of the Cabinet of Vienna escaped that of the Thuilleries. From the month of November the Austrian change of system was foreseen, and if the Government demanded extraordinary levies from the nation, on the treason of General York, because it made it foresee the defection of Prussia, it demanded fresh ones on the defection of Prussia, because it made it foresee that of Austria. It is this foresight which has spoiled all the combinations of the Cabinet of Vienna, and which has placed the French armies in a condition to make head against all their enemies. But, Sire, the coalesced Powers feel, that to attempt the accomplishment of the designs which at last they have ceased to dissimulate, they must make the greatest efforts. It is necessary that at your Majesty's voice numerous battalions arise in the bosom of France, to place your powerful armies in a condition to carry on the war with new vigour; and in order to provide for all chances, when all Europe is in arms, when, independently of regular armies, the coalesced Governments call to battle the Landwehr, the Landsturm, and make every man a soldier, the French nation owes it especially to its safety as its glory, to evince fresh energy: it must consecrate to the conquest of a durable peace efforts proportioned to those which its enemies make to realise the projects of an ambition which knows no bounds.

(Signed) "DUKE of BASSANO,
"Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"*Dresden, Oct.* 20."

Documents relative to the Alliance.

Russia having resolved on withdrawing herself from the obligations of the peace of Tilsit, the conditions of which she had eluded towards the close of the year 1810; she then augmented her armies in 1811, formed assemblages of them on the frontiers of her Polish provinces, and in the commencement of the year 1812 she appeared determined and ready for war.——The Cabinet of Vienna took some insignificant steps, to engage Russia to keep the peace. Not only she had nothing in this matter to do with the French Government, whose pacific dispositions was known to her, but these overtures tended to a quite opposite result; for if any thing could cause an intention to war, it was her offer of uniting with us against our enemies, and proposing her alliance. (See No. 1 of the Treaty of Alliance.)——By the Treaty, Austria blended her political interests with those of France, whose principles she approved, and to which she associated herself by a guarantee without reserve. She engaged to furnish a contingent for the war; she adhered in the first place to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and in the case of this event taking place, she consented to the cession of Austrian Gallicia on the condition of receiving an indemnity, the basis of which was already fixed; and, finally, she was assured of aggrandizements in territory, and the partition of States, which a fortunate war had put at the disposal of France. This was the end at which the Cabinet of Vienna aimed. Anxious to raise up enemies against Russia, she, by her agents, pressed the Ottoman Porte, Prussia, and Sweden, to make com-

mon cause with France. (See the letter from the Prince of Schwartzenberg to the Austrian Minister in Sweden, No. 2).——Thus, she did not only not endeavour to prevent the war, but, on the contrary, neglected no measures which, by adding to the security of the enterprise, was to lead France to attempt it.——But nothing could shake the Emperor's wish to avoid the war, and he never ceased hoping its attainment, until the very day on which the Ambassador of Russia, by a formal declaration, demanded, as an ultimatum, that the French armies, by retiring on the Rhine, should take to flight as if they had been vanquished, and demanded his passports.——The war commenced; Austria gave her contingent, composed it of corps and Generals d'elite, and exceeded the number of men which she had engaged to furnish.

Treaty of Alliance between France and Austria, of March 14, 1812.

His Majesty the Emperor of France, &c. &c. &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. &c. &c. having at heart to perpetuate the friendship and good understanding which subsists between them, and to concur by the intimacy and force of their union, both in supporting a continental peace, or re-establishing a maritime peace; considering that nothing can be better adapted for producing those happy results, that the conclusion of a treaty of alliance, which should have for object the safety of their states and possessions, and the guarantee of the principal objects of their respective policy, have for this purpose appointed for their Plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of France, &c. &c. &c. the Duke of Bassano, &c. &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. &c. &c. Prince Charles of Schwarzenberg, &c. &c. who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, agreed to the following Articles:——Art. 1. There shall be for ever, friendship, union, and alliance between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. In consequence, the high contracting Parties will direct the greatest attention to support the good understanding so happily established between them, their States, and respective subjects, and to avoid every thing which might alter it, and on all occasions to promote their utility, honour, and mutual advantage.—2. The two high contracting Parties reciprocally guarantee the integrity of their present territories.—3. As a consequence of this reciprocal guarantee, the two high contracting Powers will always act in concert, in those measures which appear most proper to maintain peace; and in the event of the States of the one or the other being threatened with invasion, they will employ their best and most efficacious good offices to prevent it. But as those good offices may not have the desired effect, they oblige themselves to mutually assist each other, in the event of that one or the other should be attacked or threatened.—4. The succour stipulated by the preceding article shall be composed of 30,000 men, of whom 24,000 shall be infantry, and 6,000 horse, constantly kept up to their full war complement, and a park of 60 pieces of cannon. —5. This succour shall be furnished upon the first requisition of the party attacked or threatened. It shall be put in march with the shortest delay possible, and, at least, within two months after the demand shall have been made.—6. The two high contracting Parties guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Porte in Europe.—7. They acknowledge and also guarantee the principles of the navigation of neutrals, such as they have been acknowledged by the treaty of Utrecht. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will renew, as often as may be necessary, the engagement of adhering to the prohibitive system against England, during the present maritime war.—8. The present treaty of alliance shall not be made public, nor communicated to any Cabinet, but by agreement between the two high contracting Parties.—9. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications of it exchanged at Vienna, within 15 days, or sooner, if it can.

Done and signed at Paris, 14th March, 1812.

Secret Articles of the Treaty of Alliance between France and Austria, of the 14th March, 1812.

Art. 1. Austria shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by the 4th article of the present treaty, in the wars which France maintains either against England, or on the other side of the Pyrenees. —2. If that war should break out between France and Russia, Austria shall furnish said succours, as stipulated by the 4th and 5th articles of the treaty of this day. The regiments which are to form the same shall from this present time be put in march, and cantoned in such a manner that in less than fifteen days, to be dated from the 1st May, they may be united near Lemberg.

The said corps of troops shall be provide with a double store of artillery and ammunition, and likewise with the carriages necessary for the transporting provisions sufficient for 20 days.—3. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, on his part, shall make every necessary disposition for acting against Russia, at the same time, and with all his disposable force.—4. The corps of troops furnished by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall be formed into three divisions of infantry, and one division of cavalry, commanded by an Austrian General, to be chosen by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria. They shall act on the line which shall be prescribed for them by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and according to his immediate orders. They shall not at any time be divided, but shall always form a separate and distinct corps. They shall be furnished with their subsistence, in an enemy's country, according to the same mode which shall be established for the French corps d'armée, without making any alteration in the regime and usages in detail, established by the military regulations of Austria for feeding the troops. Such trophies and booty as they shall take from the enemy, shall belong to them —5. In the event that by consequence of war between France and Russia, the kingdom of Poland should be re-established, his Majesty the Emperor of the French especially guarantees, as he does from the present time guarantee, the possession of Gallicia to Austria.—6. In the event of its proving convenient to the Emperor of Austria to cede a part of Gallicia for the purpose of its being re-united to the kingdom of Poland, in exchange for the Illyrian Provinces, his Majesty the Emperor of the French engages from this present to consent to such an exchange. The part of Gallicia to be ceded shall be determined according to the combined basis of the population, extent, and revenue, in such manner that the two objects of exchange shall not be regulated solely by the extent of territory, but by its real value.—7. In case of an happy issue to the war, his Majesty the Emperor of the French engages to procure for his Majesty the Emperor of Austria such indemnities and aggrandizements in territory, which shall not only compensate for the sacrifices and expenses of his said Majesty, incurred by his co-operation in the war, but shall be a monument of the close and durable union which exists between the two Sovereigns. —8. If through hatred of the ties and engagements contracted by Austria with France, Austria should be menaced by Russia, his Majesty the Emperor of the French will consider such attack as being directed against himself, and will immediately commence hostilities.—9. The Ottoman Porte shall be invited to accede to the treaty of alliance of this day.—10. The above articles shall remain secret between the two Powers.—11. They shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty of alliance, and shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same place and at the same time with those of the said treaty.——Done and signed at Paris on the 4th March, 1812.

Copy of a Letter from M. the Prince of Schwartzenberg to M. the Count de Neipperg, Austrian Minister at Stockholm.

Paris, March 14, 1812.—I profit, M. Duke of Bassano, of an opportunity which offers itself, of informing you, before that you can have received intelligence of it by our Minister, that the ties of friendship and relationship existing between our Court and that of France, are this day going to be strengthened by a knot which ought to be a natural consequence of it, for establishing in a solemn manner the relations of intimacy and confidence between the two empires. ——The great political event, furthermore, acquires a greater interest by taking place at the moment when a war is ready to burst out in the North. Our august master having determined in his wisdom, and being true to his system, to act in the most perfect concert with France, after having in vain exhausted every measure tending to the preservation of peace on the Continent with the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh, now finds himself on the point of taking an active part in a cause which has at length become his own.——In a state of things when that every means should be directed towards one common end, you cannot more essentially serve the interests of our august master, than by employing the credit which I know you enjoy with the Government to which you are accredited, to attach it to a cause to which a recent and painful remembrance, as likewise the favourable perspective of effacing it for ever by the re-occupation of so essential a part of the monarchy as Finland, must give a national character entirely particular to Sweden.——As it is possible that this letter may find you on the Continent, where I suppose you had the intention of proceeding, I cannot avoid recommending to you, not to give up the

possession of my letter itself, under *whatever circumstances* it possibly may be, but to act with all your knowledge of business in the sense of the invitation which it contains; for to an enlightened military person, such as yourself, M. le Count, I will not undertake to enumerate the important advantages which might result in favour of the allied armies from a diversion in the extremity of the North conducted by an able and experienced General.

Documents relating to the Auxiliary Corps.

The auxiliary corps being arrived at Stonim on the 12th of November, 1812, changed all at once its line of operations, returned to the Bug, and thus facilitated the arrival of Admiral Tschitschakoff at Minsk, twenty-four hours before the French army. From this time the auxiliary corps, according to the public papers, did not cease to be in daily communication with the enemy. Towards the beginning of January, an interview was proposed to Prince de Schwartzenberg by General Wasseschikow, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor of Russia; this was accepted, and was to have taken place between Ostolenka and Tykeein, but an accident prevented the Russian General from appearing there. He was replaced by the Counsellor of State d'Anstedt, the same who afterwards figured as a Plenipotentiary of Russia at Prague, and the conference was held at Warsaw. Every thing that has passed from the date of that moment between the Austrian corps and the Russian corps was in consequence of their acting perfectly in concert. The Austrian corps, retiring from station to station, successively abandoned to the enemy all the territory of the Duchy of Warsaw—refused to concur in the operations of the French army, whilst the Austrian Cabinet declared that this corps did not cease to be under the Emperor's orders. (See No. 1, a dispatch communicated by the Count de Bubna.) It secretly concluded an armistice with the enemy, which it dissimulated for a long time, and would not acknowledge its existence, until the moment when General Frimont announced that the armistice was broken, and made known his resolution of entering the Austrian territory——and the convention concluded with Saxony (see 28, 2 of the text of that convention), without the French Government having the least knowledge of it, for sending the Polish corps disarmed into the rear of the French army; the presence of which in a part of Poland caused a lively inquietude to Russia.

No. I.—*Passage extracted from a Dispatch addressed to Count Bubna (communicated by M. Difforel, on the 5th Feb.)*

You will also declare to the Emperor that the auxiliary corps being, according to the treaty, under the immediate command of the said M. (the King of Naples), it depended upon him to point out the place where our auxiliary corps should be called to place itself, and that our august Master did not order the point of retreat towards Gallicia; that because his Majesty had consented that the auxiliary corps should follow that movement, that corps did not the less remain under the *immediate* command of the French Emperor, and it will depend upon his Majesty to send to it such orders by the Major-General as he may judge fit. You will explicitly state, that whilst it is approaching other Austrian corps d'armée, we are far from confounding the *nature* and the *end* of our different corps d'armée.

No. II.—Is a convention concluded between Austria and Saxony, for permitting the troops under General Poniatowski, on leaving the Duchy of Warsaw, for traversing Gallicia, Moravia, and Bohemia. It consists of 14 articles, stipulates that they shall not pass in columns of more than 3,400 infantry, and 1,000 horse at once, and states the sum to be daily paid for the support of each soldier.

Documents relative to the Proceedings of the Cabinet of Vienna, to the opening of the Campaign.

The disasters which the excessive rigour of the season caused the French army in Russia were scarcely known at Vienna, and already the Cabinet took a change of system. (See the Letters from Count Otto, of the 16th and 18th December, Nos. 1 and 2). But it wanted time to arm.——It opened negociations, and proposed its interposition to the belligerent parties. The Emperor, who only desired peace, made no difficulty of accepting the mediation of an ally. The Cabinet of Vienna evinced the most lively joy; it applauded the Emperor's views, and found them generous. It appeared to enter upon that career where it particularly loved to serve the interests of France; it declared that it was immovable in its system—'That the alliance founded 'on the most natural, permanent, and the 'most essentially necessary interests, should 'be as everlasting as the motives which had'

'caused it; that it was that which it had 'sought for, after having deeply reflected: 'that if it was to be again done, it would 'wish it such as it was; that it did not 'dread France but Russia. It protested 'the disinterestedness of Austria, which 'wished nothing for herself, and who 'would consider the most important aggran- 'dizements too dearly purchased at the ex- 'pense of a campaign.——It was but to 'see the moment when the Russians would 'not adhere to moderate propositions, to 'employ against them, not the auxiliary 'corps stipulated by the treaty of alliance '—not a corps of 70,000 men, but all the 'forces of the monarchy. It in short en- 'gaged not to act in any way derogatory to 'the Emperor, to take no steps without his 'knowledge, and to communicate all its 'proceedings to him, whether to lead to 'negociations, or respecting the armaments 'which were to sustain Austria in her new 'attitude.' The Cabinet of Vienna was prodigal of those assurances to the French Ambassador. They were the object of the extraordinary mission of Count Bubna to Paris. It sent the Prince of Schwartzenberg there, 'To give the Emperor a strik- 'ing proof of its dispositions, by making 'appear at the Court of France the Com- 'mandant of the Austrian Corps, proceed- 'ing to his Chief to receive his orders.' In fine, it prohibited its agent from making use of the word mediation, whilst that it was employing the mediation of an Ally, who aspires to accelerate the term of the war. (See Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, of Letters from Count Bubna). Russia accepted this friendly mediation of a Power at war with her. She remarked, 'That forms and usages were contrary to 'this concession, but she passed on those 'considerations, for having given Austria a 'proof of her confidence and of her esteem.' The Cabinets previously understood each other; this language was concerted. At the same time when Austria proposed her mediation to Russia, she made an offer of it to England, who did not fail to observe, 'That the constant relations of Austria with 'France were opposed to the success of this step.' It had, in effect, no result.——Count de Narbonne was named Ambassador at Vienna. He arrived at his post in the latter end of March. Then the combined armies had arrived on the Elbe. The Austrian Cabinet proceeded more freely in its system. The French Ambassador wrote on the 1st April—'We cannot dissimulate 'that Austria, whether she persists in the 'alliance, or whether she declares against 'us, can in either case but hold the same 'language and the same conduct to the de- 'nouement.'——Prince Schwartzenberg, after long delays, had proceeded to Paris. This Commandant of the auxiliary corps, who came to his Chief to take his orders, and was still there when the Emperor, notwithstanding the declarations of which that Ambassador was the bearer, felt the necessity of pressing the events of war, to arrest, were it possible, the determinations towards which Austria marched with hasty steps. Prince Schwartzenberg, who remained at Paris after the Emperor's departure, on the 22d April gave in a note, in which he still declared, that if some of the stipulations of the alliance were not applicable to the circumstances of the moment, the Emperor Francis did not wish to alter any of its basis (see the Prince of Schwartzenberg's note, 13). He at the same time verbally repeated to the Duke of Bassano, the declaration which he had already made to the Emperor, that when the orders reached the auxiliary corps, he did not doubt their being obeyed by the provisional commandant.——At the same time the French Ambassador at Vienna having been charged to inform the Cabinet, that the moment the renewal of hostilities should be resolved upon orders would be sent to the auxiliary corps to act in concert, asked if they would be punctually executed. Receiving but vague and captious replies, he thought it his duty to prove by facts the real dispositions of the Cabinet. He demanded a formal explanation by a note dated 21st April. (See note 14.)——Count Metternich replied on the 26th. His reply left no doubt respecting the inclination of the Austrian Cabinet not to fulfil its obligation. (See No. 15.)——The Emperor had just triumphed at Lutzen when he received the courier, who brought him the reply of Austria. From this moment the projects of the Cabinet of Vienna were unveiled.

Declaration of Count Metternich, dated Prague, Aug. 12.

The undersigned, Minister of State, and for Foreign Affairs, is charged by an express order from his august Master to make the following Declaration to his Excellency the Count de Narbonne, Ambassador from his Majesty the Emperor of France, King of Italy.——Since the last peace signed with France, in October 1809, his Imperial Majesty and Apostolic King has directed all his solicitude, not only to the establishing

not, it is said, *maintain* a neutrality in the midst of the *vast* field of battle which surrounded it on all sides. Were not circumstances, *then*, the same in 1806? Were not *sanguinary* battles fought in 1806 and 7 near the limits of her territory, and did she not still preserve to her people the benefits of peace, and maintain a happy neutrality? But the Government of Austria, in taking part in the war, and combating in the cause of France, *consulted*, it is said, *its fidelity* to *relations newly established;* a fidelity which no longer deserves to be consulted, when those relations become older by a year, and more strict by a former alliance; if we may now believe it was not to ensure to itself its aggrandisements that in 1812 it allied itself to France, which guaranteed all its possessions and took part in the war, it was to promote the return of peace, and to cause the councils of wisdom and prudence to be listened to. What logic! what modesty!

Note E.—How did the Cabinet of Vienna learn that the brilliant successes of the campaign of 1812 did not bring back to moderation the councils of the French Government? If it had been well informed, it would have known that the counsels of France, after the battle of the Moskwa, were moderate and pacific, and that every thing which could restore peace was then tried.

Note F.—The Cabinet of Vienna continues its error. It made common cause with France in 1812, and it now says, that it was to prevent her from making war against Russia. It arms in 1813 in favour of Russia and Prussia, and this, it says, is to inspire them with the desire of peace. These Powers, at first elevated by some success, which they owed to the chance of circumstances, were restored to more calm sentiments by the striking reverse of the first month of the campaign. Enfeebled, vanquished, they were about to recover from their illusions. The Austrian Government declared that it would arm in their behalf; and shewed them its arms ready to be taken up in their defence. By thus offering them new chances in the continuation of the war it pretends to inspire them with the desire of peace. What else could it have done, if it had wished to encourage them to war?——It has offered to Russia to take upon itself the burden of it; it has offered to Prussia to change the theatre of the war. It has called upon its own territory the troops of its allies, and all the calamities which weighed upon that of Prussia. It has, in fine, offered to the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh the spectacle most agreeable to an Emperor of Russia—that of Austria, her natural enemy, fighting against France, her actual enemy. If the Cabinet of Vienna had asked advice of true wisdom, it would have known that a conflagration is not to be extinguished by affording it new aliment; that it is not wise to endanger ourselves for a nation whose interests are contrary or foreign; in fine, that it is folly to expose to all the chances of war a nation which, after such long continued misfortune, might continue to enjoy the sweets of peace. But ambition is not a counsellor which wisdom acknowledges.

Note G.—The author of this declaration cannot get out of the vicious circle in which he is bewildered. Russia and Prussia knew very well that the Austrian Government was arming against France. From that moment they could not wish for peace.——This result of the dispositions of the Cabinet of Vienna was too evident not to be reckoned upon.

Note H.—The Cabinet of Vienna had caused the whole month of June to be lost. Any of the formalities which should have preceded the opening of the congress, France did not solicit that the armistice should be prolonged, but she consented to it. What she wished, and what she asked, was, that the negociations should be continued during hostilities. But the Cabinet of Austria refused this. Austria would have bound as mediatrix, during the negociations, and she preferred a prolongation of the armistice, which would give her time to finish her armaments; and of which the limited duration offered a fatal term for breaking off the negociations, and declaring herself.

Note I.—How was the Cabinet of Vienna assured that France would not bring to the peace those sacrifices which might restore it to Europe. Before the moment which it had fixed for war, did it propose any ultimatum, and distinctly make known what it wished? It declared war because it wished for war. It declared it without examining whether it could be avoided, and with a precipitation, in which it is difficult to recognize the influence of the councils of wisdom.

Note J.—It was by the act of Austria and the Allies that the arrival of Plenipotentiaries was retarded. Yet the difficulties raised by design, were not removed when the Count de Narbonne was already at Prague. His powers, common to the

two Plenipotentiaries, authorized him to act jointly or separately. The Duke de Vicenza arrived later, because new difficulties, by which the dignity of France was compromised, were raised by the enemy. But what signify these observations? What would a delay of a few days have been to a mediator who did not wish for war? and what a motive for war is a delay of a few days.

Note K.—The Plenipotentiaries had for their instructions to adhere to all the forms of negociation, consecrated by custom. The mediator proposed unusual forms, and such as tended to prevent all approach of the Plenipotentiaries on either side, all accommodation, and all negociation. He introduced a discussion, which no negociator, with a sincere desire of peace, would ever have started. *There remained*, said he, *but a few days for the most important of negociations.* Why did there remain only a few days? What had the armistice in common with the negociation? Was it not possible to negociate fighting? What signifies a few days more or less, when a treaty of peace is in question? If the Cabinet of Vienna did not wish to negociate, but to dictate, as conditions are dictated to a besieged place, a few days might, indeed, suffice; but, then, why did it not propose a capitulation?——*There only remained a few days for the most important of negociations.*——What negociation, then, is that which can be concluded in a few days? Time may be necessary, when satisfactory explanation is wished; but it is useless to a Mediator, who has taken his determination beforehand. However, when it is against France, some days, more or less, may be allowed to think of it.

Note L.—We must here do justice to the penetration of the Cabinet of Vienna. No doubt a peace such as the Allied Sovereigns desired was foreign to the wishes of France, in like manner as such a peace as France could approve must have been contrary to the wishes of the Allies. Every Power that enters into negociation, wishes for all that it can obtain; but when there is a mediator, he interposes between these contrary wishes. But such was not the part which the Austrian Cabinet had assigned itself. It never was a mediator, it was an enemy from the time when, according to its own confession, it wished no other peace than that which was wished by one only of the parties. But what was the peace which the Cabinet of Vienna wished? If it really wished peace, a peace of any kind, why did it not explain itself? Why? because it had adopted all the pretensions of Russia, of Prussia, and of England, and because it had besides pretensions of its own, on which it did not wish to give way, because it had resolved on war.

Note M.—France proposed the meeting of a Congress, because she sincerely wished peace, because she flattered herself that her Plenipotentiaries, when in the presence of those of Russia and Prussia, would come to an understanding; because a Congress, even under the mediation of Austria, would be a means to escape the dangers of the insinuations which the Cabinet of Vienna circulated.——France accepted the mediation of Austria, because, supposing in the Cabinet of Vienna the ambitious views of which we had no doubt, it was to be believed that it would find itself cramped by its part of mediator, and would not dare, in a public negociation undertaken for its sole interest, to reject our moderate views and the sacrifices which we were disposed to make for peace; because, in fine, if it had been otherwise, and if the mediator and our enemies had been agreed on their reciprocal pretensions, the Cabinet of Vienna would propose an ultimatum which would excite the indignation of France and her Allies.

Note N.—*Austria then was already united in principle with the enemies of France.* Who required from her this confession?——The Cabinet of Vienna feared lest France should prevail in a negociation to separate Austria from her powerful enemies. No doubt, if Austria had united with them to prevent their making peace, and with the firm resolution of making war against us, she must have feared a negociation in which our moderation might have offered them more advantageous chances in peace than in war; but why, then, did the Cabinet of Vienna offer its mediation, and cause Europe to resound with its wishes for peace?

Note O.—Austria *wishes to establish an order of things, which, by a wise distribution of forces, places the guarantee of peace under the Ægis of an association of independent States.* She will not make peace till an equal distribution of forces shall guarantee the independence of each State. To obtain this, she ought immediately to aggrandize, at her own expense, Bavaria and Saxony; for the great powers must descend, in order that the weaker powers may become their equals. When it shall have given that example, it will have a right to demand that it shall be imi-

tated. Thus the Cabinet of Vienna wished to fight to render all powers a republic of Sovereigns, the elements of which shall be perfectly equal; and is it to such reveries that the repose of the world is to be sacrificed? Can public reason, and the opinion of Europe be more openly sported with? In drawing up manifestoes, as well as in the regulation of its conduct, the Cabinet of Vienna has not *listened to the councils of wisdom.*

The following letter from the Duke of Bassano, was in consequence of one from Count Metternich, stating, that he received notes from the Russian and Prussian Ambassadors, declaring the Congress to be at an end, in consequence of the time for which the Armistice had been made, having expired:—

Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Count Metternich.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs, has placed before his Majesty the Emperor and King the declaration of the 11th August, by which Austria throws off the mask of mediator, with which she covered her designs.——Since the month of July, the hostile dispositions of the Cabinet of Vienna towards France, were known to all Europe. Denmark, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Naples, and Westphalia have in their Archives documents which prove, how much Austria, under the false appearances of the interest she took for her ally, and the love of peace, nourished jealousy against France.——The undersigned refuses to retrace the system of protestations lavished on one side, and insinuations spread upon the other, by which the Cabinet of Vienna compromised the dignity of its Sovereign, and which in its developement, what is most sacred among men, a mediator, a congress, and the name of peace.——If Austria wished to make war, what occasion had she to clothe herself in false language, and surround France with snares so badly contrived, that they were evident to every body?——If the Mediator wished for peace, would he have pretended, that so complicated transactions could have been accomplished in fifteen or twenty days? Was that a pacific disposition which consisted in dictating peace to France in less time than would have been requisite for concluding the capitulation of a besieged place? The peace of Teschen required more than four months' negociations; more than six weeks were employed in that of Sistow, before even the discussions respecting the forms were terminated; the negociation for the peace of Vienna, when the greater part of the Austrian monarchy was in the hands of France, lasted two months.——In the different transactions, the interests and the number of the parties were circumscribed, and when at Prague, the point was to lay down the basis of a general pacification, to conciliate the interests of France, of Austria, of Russia, of Prussia, of Denmark, of Saxony, and so many other powers; when to the complications which arose out of the multiplicity and the diversity of interests, were joined the difficulties resulting from the open and concealed pretensions of the Mediator, it was derisive to pretend that every thing should be terminated in fifteen days. Without the fatal intervention of Austria, peace would at this present time have been concluded between Russia, France, and Prussia.——Austria, an enemy to France, and covering her ambition with the mask of Mediatrix, complicated every thing, and rendered all conciliation impossible. But Austria, having declared war, is in a more true and quite simple position. Europe is thus nearer peace; there is one complication less.——The undersigned has therefore received orders to propose to Austria to immediately adopt the means of arriving at peace, of opening a Congress, where all the powers, great or small, shall be called; where all questions shall be solemnly debated; where it shall not be demanded that this work, as difficult as it is salutary, be terminated either in a week or a month; where they shall pursue with that leisure, inseparable from every operation of that nature, with the gravity which belongs to so great interests and so great ends. The negociations should be long; they must be so. Were the Treaties of Utrecht, of Nimeguen, of Ryswick, of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in a few days?——In the greater part of memorable discussions, the question of peace was always independent of that of war; they negociated without knowing whether they would fight or not; and since

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRICE OF BREAD.——Mr. Campbell, who is an advocate for the *assize*, and who blames me for wishing to see it abolished, and to see the baking trade left at as much liberty as any other branch of business, has sent me another letter upon this subject, which I insert below.——His main drift is to produce a belief, that, by leaving the trade of bread to itself, the poor are made to suffer; and, in proof of this, he cites the increasing number of paupers, and also the enormous increase in the amount of the poor-rates. ——But, if the assize of bread, if the shackling of the flour-trade; if these had a tendency to prevent the sufferings of the poor, why have the poor suffered? for these shackles have long been in existence. *Experience* would rather lead us, then, to the opposite conclusion. ——Mr. Campbell does not think, that wages keep pace with the price of provisions: and, in particular cases; in certain trades, at certain times, and especially where trade is affected materially by external commerce; in such cases, the price of wages may not keep pace with the price of bread. If, for instance, the cotton trade were stopped, all of a sudden, and the price of bread were not to change; it is very certain, that the price of the cotton-spinners' wages would not keep pace with the price of bread. The same, in different degrees, will happen, at times, as to other trades; but, then, Mr. Campbell should bear in mind, that, at other times, owing to a great demand in such particular branches of trade, the price of labour will overshoot the pace which it ought to keep with the price of bread.——When I said, that the price of agricultural labour kept pace with the price of wheat, I did not mean, that it kept the pace as regularly as two Hessian soldiers marching on parade. I did not mean, that it changed from high to low and from low to high at the *same moment*, that the change took place in the price of provisions. I meant, of course, that, on an average of three or four years, you would always find the price of labour pretty truly proportioned to the price of bread. Sometimes the labourer has the advantage, and sometimes the employer. ——The former has the advantage at this moment. The wages of last year (ending at Michaelmas) will be given this year; but, the cost of living will not be so great by *a fourth*, and, in all probability, by nearly *a third*.——The price of bread depends so much on the *season*; it depends so very much upon merely accidental circumstances; and it rises and falls so suddenly, that it is impossible that the price of labour should *constantly* keep pace with it; but, I am persuaded, that, as to agricultural labour, which goes to the producing of that for which there is always a demand, it will be found, upon an average of years, to keep a very true pace with the price of bread.——Mr. Campbell seems to hope, that, upon further reflection, I shall come over to his opinion; but, so far does reflection lead me the other way, that I greatly doubt of a reduction, and especially a great and sudden reduction, in the price of provision, being any benefit at all to the public or the labourer. It would be desirable to see men disposed, at all times, to labour assiduously without being urged to it by *absolute necessity*. It is melancholy for the country, in which this disposition does not exist. But, where, *from whatever cause*, the labourer has no idea of *saving* any thing; where his views go not beyond the supplying of his absolute wants, all that will be produced by a great fall in the price of provisions, is, *a diminution in the quantity of his labour*. During this year, for instance, being able to purchase as much bread for a shilling as he was, last year, for eighteen pence, he will do only two-thirds as much labour as he did last year, except in cases where the price of labour can be made instantly to fall into the pace of the price of bread.——When, therefore, some persons are pouring forth such loads of thanksgiving for an abundance of corn, they do not appear to have well reflected on all the consequences to which that abundance may lead; nay, to which it must lead.——The labourer feels an indisposition to labour at the same time

that the master has less means of employing him; and thus the low price of bread operates in two ways at once to produce a scanty crop in a succeeding year.——I shall suppose, for a moment, that there will be as much land sown with corn this year as there would have been if the price had continued high. But, even in this case, the produce will be less than it would have been if the price had not come down so low. Less care will be taken in the after cultivation; in the draining; in the fencing; in the harvesting; and these are of very great account in the amount of the produce.——The truth is, however, that a great deal less corn will be sown, especially in the Spring. Much of the land, which, if corn had been at a pretty good price, would have been prepared for sowing in March, April, and May, will not now be prepared. Fields will be left almost untouched, to bear a crop of weeds, which, under the motive of last-year's prices, would have been made clean for a crop of corn. Less cattle will be employed in cultivation; less manure will be brought upon the land. In short, less *capital* will be used for the producing of corn, seeing that capital, used in that way, does not, this year, produce so large a profit.——The consequence must be a smaller produce; which, joined to what is always possible, an untoward season, may bring a scarcity more than sufficient to counterbalance the present plenty.——Mr. Campbell says, that the *fluctuation* in the price of bread has been the great cause of the miseries of the poor. But, who is to prevent this fluctuation? The price depends upon the crop, and the crop depends upon the winds, and sun, and clouds. An easterly wind, at a certain season, may, in six hours, cause the price to rise from 20 to 30 pounds the load of wheat.——What has happened to prices within these 10 weeks, is, I should think, more than sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that it is the crop, compared with the demand, and that *alone*, which has, or can have, an effect upon the price of corn.——Right notions, in this respect, are of great importance. The Americans, who do not know what pauperism and misery is, are astonished to hear, that we *rejoice when corn is cheap*. They see the thing in its true light. They are not deprived of their reason by the gnawings of hunger. People in that country are as well off when corn is dear as when it is cheap. It is only *a rabble* that shouts at low prices of provisions. The labourer in America knows little more of the price of flour than a gentleman in England does. It is hunger, and hunger alone, that unhinges people's minds upon this subject. If an assize of the price of *shoes* were to be established, the very rabble would be wonder-stricken. And yet, why not? Shoes are necessaries of life, and why should the people be left, in this respect, at the mercy of the manufacturer any more than in the case of bread? Why not an assize of the price of potatoes? Bread, they say, in the emphatical language of *Holy Writ*, is the "*Staff of life.*" Very true; but, all human food, in *different degrees*, contribute towards the sustaining of life. Why not an assize of the price of all of them?——I wish very much to see this assize quite abolished; and this is the time for it, when the stomach is pretty well filled, and when it leaves reason at liberty to operate.——I have often thought, and cannot help thinking so now, that Government are pleased with this ignorance in the people; that the former delight in seeing the latter fasten on upon any thing but themselves. The *bakers*, the *mealmen*, the *millers*: no matter whom, or what, so that their hatred has a direction not towards the Government. If one millionth part of the pains had been taken to instruct the people, that have been taken to mislead them, we should not, at this day, hear talk of the price of bread being kept up by *combinations* of bakers and mealmen.

Religious Discussion.——A correspondent, whose letter will be found below, while he praises me for my sound orthodox principles, blames me for inserting the letters of those who differ from me in opinion, and observes, that "it is an *ignoble loss of* "*time* to endeavour to prove any thing to "one, who is resolved *to believe nothing* "*but what he sees.*"——In recommending this letter, which is signed A. B. to the sober perusal of my readers, I must, however, say, that, in this respect I differ from him. Jesus Christ and his Apostles endeavoured to convert the long-bearded rascals, who, at last, actually killed God. And, shall I think it beneath *me* to endeavour to convert such men as Observator and Mr. Fordham? To effect this work, I am of opinion, that the best way is to *hear* them first; to let my readers hear them; and then, as I endeavour to do, to show the hollowness of what they say; for, if they be beaten thus by dint of argument, the thing is far more complete than if they were si-

lenced by blows or by any other forcible means.——I am much flattered to perceive, that my correspondent, A. B. approves of the way in which I answered the *whys* and *wherefores* of Mr. Fordham and Ecce Homo. They asked, *why* God should die; *why* he should choose to pass through the process of impregnation, delivery, swaddling clouts, circumcision, temptation by the Devil, buffeting, and, finally, hanging by those miscreants, the Jews; *why* he could not have saved men without all this.——To this cavil I answered by putting to them the question: "*Why* a chicken came out of an "egg, instead of being littered as young "dogs are."——This it was which so much pleased my correspondent. Indeed it was a *clencher*; and, as A. B. observes, "*completely* silenced these poor, foolish, "impertinent sort of inquirers."——But, if A. B. is just in this compliment to me, is it not clear, that *discussion* has done some good? If I had not admitted the letters of my opponents, I could not have *answered* them; and A. B. may be assured, that questions, similar to those of Mr. Fordham and Observator, are frequently put in conversation. Now, then, the *answer is ready;* and it has been furnished to the public at large through the means of *discussion.*——If the old maxim be true, that *Truth*, the more she is rubbed the brighter she will appear, *discussion* must always be in favour of those, who have *Truth on their side;* and, as we churchmen have truth on our side, discussion must be in *our* favour. ——Besides, what would the world think if I avoided the discussion? They would infer from it, that I, at least, doubted of the goodness of the cause.——"The Botley "parson," as he is emphatically called, in the country, did very great mischief in *not* discussing the subject with Mr. Eaton. He *attacked* Mr. Eaton; and, indeed, he promised to give an answer to his publication; but he has never attempted so to do from that day to this. What is the inference which the world must naturally draw from this fact? Why, that the Reverend Gentleman is either unable, or unwilling, to answer the book; that he is deficient in point of ability, or in point of zeal; or, which would be still more mischievous, *that the work is unanswerable.*——That Reverend personage has, therefore, done much harm to the cause of religion by his attack, his challenge, and his subsequent silence. Now, I am for *discussion;* because I know, that if discussion has its free course, *Truth* must, at last, prevail; and, I hope, that no man is to be found base and impudent enough to say, that Truth *ought not to prevail.*——Mr. Fordham does not, it seems, mean to let us hear from him again; but, I think proper again to call him forth in support of his assertion, that there is *no Devil.* I call upon him to show, what becomes of *religion* if there be no Devil. Is it not to preserve us from the Devil, that we are religious? Why need we any such thing as religion, if there were no Devil? We are baptized, confirmed, we take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and why? Because these are so many means of keeping us out of the Devil's claws. Burns, the poet, has an Address to the Devil, in which the qualities of the latter are very well drawn. Amongst other things that the Devil infuses into the heads of men is, *that there is no Devil;* and, I am afraid that the crafty being must have been but too busy at the ear of Mr. Fordham himself.——The Devil is a personage of great import in the Christian system. Indeed the system is founded upon the idea of such a being, the constant enemy of man, working day and night for his destruction. If it be asked, *why* God did not kill the Devil long ago, or, at least, keep him in hell amongst his own infernal crew, and so prevent him from tormenting and tempting weak mortals; if this be asked, I ask Mr. Fordham in return, why God suffers poor mortals to have the gout or the tooth-ach? ——Mr. Fordham may jeer me as long as he pleases; but, he will not prevail on me to give up the Devil, who, as I said before, is the very sheet-anchor of the Christian system.——Ask those pious old Ladies, whose grey locks, if they did not modestly hide them, would bespeak their age and experience, why they go to prayers so regularly on Wednesdays and Fridays, and why they receive the Sacrament once a month at least. Ask them *why*, and they will tell you, that their religious duty enjoins it on them thus to act. Very true; but, put the matter still closer to them. Say: *Why* do you pay any attention to such things. They will answer, that they do it because they hope thereby to be saved from the Devil.——This is the grand motive of all who attend either the Church or the Meeting-house; and, of course, if Mr. Fordham could root out the Devil, there would be no motive at all for going to any religious house, or for reading in any religious book.——The Devil is the very kernel of the creed. Without him, all is nonsense. There is neither reason nor com-

mon sense in the Christian scheme; but, with a Devil, as described to us in the Holy Scriptures, all is reasonable, clear, and consistent.——I call upon Mr. Fordham to shew the contrary.

WM. COBBETT.

PRICE OF BREAD.

Sir,—In your number of the 16th inst., you have stated, that "the table which I "inserted is curious; more so, you be- "lieve, than correct.—A wide difference "is made by taking the highest price on "the one side and the lowest price on the "other; and though I know paupers have "increased to a most horrible degree, it is "not altogether owing to the wages of la- "bour not having kept pace with the price "of bread." Most certainly not, Sir, for that want of employment which is more or less the subject of complaint at all times, and which was loudly complained of when I formed the table, operates, indeed, very powerfully to create paupers; but as I could not find data on which to calculate the number so created, *the fact must be*, that my table exhibits *a much less number of paupers* than might have been stated as *incontrovertible evidence* of the evils, not, indeed, of *the fair freedom* of trade, but of *the anarchial degree* to which that freedom is carried, in every case, that of the bakers excepted. And to which, as they, the evils mentioned, take precedence of all other subjects that can claim your consideration, I make bold to call your most serious attention before you again express your disapprobation of the assize on bread, or displeasure of the hardships under which the bakers labour. Recollect, Sir, that it is not yet, *as you appear to assume*, a decided point, that, with all their hardships, there are more bakers in the workhouse, in proportion to their number, than there is of any other class, with all the freedom of which they have to boast. You are aware that the price of bread, *so long as money continues to be the standard of its value*, is not only the link which connects independence with existence, but the main spring of existence itself,—by the due regulation of which we are permitted to live, move, and have our being in this world. And this being infallibly the case, you will, of course, allow that there is no other subject, however general in its bearing, which ought not to give way to *the free and fair* discussion of the horrid policy (tracing the picture which my table exhibits, to its operations) of leaving that spring to the discretion of those whose interest it is to make great profits on the sale of their commodities, and of course, to occasion great loss *to the helpless many* who purchase them; and who may fall, nay, have fallen into the habit of so doing, as void of combination, as they are of any agreement to wear round hats for their heads rather than cocked ones. But to return, the table, you will recollect, only exhibits the number of paupers which has been exclusively created by the most proximate and obvious cause, namely, the progressively rising, though fluctuating, price of provisions; or, as you have still left me to think, "by the "wages of labour not having kept pace "with the depreciated value of money." And the truth of which thought I will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, establish to your perfect satisfaction, if you do not shut the columns of the Political Register against my endeavours. But "the table" you assert, "is more curious than correct."— "A wide difference is made by taking the "highest price on the one side and the "lowest price on the other." Granted, Sir, for the sake of argument; but I have not done so. Had I wished to shuffle in that way I might have taken sixpence as the price of the quarter of wheat, which is that given me in Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum* in the year 1043. Instead of doing this I took my lowest price as given by Dr. Adam Smith for 1687, and by so doing, and taking the other prices as I found them recorded in the Town-Clerk of London's office, at the commencement of each Mayoralty, my object, as you freely insinuated, was not to make out a case right or wrong, but to shew, in a compass the most compact, and on principles which I apprehend the least errable, the absurd delusions and fatal effects; not, indeed, of the eternal sleep into which it laid "the "divine right of kings," but of that nevertheless *party bubble*, the Revolution of 1688.—The authors of which, grasping at the abstract blessings of freedom, must have forgot, if my table be correct, *the inequality of our power to secure them*, and, therefore, that *a restraint upon superior powers, which leaves the necessaries of life within the reach of all those who, though not gifted with equal abilities, are nevertheless able to provide for their own wants*, is the solid basis of social liberty; the very end of the associated state; and the very essence of moral justice, in the management of public affairs. And so

forgetting, they could not but remember to lay a more firm foundation for the calamities which the table exhibits, than ever before cursed the civilized state of man. To this motive, Sir, for taking the state of prices as I have given it, I have, in candour, to add the desire of exposing in the same way and on the same principles, the consequent of that revolution, frauds and calamities of the too successful attempt which we made twenty years ago, to murder the rational freedom of mankind in the infant cradle of the French revolution. These, and no other, were my objects in taking the state of prices as I have done. And take you what proof you please of the blessings of the degree of freedom which I oppose, and would have opposed at the Revolution, had I then had existence. I cannot but consider the picture which my table exhibits, as the most incontrovertible evidence of its course;—not only to ourselves, but to the whole known world. Yet, Sir, though I stand thus acquitted of the charge of taking the highest prices on the one side and the lowest prices on the other, I can, with an abhorrence of sophistry and falsehood, which is not inferior to that of any man, defend the principle of taking them so. In doing this I have to remark, that no one is more likely than yourself to be aware of the melancholy truth, that in the very lowest state of prices there are persons whose allowance of necessaries is so short, *that the smallest possible advance in price deprives them of the means of subsistence.* This is a truth, Sir, which can never be absent from your mind, while you recollect "that it is the last feather that "breaks the horse's back;" and, therefore, it is another truth which must always be present to your conviction, that in the absence of such means, such persons have no alternative but to dispose of every thing they possess, and march into the workhouse, *that last asylum of oppressions, victims*, and certain grave *of national morals, national character, and individual independence.* It cannot be otherwise, Sir, for you are aware that it does not belong to reduced prices to enable such reduced victims of high charges, to re-purchase the property with which they were obliged to part, and become again free members of society. If this then be a fair representation of the effects of any advance of prices, into what greater absurdity could the corn-trade committee have fallen, than that into which they have plunged, namely, *the averaging the price of corn for the last twenty years as the means of regulating its price for the time to come*, or rather, *till the depreciation of money renders another parliamentary interference necessary?* If we had not had ocular demonstration of it, could it be believed that, evident as the calamities of fluctuating prices are, a committee of the House of Commons would have overlooked them, and propose no means of arresting their progress? And if, in addition to this representation of such calamities, it be the matter of fact, *that applications for parochial relief are always in the ratio of the advanced price of necessaries;* of bread in particular, and that it is so, your own experience must convince you, if you ever served the office of overseer of the poor, where would have been my error had I even taken the highest price on the one side, and the lowest price on the other, as the means of evincing the barbarity of the freedom of trade which we now enjoy?—Such error, if I understand my subject, can only be conceived on the supposition, that the increase of paupers is *less* than in the ratio of advanced prices! —than which, admitting the premises, a falser notion never entered into the mind of man. So much, Sir, for the correctness of my table, as to the state of prices on which it is founded, and as to its accuracy as a mere calculation, the easiest way in which I can enable you to detect its errors, is to put you in possession of its mode. I know that the generality of readers are averse to calculations, and pass them over with inattention, flippantly remarking, that they are *dry!* but this flowing, prating way, is too unworthy of those who are, like you, desirous of being esteemed for their knowledge and love of truth, to allow me for a moment to fear I shall experience it from you, to whom calculations on a subject *so moistened with the tears of misery*, as that to which I now call your attention, never can be dry. And to which, again, on public grounds alone, I trust you will most seriously attend before you will again venture to prejudice the mind of your readers, by offering remarks on my endeavours to assist you in the great work of arresting the progress of paupers, which may otherwise turn out to be incorrect. My way, Sir, of accounting for, and shewing at one view, as far as the means are within my reach, the sum total of the wretchedness which bears us down in the midst of appearances to the contrary, may possess novelty; may be different from the old crude and undigested track, fol-

lowed by all the political economists I ever read; but it does not, therefore, follow, that my aim is to make out a case at the expense of truth and justice. But to return. Repeating the substance of a former remark, you will recollect, that the price of bread is not a subject of ordinary interest: that it is a subject of a much more interesting nature than even that of the church; for the defence of which you appear ready to lay down your life, should the attacks of the Unitarians upon its vitals render so great a sacrifice necessary. The church, you well know, Sir, only reaches the heads and conduct of men, but the price of bread comes not only home to their business and bosoms, but to their very being, or, in the vulgar tongue, which we are bound to learn, to their very bellies. It is ordained by nature, Sir, that this part of our frame should form the first object of our care; and, therefore, it is but truth to infer, that if we be pinched by its wants, we cannot be otherwise than cramped in all our undertakings;—a circumstance to which I trust the Lord Mayor of London, and particularly the First Lord of the Treasury, to whom a full one must be agreeable, will never be inattentive. With respect to the correctness of the table as a mere calculation, you will recollect, that the act of parliament which ascertained the amount of our population in 1803, gave the poors' rates of England and Wales at £1,523,163 in 1776; and at £1,943,649 in 1785, without giving the number of paupers which that rate went to maintain. In 1803 the rate is given at £4,113,164, and the paupers at 1,039,716 in number. In that year, and at the commencement of the mayoralty, the price of bread was 10*d.* the quartern loaf; in 1785, 6*d.*; and in 1776, 6½*d.* Say then, first, if in 1803, the price of bread being 10*d.*, a rate of £4,113,164, maintained 1,039,716 paupers, what is the number that a rate of £1,943,649 would maintain in 1785, when the price of bread was 6*d.*? Answer, 818,851. And that being the answer, it clearly follows, that in 1776, when bread was 6½*d.*, a rate of £1,523,163 would maintain 695,177 paupers. Secondly, if in 1776, when bread was 6½*d.*, a rate of £1,523,163 maintained 695,177 paupers, what is the number that £665,562, the rate at the Revolution, when bread was 3*d.*, would maintain? Answer, 563,964. The rate at this period is given by Sir F. M. Eden, in his Treatise on the State of the Poor; and from which, together with my own recollection, I have collected all the knowledge I possess of the wages of husbandry labour at the different periods to which I refer. We have now a double task to perform, for as neither is given us, we have to find both the rates and the paupers up to the period to which I have carried the table. Say then, first, if 6*d.*, the price of bread, in 1785, gave 818,851 paupers, what is the number, that 7*d.* its price in 1792, would give? Answer, 955,326, allowing, as assumed, an increase of paupers necessarily to follow the advanced price of bread. And as that is the answer, it clearly follows, that as in 1785 a rate of £1,943,649 went to maintain 818,851 paupers, so in 1792, *when the war commenced*, bread being 7*d.*, a rate of £2,645,520 was indispensably necessary to maintain 955,326 paupers. Secondly, as 7*d.* the price of bread in 1792, gave 955,326 paupers, it follows, that 10*d.* its price in 1803, would give the 1,039,716 paupers before stated; and as in the same year (1792) bread being 7*d.*, a rate of £2,645,520 went to maintain 955,326 paupers; it follows, that, in 1803, bread being 10*d.*, the rate of £4,113,164, given by the act of parliament, was the exact sum required to maintain the 1,039,716 paupers, which is given by that act; *and which shews the correctness of the principle on which the calculation is made from first to last.* Thirdly, if 10*d.* the price of bread, in 1803, gave the paupers of that year as above stated; it follows, that 12*d.* its price in 1811, gave 1,247,659 paupers; and as in the same year (1803), the rate stated went to maintain the paupers mentioned, it follows, that in 1811, bread being 12*d.*, the rate required to maintain 1,247,659 paupers, could not be less than £5,922,954. And, fourthly, as 12*d.* the price of bread in 1811, gave 1,247,659 paupers; it follows, that 20*d.*, its highest price in 1812, gave 2,079,716 paupers; exclusively, as before stated, of those that were created by the want of employment. And as in 1811, bread being 12*d.*, a rate of £5,922,954 was required to maintain 1,247,659 paupers; it evidently follows, that the rate required in 1812, bread being 20*d.*, to maintain the paupers of that year, could not be less, but must be more than the £16,456,646; which my table exhibits in *the ratio of the expenses of those who become burdensome to their respective parishes for want of employments.* This is the ground, Sir, on which I maintain, that

my table exhibits the truth, but not the whole truth, as to the amount of our paupers. I do allow, as you see, that the awful growth of those victims, of the inequality of their own powers to enjoy the blessings of freedom, do proceed from different causes. I do allow, that it proceeds from two main causes, into which all others, as it appears to me, resolve themselves; namely, 1st, the progressively advancing price of provisions, or as I am ready to prove, the falling value of money, which my table exhibits; and, 2dly, the want of employment, which I have repeatedly mentioned. And it does not lie with me to do otherwise than trace both of these causes to the undefined freedom of trade which we enjoy, and which cannot be otherwise than rendered cruel by the inequality of our powers to secure the advantages which it offers in the abstract. In doing this I cannot see my error. For had the victims of this licentiousness, miscalled freedom, *as much power as they have liberty*, to employ themselves; to raise the price of their labour, or rather the value of the money in which they are paid, as those who make that money, have to depreciate its value by increasing its quality; to furnish employment for themselves; and put a value upon their commodities; I cannot see the reason why the one should be crowding into the workhouse while the other is enjoying all the luxuries, comforts, and ease which this life can afford. Can you, Sir? If you can do yourself the credit; do your country the kindness; and do humanity the justice to point it out, in clear and intelligible terms, that contrary opinions may so far cease to be the authors of perpetual misery. And if you cannot, can you do otherwise than fall in with me in the conviction, that the equal freedom of our trade, in the absence of equal power to secure its abstract advantages, *is the very root of all our evils?* This is a fair question, Sir; and if you cannot answer it in the affirmative, will you not admit, that in the absence of all other remedies for the calamities of a short allowance of necessaries, it is of two evils the least, *to put a maximum on the price of every thing, than remove it from the price of bread?* I have already occupied too much of your valuable time, to point out what appears to me to be the error of the mode of reasoning which you have adopted in putting the negative on this question; and, therefore, I shall only add, that, for me, or against me, on this or any other subject, as your sense of duty may direct, I shall always admire the noble qualities of your mind in the field of argument; and never cease to pride myself on being your very humble and respectful fellow labourer in the vineyard.

HECTOR CAMPBELL.

Surrey-Street, Strand,
5th Nov. 1813.

ECCE HOMO.

London, Oct. 27th, 1813.

SIR,—Being convinced, from the whole tenor of your sentiments upon matters of religion, that you are an honest and sincere Christian, I feel no small sorrow that you should favour, or give any field for discussion, through the medium of your respectable Journal, to such correspondents as those who have lately so pragmatically pretended to combat your solid, just, and virtuous arguments upon the subjects of holy writ and the sacred truths of Christianity. It is, I think, Sir, an ignoble loss of time to endeavour to prove any thing to one who is obstinately determined, either from perversity, or the pride of singularity, to disbelieve every thing he does not see. Such a one is blind to his own absurdity and dead to his own folly; forgetting that simply to believe is not seeing; for what is seen is no longer the object of simple belief. A fool may at any time deny more than a philosopher can prove; but the truth of a proposition is in nowise invalidated by that. Persons in such dispositions as those above spoken of are both unworthy of the children's bread, and of the choice pearls of the word of God too. They, as well as you, read the sacred oracles of truth; but their hearts are not right; and heaven grant they may not wrest them to their own final unhappiness! May they not be brought to believe in them too late!—May they not call upon their Redeemer when he will not hear them!—May they not, as they were the first to disown him, be disowned in their turn by him, and be left to die in their errors!—Is there any honest or honourable lover of Christ who is not deeply affected at the deplorable pitch of depraved wretchedness to which these gospel revilers have worked up their minds? who, by their pestiferous writings and other methods, have caused half the Christian world to be drenched in blood. —In a word, you know, Sir, the French nation was the first who *openly* dared, under the specious coverings of REASON and LIBERTY, to vilify the Gospel, and bring its

Divine Author into contempt. And—O gracious heaven! what has been, and what is still, the horrible result!—O, into what a pandemonium has not that country been turned by its infernal philosophers Voltaire, Rousseau, Mirabeau, Marat, &c. &c. and what horrors have not fallen upon the devoted heads of their multiplied anti-christian followers!—However, when such as these draw the profane parallel between the Saviour of the world and virtuous personages of antiquity, attributing as much, wilfully blind as they are, to the wretched creature as to the Creator, it is a charity still due to them, to remind these self-sufficient beings, that no one ever existed amongst either Jews or Gentiles, who ever uttered a worthy sentiment, without the aid of the Being who created them; and who, by a faithful correspondence to the light they received, were to be redeemed by him. So that all this is entirely irrelevant. With respect to the omnipotence and divinity of Christ, I say, over and over again, Sir, woe be to all your anti-christian correspondents, such as *Ecce Homo*, *Observator*, and all such underminers of the happiness and enemies to the human race; for there is no other name given amongst men whereby we are to be saved. Either Christ, or *invincible ignorance* of him, and even this last, will be of no avail, if it be not supplied with INVINCIBLE NATURAL VIRTUE. No morality, however, will do amongst Christians without Christ; to say nothing at the present day of Jews, Pagans, or Mahometans; for however mysterious it may be, we know that He, who is all powerful, can have no motive but to be all just; and we know that God is both these. We know that he loves us all equally; and that no human being ever existed to whom he did not give them the means of eternal happiness, if it were not their own fault, by the perversity of their free will, to reject it. —But to return to and conclude my letter; Christ, in the appointed time, came in person to confirm all that his just ones had with fidelity corresponded to, through the inspirations of anterior grace, in virtue of his merits to come. Amongst these may be ranked holy Job, and all others who lived in the fear and love of God, and who were without the pale of the tabernacle.—The Magi, as well as Abraham, saw the day of redemption in spirit; and adored, in holy expectation of the fulfilment of those promises, which by an amiable docility on their parts, had been infused into them by the same divine Spirit, in virtue, as was before observed, of that great ransom which was to be paid for the whole human race; and to be applied to all who had not *wilfully* excluded themselves from it, either from criminal ignorance or of a contempt of those just dictates with which their consciences were impressed by natural religion. The moment sin entered into the world, the promise was given by God himself, that the *seed* of the woman should repair the dishonour thrown upon him by our first parents; and this it has, does, and must, and will continue to do, till the consummation of time, in spite of all malicious human opposition. Heaven and earth may pass away, but the word of God will never pass away, nor return empty to him again.—I enter not upon miracles, nor mysteries: all nature is a miracle, and an incomprehensible mystery. God is infinite; his knowledge is infinite: we are finite; our knowledge is finite; therefore, mysteries and miracles must surround us, even in heaven, otherwise our knowledge would be infinite; consequently equal to God's, which is impossible. With respect, likewise, to all *whys* and *wherefores*, you, yourself, Sir, have silenced these poor foolish impertinent sort of inquirers so effectually, that the whole tribe of these, your Unitarian correspondents, must be convinced of the weakness of the whole of their arguments against Christ their God and Liberator. At all events, let them not dive too deep into majesty, lest they be overpowered with its glory.——I likewise forbear making here any allusion to Mr. Smith's late bill in parliament; still I cannot but express my surprise at the apathetic conduct of the right and most reverend gentlemen of that assembly, who so tacitly gave in to such a palpable illusion, when they mistook *pusillanimity* for *charity*; and *fortitude* for *persecution*. They should, at least, have *contended* with that dignity and meekness peculiar to their character, for the treasure in the field; for the pearl of great price; in a word, for that faith, *once for all*, delivered to the just. For that faith, Sir, which you, in all your writings, have hitherto so greatly respected, and so boldly and sensibly stood up for; the faith of Christ.——Thus, Sir, if in your superior judgment, you think these few lines worthy of insertion in your publication, of which I am a constant reader, well; if, on the contrary, you find them too confused or too prolix for this purpose; and commit them to the

fire, I shall remain, still with the same sincere esteem, Sir, your very humble servant, A. B.

To W. Cobbett, Esq.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 640.)

the Allies found so many hopes upon the chances of battle, nothing prevents them now, as then, from negociating, whilst fighting.——The undersigned proposes to neutralize a point upon the frontier, as a place for conferences. To assemble the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France, of Russia, of Prussia, of Saxony, of convoking all those of the Belligerent Powers, and in commencing in that august assembly the work of peace, so anxiously desired throughout all Europe. Nations will experience a real consolation in seeing the Sovereigns employed in placing a term to the calamities of war, and to sincere and enlightened men confided the conciliating the interests, compensating the sacrifices, and rendering the peace advantageous and honourable to all nations.——The undersigned does not propose to reply to the Austrian Declaration, and the single grief upon which it is founded; his reply would be complete in a single word; he would mention the date of the alliance concluded between the two Powers on the 14th March, 1812, and the guarantee stipulated by the treaty, of the territory of the Empire, such as it was on the 14th March, 1812.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE of BASSANO.

Dresden, Aug. 18, 1813.

No. I.—*Extract of a Dispatch from Count Otto to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Vienna, Dec. 16, 1812.

Monseigneur,—I yesterday received, by an extraordinary Courier, the dispatches with which your Excellency honoured me on the 3d, 4th, and 5th December; and I hastened to communicate to the Austrian Government the important intelligence which those dispatches contained. They were received with the most lively interest.——Your Excellency will have seen by my last dispatch, how much they endeavoured here to exaggerate the losses which we have suffered. The embarrassment of Count de Metternich was so visible, that I can only attribute it to the interest which he takes in our success. He had the appearance of feeling for the alliance, and forgot himself several times so far as to tell me, that if Austria adopted another part, she would in a short time see 50,000,000 of men on her side. According to him, all Germany, all Italy, would declare for her. So strange an insinuation could only have been in consequence of propositions addressed to him from abroad, and the impression which the debates at the Council, at which he assisted, had left on him. They think to do us a particular favour by refusing to take arms against us, at a moment when they suppose us less strong than the Russians. I can only oppose to such opinions a calm attitude, and confidence in the superiority of France, so justly acquired, and which passing reverses cannot take from her. The greatest efforts are made to gain Austria. They offer her Italy, the Illyrian provinces, the supremacy of Germany, in short, the re-establishment of the ancient splendour of the Imperial Crown.

No. II.—*Extract of a Dispatch from the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Dec. 23, 1812.

Monseigneur,—However afflicting the picture of what is passing here may be, it is my duty to submit it to you without any disguise.——It is, perhaps, without example, that the members of the Government of great Powers should have conceived the idea of abandoning an ally, after a first reverse, to join the colours of its enemy. It is, however, in this manner, that the greater number of men of influence in this country have dared to talk, immediately after the intelligence of the retreat of our army. They hastened to circumvent the Cabinet by all the means which intrigue and corruption are able to direct against good faith. They have represented to it, that France having no longer an army, it would be absurd to wish to singly support the war against the Russian Colossus; that the Court of Berlin was not in a condition to continue its armaments; that Bavaria, the Duchy of Warsaw and Saxony were drained of men and money; that the North of Germany was ready to hoist the standard of revolt; that consequently it was necessary to recall the auxiliary corps, to change the system, and take advantage of a moment so favourable to retake the lost provinces; that more than 50,000,000 men were ready to declare for Austria, and make a common cause with her; that France herself was on the eve of a great revolution, and that the moment had arrived for restoring to nations

their ancient laws and their independence. ——In raving against France, the faction has not forgotten to attack in every manner the first partisan of French alliance, Count Metternich. Not a day passes without some new means being invented to discredit him, and it openly announces that he will be replaced by M. de Stadion.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. III.—*Extract of a Dispatch from the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 3.

Monseigneur,—The Ministry has again repeated to me that measures have been taken to render moveable the troops from Galacia and Transylvani, and that Count Bubna would be the bearer to France of the details of this armament. They still think that this general officer will be agreeable to his Majesty, and that he will fill diplomatic functions at Paris, although he was at first sent but as the bearer of a letter.——Your Excellency will have seen, by all my preceding reports, that the present war is unpopular in Austria; but Government has had sufficient firmness to maintain the system of alliance, and it may be said, that the late reverses have but served to confirm its dispositions.—The re-establishment of peace is actually the wish dearest to Austria. 'Tell us frankly, has the Minister frequently repeated to me what you intend to do, and place us in the situation *of acting towards you as a good Ally, and towards the others as an independent Power.* Believe that we are penetrated with a value of the alliance, and that we are capable of rendering you essential services.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. IV.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 8, 1813.

Monseigneur,—Having yesterday evening received the dispatch which your Excellency addressed to me on the 31st December, I hastened to see the Minister early in the morning, to discourse upon the very important questions it contained. He, at first, told me that Russia was too much engaged with England to treat singly. 'Believe what I tell you,' added he, 'we have a thousand ways of knowing what passes. Cajoled by all your enemies, we learn from the one what the other has hidden, and we are even in a condition to compare so many different reports, that truth cannot escape us. Besides, we will have no direct communications with England, unless authorized with you, and we will place them in the forms proper for you; nevertheless preserving the attitude of a power that acts spontaneously. What have you to risk? We will compromise the English Ministry to the nation, and take upon us all the blame of unsuccessfulness. Notwithstanding your late reverse, you are still in the moct brilliant position. It is not the Emperor Napoleon who most needs peace. If he does not choose to act offensively, it depends upon himself to remain for a year, for two years, upon the Vistula. Never will the Russians be able to force that barrier. You will easily perceive the attitude you had previous to the war; but it is Germany, Prussia, Poland, and particularly Austria, which suffers in this state of things. It is, therefore, natural that we raise our voice, and loudly demand peace. As soon as the Emperor shall have made known his intentions to us, we will make them known, for he alone is instructed, he alone in a condition to dictate peace. Let him have in us a perfect confidence; let him confidently speak to us, we will similarly answer him.' M. de Metternich spoke for half an hour, with an effusion of heart, descriptive of the intentions of Austria, and of his entire devotion to our cause.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. V.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 11, 1813.

Count Metternich begged of me to call upon him this morning. He had just received a courier from Berlin, which brought him the details of the defection of the Prussian army, with letters written by both parties, either to justify or blame that strange event. "It is a proof," said the Minister to me, "of what I have often told you of the *Græce fides* of the Russians, and of the embarrassing position in which the greater part of the Sovereigns of Europe are in respect to their troops and their people." I have remarked that the Austrian Minister at Berlin has transmitted all the official documents, the letters of the King of Naples, of the King of Prussia, of Marshal Macdonald, Count St. Maisin, in short, of an infinite number of details, which could only have been communicated to him by M. de Hardenberg. I must conclude from them that Prussia places a full confidence in the Cabinet of Vienna, and that she regularly consults it upon the line of conduct she ought to follow. In fine, M. de Metternich has often told me, that Prussia communicates to him all her griefs, and that he takes care to comfort and engage it not to deviate

from its system. He appeared to fear that the defection of the Prussian army would be the signal of a revolution, lest the Russians, with their usual craftiness, should take advantage of the first impression it might make in Germany and Poland.——He was going to proceed, when a courier of Count Bubna delivered him dispatches from Paris, dated the 2d. The Minister read the whole of them to me. He found in them a pledge of the long duration of the alliance, and the success of the negociations. He will immediately take the Emperor's orders upon the choice of the individual intended to be sent to Wilna, and he will not lose a moment in sounding the Emperor Alexander's disposition. 'We appreciate,' said he to me, 'your immense resources, we know all that you have done and all that you can do. Besides the seven millions which England gives Russia, she has offered us ten millions to change our system. We refused this offer with contempt, although our finances were in the most ruinous condition. Our customs are at present our principal revenue; we are sure to lose that lucrative branch of our finances if you abandon your system for excluding colonial products.' The difficulty which seemed the most to embarrass Count de Metternich was the demand which Russia will undoubtedly make of an aggrandizement of territory. From the time of Peter the Great she has never made peace without insisting upon this point, and he is disposed to think she will demand the Vistula for a barrier.——I am going to dispatch your courier, to make you acquainted as soon as possible with the benefits which Count de Bubna's dispatches have produced.

No. VI.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 21.

Monseigneur,—I have just returned from the Minister, who I have left extremely well satisfied with the intelligence from Paris. The following are his plans relative to his Agent in England:——He wanted a skilful discreet man, speaking the language, and understanding to the bottom, the commercial system of Europe. He has fixed upon M. de Wessemberg, Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich, the same who he would have sent to Paris, had he been of sufficient rank. This Minister is expected here; after a very short abode, he will set out for Copenhagen; he will probably proceed on to Gottenburgh, to seek the means of embarking; arrived in England, he will deliver a letter to Lord Castlereagh from Count Metternich, informing the English Minister, that Austria, touched with the calamities which are passing in Europe, has conceived the idea of exerting herself in the re-establishment of peace; that she has sounded the dispositions of France upon this important point; that she has found them favourable to her views; and that, in consequence, she adopts the same measures with that of Great Britain; that being of all the Powers in Europe that which could be the least interested in the eventual conditions of a general peace, and which would suffer the least from the present state of things—she thought herself entitled to inspire sufficient confidence to make her intervention agreeable; that M. de Wessemberg was charged to collect the intentions of the British Government on this subject, and that his mission would be secret as long as the Ministry thought proper to hide it from the public.——If M. de Wessemberg is asked what France wishes, he will answer, that he knows nothing more of her dispositions, than that she is willing to treat, and that she has transmitted to Lord Castlereagh conditions which were published at the time; that his mission is purely Austrian, and has no other end than that of facilitating accommodations, and putting an end to the agitations of Europe; but if the efforts of Austria do not produce that effect, she will see herself obliged, according to the same sentiments, to labour without England, in a general pacification of the Continent—a measure which will leave at the disposition of France a force of more than 500,000 men, which she would solely employ for the re-establishment of a maritime peace, and her operations in Spain; that Austria is the only Power on the Continent completely a stranger to the commerce of the sea; that she puts a great price on the tranquillity of the Continent, and that maritime affairs may be determined without her intervention, if England neglects the present moment. If M. de Wessemberg is asked what Austria means by a *general pacification of the Continent*, he will answer, not an ordinary peace, but an unanimous Convention of the Powers of Europe, *to solidly maintain peace, and in no manner to meddle in the discussions which shall subsist between France and England.* M. de Wessemberg is to be careful of threatening the English Ministry, but will very vaguely give it to understand that this general pacification would be followed by the total exclusion of English commerce.——All that

is demanded of us is, to make the greatest preparations for a new campaign.——Austria applauds the basis proposed by his Majesty for the peace with Russia, and that with England; she finds them very generous, but she very earnestly begs of us not to speak of them, but let her do it. She takes upon herself all the responsibility, and will keep to the terms of your last dispatch; *that the Emperor consents to the negociation, but that his Majesty will not appear in it.* M. de Metternich thinks the English must be allowed to come to engage, if it is possible, in the discussion, and reckon a little upon events.——The Minister is delighted with having his hands free. I never saw him happier than to-day, and I partake of the hopes he at this moment nourishes. (Signed) OTTO.

No. VII.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 26.

M. de Stackelberg has had a secret interview with Count de Metternich. The Russian Plenipotentiary began by a long enumeration of the advantages gained by his Government, who, after having repulsed the French, proposed, he said, to come to the assistance of other Powers, and particularly to Austria, to aid this last Power to reconquer her lost provinces. After having heard him very tranquilly, M. de Metternich said to him, "Hold, my dear Stackelberg, you resemble a man, who sees day for the first time, after having been sick for six months in an obscure chamber. This great day dazzles you. Believe me, we see more clearly, and do not return to projects which cannot be ours. The system of the Emperor is immovable, and far from seeking aggrandizements, which, by a single campaign, would be too dearly purchased, he wishes but for peace, and he proposes to you to concur with him in it. We have, on this head, already sounded the dispositions of France, and have found them favourable to our views. We do not complain of our losses, and we do not think that a Foreign Cabinet has a right to resent them more than ourselves. I asked this interview from you, to know the intentions of your Court in regard to peace, which is the end of our efforts."——M. de Stackelberg shortly returning from his exaltation, true or feigned, announced that his Court was disposed to enter upon negociations for peace; that it considered the Russian question as finished, and that it only thought of settling the general affairs of Europe. He was interrupted by M. de Metternich, who told him that his project had nothing to do with discussing the conditions of peace, but simply to know if Russia would consent to negociate. The Russian Plenipotentiary again affirmed that such was its intention, and that he was even charged to say, that his Sovereign would with pleasure receive a confidential person from his Court; that he, however, must add, that Russia would do nothing without the consent of her ally the King of Great Britain.——In a second interview, this Plenipotentiary was much more calm. Perhaps, he had double instructions, the one to forward the war, the other to insinuate a desire of negociating. M. de Metternich will to-morrow dispatch M. de Lebzellern for Wilna. He has given him no other instruction but to talk of peace, and listen to it: he has not said a word to him of the conditions proposed by France; he wishes to let the Russians come. M. de Lebzellern will confine himself to making known, that in the event of a new campaign, the Russians might lose their actual advantages, and obtain a less honourable peace. If they talk to him of engagements taken with England, he will say that Austria has foreseen that embarrassment, and that she has already sent an agent to London. When the point is to discuss the basis, a more distinguished personage shall be accredited to Wilna, and, according to circumstances, this same negociator shall be sent even to England.——This first proceeding of Russia is a great step, said the Minister to me, "rely upon us, we will nothing slacken, absolutely nothing; for we are at least as much interested as you. Every thing depends upon our attitude. The Emperor has ordered 100,000 men to be movable, including the auxiliary corps. In adding 30,000 men to that corps, we shall go beyond the obligations of treaty, and authorize Russia to refuse our mediation. Hitherto the war has not been *Austrian.* If it in the end becomes so, it is not with 30,000 men, but with all the forces of the monarchy that we will attack the Russians. In the mean time they will not see without uneasiness the increase of our troops in Galacia; and will be careful of provoking us."——The Emperor yesterday signed the order which was submitted to him for rendering movable an army of 70,000 men in Galacia and in the Buckowine. (Signed) OTTO.

No. VIII.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Dated Vienna, Feb. 15, 1813.

Monseigneur,—The Grand Gala of the

1st January having been deferred to the Emperor's Birth Day, there was yesterday a very brilliant assemblage at Court, and a public dinner.——After the audience Count de Metternich spoke to me with an effusion of heart of the good effects produced by the last reports from Count de Bubna. He said to me among other things, "Your alliance with Russia was monstrous: it had only one very precarious point *d'appui*, that of the exclusion of English commerce. It was a war alliance, dictated by the conqueror; it should be dissolved. Ours, on the contrary, is founded upon connexions and interests the most natural, the most permanent, the most eventually necessary; it must be as eternal as the wants which have caused it. It is we who sought it, and we deeply reflected before concluding it. If we had again to make it, we should not wish it different to what it is; we would have it quite entire; it placed us in peace, and will eventually serve to consolidate it."——Prince Schwartzenburgh arrived yesterday. "It is intended to send him off immediately to Paris, for the double purpose of informing his Majesty of the actual position of things, and of giving Europe a striking proof of the disposition of Austria, by making appear at the Court of France the Commander of the Auxiliary Corps, going to his Chief to receive his orders." Those are the Minister's own words. He puts the utmost value on seizing upon every occurrence calculated to convince the Courts of London and St. Petersburgh of the intimate connexion which subsists between France and Austria.

No. IX.—*From the Same to the Same, dated Vienna, Feb.* 17.

M. de Metternich yesterday sent me the writing of which I had the honour of speaking to you in No. 413. This document, drawn up with much care by the Minister himself, will serve as an introduction to the orders of the Cabinet which are about to appear, relative to the recruiting of the army. I have the honour of accompanying this with a translation of it.

"This kind of declaration," said the Minister to me, "is not a public manifesto—it is a document purely administrative; but it may produce a good effect both in Russia and in England. Demanding from the nation new sacrifices, conveys an assurance of two essential points—the one, that our system of alliance is immovable; and the other, that we arm only to obtain a general pacification. I would have deferred the publication of this document, if I had not reason for supposing your Master will speak to a similar purport, in his Speech upon opening the Legislative Body. In that case our proceedings would have the appearance of being dictated by you, whilst that to render it efficacious for us, it must have all the character of being spontaneous. These words, *after having definitively fixed its political relations*, says every thing without weakening the means of mediation which his Majesty proposes to employ. You know that it is only in *Russia we have made efforts* to prevent the war: you have no occasion for it among you. Russia will comprehend us, but she will find nothing offensive in this expression. She will also comprehend what the phrase means which concludes this document, when we shew the desire of removing the *theatre of war far from our frontiers*."

Here began a conversation which the Minister prolonged for more than two hours, and which I believed was occasioned by the last dispatches from Count de Bubna, which the Minister had read to me the preceding evening. It would be useless to follow this discourse through all its details; I here confine myself to offer the point of view under which Count de Metternich considers the actual situation of things. ——The Minister began by repeating to me, "that he only endeavoured to more and more establish a confidence and complete understanding between the two Cabinets.' Afterwards entering upon the subject, he told me "that the idea of an *armed mediation* might have caused a momentary surprise at Paris; but that the word *mediation*, the value of which was perfectly understood in the Cabinet of Vienna, had never been pronounced here; that Count de Bubna and M. de Florot had even been forbidden to use that word; that we had just made use of it; that on the contrary it mentioned it, but as an interposition, as the interposition of an Ally who, fatigued with the embarrassments of war, wished to accelerate its conclusion; that the idea of an armed mediation would be entirely void of sense in respect to England, Austria having no means of attacking that Power. Our alliance with France," added he, "is so necessary to France, that if you break it to-day, we will propose to you to-morrow to re-establish it, absolutely upon the same conditions. France has done us much injury, but it is our interest to forget the past. We wish at this moment to be useful to her, because at some future time she will

be able to render us a similar service. This alliance has not been the result of a war or a condition of peace, like that of Tilsit: it is the effect of deep reflection, and it has been prepared by approaches successive and spontaneous. Lay down as a fact, and consider as an incontestible fact, that we will only seek your good; that we no longer dread France, but the Russians, whose power you yourselves by successive concession have augmented."——The Minister here entered into long arguments, to shew that Austria had need of France to recover herself; that at this moment she only followed the impulse of her own interest, which since, by the treaty concluded by Prince Kaunitz, that she demanded nothing, absolutely nothing, but peace; but that in negociating she was in no ways disposed to favour Russia, her natural enemy; that the equilibrium of Europe, the inutility of which several writers have for some time endeavoured to demonstrate, is not a chimera; that it is essentially founded upon the affinity of interests between the different nations, and will always be the basis of their policy; that on the one side France, Austria, and the Ottoman Porte, on the other Russia and England, will fill the basins of that balance; that notwithstanding this apparent equilibrium, France will always preserve a preponderance, which belongs to her position and inexhaustible riches: that this preponderance is a fact of which no person can entertain a doubt, even under the late Kings; but that it became a motive for jealousy, when, after the most astonishing successes, France appeared to wish to establish it as *a right;* but during that victorious march of our armies, Russia had succeeded with giant steps towards dominion, and that she was arriving at her end, by the most insinuating forms; that having acquired much more territory than us, she has so well disguised her ambition, that nations, far from hating her, appeared to have willingly acceded to her encroachments; but that France pacified, would put an end to that slight importance of the Russians; and that she would resume all the ascendency of her power, her pecuniary means, and her moderation would guarantee to her for ever; in short, that peace alone will be to France and Austria, her ally, a more solid conquest than could all those derived from a fortunate campaign. ——Such are, Monseigneur, uniformly the principles and the views of this Cabinet. ——The Prince of Schwartzenburg will himself be the interpreter of them to his Majesty. (Signed) OTTO.

AMERICAN WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Oct. 12, 1813.

Downing-street, Oct. 11, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are a Copy and Extract, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Head-quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, July 20, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the copy of a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, of the Militia Forces, of the result of an attack made by a detachment of troops from the centre division of the army serving in Upper Canada, placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, one of the Inspecting Field Officers of Militia, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's block-houses, stores, barracks, vessels, and naval establishment at Black Rock, which I have this day received from Major-General de Rottenbourg.——The skill and judgment of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, aided by the valour of the officers and men placed under his command, enabled him to accomplish this enterprise in the most gallant manner, when unfortunately for his Majesty's service, a concealed enemy, at the moment of the re-embarkation of the troops in their encumbered boats, threw in upon them a destructive fire, which deprived the country of some valuable men, and disabled Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp so as to leave me no hope of again benefitting by his services during the remainder of this arduous campaign.——I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Chippawa, July 12, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, for the information of Major-General De Rottenburg, that the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, consisting of a detachment of royal artillery, under Lieutenant Armstrong, forty of the King's regiments, under Lieutenant Barstow, one hundred of the 41st, under Captain Saunders, forty of the 49th, under Lieutenant Fitz Gibbons, and about forty of the 2d and 3d Lincoln militia, embarked at two o'clock in the morning of the 11th instant, to attack the enemy's batteries at Black Rock.——The detachment landed half an hour before day-light, without being perceived, and immediately proceeded to attack the batteries, which they carried with little opposition; the enemy heard the firing at their advanced posts, and im-

mediately retreated with great precipitation to Buffalo.——The block-houses, barracks, and navy yard, with one large schooner, were burnt, and such of the public stores as could be got off were taken possession of and carried across the river by the troops: before the whole of the stores were taken away, the enemy advanced, having been reinforced by a considerable body of Indians, whom they posted in the woods on their flanks and in their advance; they were gallantly opposed by the whole of the troops, but finding the Indians could not be driven from the adjoining woods without our sustaining a very great loss, it was deemed prudent to retreat to the boats, and the troops recrossed the river under a very heavy fire.——I am extremely sorry to add, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp fell, severely wounded, on our retreat to the boats: fortunately the detachment did not suffer by it, every thing having been arranged and completed previous to his receiving his wounds.——Enclosed are the returns of the killed, wounded, and missing, with the exception of those of the 49th regiment and militia, which have not yet been received.——I have also enclosed the returns of the ordnance and other stores captured.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARK, Lieut.-Col.
2d Lincoln Militia.

To Lieut.-Col. Harvey, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing in the action with the Enemy at Black Rock, on the morning of the 11th instant. *July 13, 1813.*

Staff. 1 inspecting field-officer wounded.—8th, or King's regiment. 3 privates killed; 1 corporal, 6 privates, wounded.—41st regiment. 6 privates killed; 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 10 privates, wounded; 4 privates missing.—49th regiment. 4 privates killed; 3 privates wounded; 2 privates missing.—Militia. 1 lieutenant-colonel wounded.——Total. 13 privates killed; 1 inspecting field-officer, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 19 privates wounded; 6 privates missing.

Names of Officers wounded.

Staff, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, inspecting field-officer, severely (not dangerously).—2d Lincoln Militia. Lieut.-Colonel Clark, slightly.—41st regiment. Captain Saunders, severely, and prisoner; Ensign Mompesson, slightly.

(Signed) J. HARVEY, Lt.-Col. D. A. Gen.
(True copy.)
(Signed) EDW. BAYNES, Adj.-Gen.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, dated head-quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, Aug. 1, 1813.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the enemy continue to occupy the position of Fort George and its immediate vicinity, within which they are still more closely circumscribed than when I had the honour of addressing you on the 18th ultimo; the head-quarters of Major-General De Rottenburg having since been removed to St. David's, about seven miles distant from that fort, and our advance posts being within four miles of it.——The enemy's fleet, consisting of two ships, one brig, and eleven schooners, in all fourteen, sailed from Sackett Harbour on the 23d ultimo, and were seen off Niagara on the 27th, and off York on the 28th; and yesterday our squadron, powerfully armed, well equipped, completely manned, and ably commanded, left Kingston Harbour in search of it.——I have thought it expedient, to endeavour to call off the enemy's attention from this province, to the defence of their own settlements on Lake Champlain, by employing Captain Everard, and the officers and seamen of His Majesty's sloop of war Wasp, lately arrived from Halifax, to man our gun-boats, and the captured American vessels at Isle aux Noix, for the purpose of joining with a body of eight hundred picked men, in making a movement on that Lake, to arrest the progress of the reinforcements moving towards the American armies at Sackett Harbour, under Major-General Lewis, and at Niagara, under Major-General Dearborn. I have selected an officer of merit and enterprise for this service, and he has received my instructions to destroy the vessels and boats of every description along the shore, and such public buildings as are used for military purposes. He is also to bring away or destroy provisions and warlike stores of every kind which may fall into his possession; but all private property, and the persons of the unarmed and inoffensive inhabitants, are to be respected, and every care and precaution are to be taken to preserve both inviolate.

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.

Berlin, Sept. 22.—We have just received, from the head-quarters of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Eleventh Bulletin.

Head-quarters at Zerbst, Sept. 20, 1813.

General Von Puttlitz, who is charged with the observation of Magdeburg, is posted at Mockern; he has sent several detachments of cavalry to the left bank of the Elbe.——Two companies of the regiment Joseph Napoleon, 164 men strong, with

their Chief of Battalion, and two other officers, came over to our advanced posts at Bichderitz, in the night between the 16th and 17th September. They were permitted to retain their arms, and were taken to the *head*-quarters of his Royal Highness, from whence they will be sent to Spain by the way of Stralsund.——A part of the landstrum of Priegnitz, under the command of Major Von Puttlitz, has crossed the Elbe, and taken possession of the environs of Sechausen and Osterburg. He protects the inhabitants of the Old March of Brandenburg, against the requisitions made by straggling parties, and by the Government of Westphalia.—— Lieutenant-General Count Walmoden having received information that the Prince of Eckmuhl had detached the division of General Pecheux to the left bank of the Elbe, passed that river at Domitz, and in his march on the 16th, fell in with the enemy. General Pecheux had posted himself advantageously on the heights behind Goerde. The cannonade commenced: the attack made by the tiralleurs of Lutzow and Reiche, and the well combined movements of the columns of infantry, forced the enemy to quit the heights, and form *en masse* on the plain, at the very moment when our columns had got as far as the heights, the cavalry and the Cossacks appeared on the enemy's left flank. ——Notwithstanding this he made an obstinate defence, supported a very brisk combat with the infantry, and repulsed several attacks of the cavalry. He was, however, soon brought to give way by the artillery, a part of which followed close after the infantry. The enemy being repeatedly attacked by the infantry, and on several sides, wished to hasten his retreat, and from this moment, as both the cavalry and infantry fell on him, his disorder was complete. The enemy's corps would have been totally destroyed, had not night coming on, and the broken ground, saved a great part of them.——The field of battle was covered with the enemy's killed and wounded. We have taken 8 cannon, 12 ammunition waggons, and a great quantity of baggage. The General of Brigade, Mielzinske, two of General Pecheux's Adjutants, and upwards of 1,000 men, are made prisoners. Even on the following day prisoners were brought in from all sides, so that the whole may amount to about 1,800 men. General Pecheux had lost his horse, and escaped on foot, being favoured by the night, and the nature of the ground. The remains of his division are retreating in disorder on Blockede, pursued by the Cossacks, under the command of General Tettenborn.——Our loss consists of 30 officers and 400 privates, killed and wounded. The Majors Von Lutzow, Firks, and Schasser, are wounded; Major Devaux is killed. All the troops under Lieutenant-General Count Von Walmoden have vied with each other in zeal and bravery on this day.——The 3d regiment of the English Hussars, the 1st of the Legion, and several other battalions of the English and Russian Legions, have highly distinguished themselves. The tiralleurs of Lutzow and Reiche took the first gun. The English artillery and rockets deserve the highest encomiums.——During the attack the enemy advanced wish some thousand men on Boitzenburg, but without any effect. General Walmoden removed his head-quarters on the 17th to Danneberg, to be the nearer for observing that part of the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl's corps d'armee which had remained on the right bank of the Elbe. The grand united army of Bohemia must have gained fresh advantages, the official statements of which are expected. We know by private intelligence from Leipsic, that on the evening of the 16th, 8,000 cavalry, 2,000 of which were dismounted, and several dismounted pieces of artillery, had arrived there. The field hospital had been brought from Dresden to Leipsick, and a part of it even as far as Meresburg.——The want of forage at Dresden is so great, that for some time past 200 horses have daily died there.——General Thielman has made a General, 37 officers, and 1,200 men prisoners at Weissenfels. On the 14th, the Cossacks took at Wurtzen a convoy of waggons, laden with corn, which was destined for the garrison of Torgau, and was escorted by a Saxon battalion. Colonel Von Menzdorf has intercepted Couriers, whose dispatches expose the bad condition and demoralization of the French army.——General Blucher has his head-quarters at Bautzen; by his right wing he combines his operations with those of the united army of the North of Germany, and by his left wing he is

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 22.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 27, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION.——The millennium of the lovers of the ancient order of things seems, really, to be fast approaching. There now wants nothing but the abandonment of Napoleon *by the people of France* to give Europe a fair chance of being as free and as happy as ever the subjects of German Princes were.——The counter-revolution in Holland was to be expected the moment the French became unable to cope with their enemies in that quarter. The Dutch, like all other conquered nations, were indifferent as to who was their master, when the new master once became a despot. They will still sell butter, and cheese, and herrings, let who will command their obedience and divide their profits with them. Either they are sincere in the joy they are now said to express at the restoration of the House of Orange, or they are not. If the former, what base wretches must they have been to eject that House, and to express so much joy as they have repeatedly expressed, at being united with France? If the latter; if they are *hypocrites now* in embracing those lovely creatures, the Russians, and the Prussians, surely they are not to be pitied for any thing that they may suffer. ——It seems to be the opinion with some people, that the Dutch Government will now treat the people with more respect than it formerly did; that, in future, the House of Orange will walk more strictly in the path of the constitution; that the people of Holland will no more see Prussian soldiers taking possession of their metropolis, in order to enforce the will of the House of Orange against the decision of the States General.——But, upon what is this opinion founded? Upon the history of no country, *where a restoration has taken place.*—— Upon no observation, or rule, in common life. If your children or servants be turbulent and rebellious, do you ever think of becoming more lenient towards them? If your horse be restive and throw you, you pat him till you are again safe in the stirrups, when whip and spur for that time, and harder work with lower diet, are the uniform measures in the way of *prevention.* ——In short, when I see people who have the care of prisoners, put lighter irons upon those who have escaped and have been retaken, than they put upon them before their escape, then, and not till then, shall I think it likely, that the old Governments, when *restored*, will treat their people with more justice than they did before; that they will suffer them to be more free and less oppressed; or, to utter all in one short phrase, that they will take from them less of their property.——As to Napoleon, the language held by him and by his orators in the Government, is really such as to induce one to believe, that his very *hopes* are at a low ebb. He talks of the *Treaty of Campo Formio.* He hints, that he should *now* be contented with the terms of *that Treaty!* ——He boasts of his *generosity* in *sparing* Austria after the battle of Austerlitz and after that of Wagram.——This was the beginning of ills to him. When he had it in his power to put down that House *for ever;* that House, the alleged cause of so many evils to France; he spared it, in order to *ally himself with it by marriage;* to have heirs of royal extraction; and to hand down his throne to those heirs. From the moment that he was seized with this vain notion, the foundation of his subsequent misfortunes appears to have been laid.—— His wife had *a child.* Every body said, what a *lucky* fellow he was in having a *king of Rome* so soon born to him.——To be sure, his wife had no means of deciding the *sex* of the child; but, who was weak enough to suppose, that she would not have *a child?*——The *papa* being gratified in this, he made sure, that, with the aid of *Masses* and *Te Deums*, he should preserve securely the attachment of the House of Austria, especially as he had spared that House twice.——We see how completely he has been deceived; and, if he rely upon that House to *spare him*, for the sake of his *wife*, he is, I take it, still more deceived. ——For, the Catholics deny that she is his *wife;* they deny that he could be *divorced* from Josephine; they say, with our newspapers, that the present Empress, Queen and Regent, is no more than "Buonaparté's

"*mistress.*"——So that, if the Court of Vienna should *determine* upon endeavouring to effect his *utter* destruction or degradation, we may be quite sure, that it is prepared before-hand for a declaration, on the part of the Pope, of the nullity of the marriage between him and the Austrian Princess.——That is a matter which will be very easily settled; if the want of a sharp knife or of a pennyworth of cord should render any measure of State necessary.——The question, which the Court of Vienna will entertain is this: shall we *get* and *keep most* by totally destroying Napoleon, or by merely paring his claws?——The very same question will be put by the other Courts in alliance against him.——Either of them, by *siding with him*, would *secure* great gain in the end; and, I should not be at all surprised, if negociations to that effect were, at this very moment, going on.——The several parties begin, by this time, to calculate upon results. Prussia and Holland would rather not see Austria again at Antwerp and Ostend.——Austria will grasp at all her former possessions, in Germany, in Italy, in the Netherlands. There is no protection for Prussia and Holland but in France.——Again, how is Holland to recover her *colonies* from us? Shall we give them up immediately? And, will the powers of the Continent be satisfied to see *us* the makers of governments in Spain and Portugal?——The hour of *general danger* once passed, we shall see that of contending *particular interests* return. Prussia cannot exist as an independent state without the support of France, if Austria regain all her former possessions.——Suppose Buonaparté were to propose to Austria to restore to her all her former possessions and titles; to restore Naples to her House; upon condition that she should take part with him against the rest of the Allies. Nay, suppose him to propose the addition of those territories, which the House of Brandenburgh first got from the House of Austria.——These are no very wild suppositions, and, we may be assured, that propositions of some such sort will be made. *We* are so bent upon the total ruin of Buonaparté, that we cannot conceive it possible, that any body else should have *any other* object in view; but, there are those, who, amongst other things, would dislike to see even *us* without some power to hold us *in check*. The Dutch themselves, even the House of Orange, would be very sorry to see us able to keep France from being *great.*——It is to be remarked, that this coalition of "*legitimate* sovereigns" have not, as yet, made any public declaration in favour of *the family of Bourbon;* though, as we all recollect, the war began in 1792, under the pretence of restoring the king of France to his lawful authority in the state.——Why is *now* nothing said about the ancient family? Surely their rights are as good as those of the House of Orange?——Does the House of Austria think it shall be able to make something out of its relationship with Napoleon?——A little time will show what way these interests are working; but, for my part, I do not see the improbability of a speedy rupture of the coalition.——It is possible, that the coalesced courts may agree long enough to enter France, and, in short, to cause Buonaparté to be hanged. This is possible; but, I do not think it is likely. They are now, at this very moment, in a situation like that of Contractors, making *tenders;* with this difference in favour of Napoleon, that the Allies are all afraid of each other, and not without reason.——The thing most to be feared is, that Austria will compel the rest of the coalition to give such terms to Buonaparté as shall leave him only sufficient power to be formidable to the people of France. This would be terrible indeed! It would be better for the people of Europe to be exterminated, than that this should happen.——There is no doubt, that Napoleon is making overtures to separate his foes; and, "*holy*" as Mr. WHITBREAD seems to think the cause, in which we are engaged, I would venture to bet a trifle, that it will soon witness the success of some such overture. Perhaps, no one power would think of coming into his terms, if it could be *sure*, that no other power would.——Prussia, perhaps, would not dare to withdraw the first: but, France has ample baits for the other two great powers, retaining, too, a great part of her conquests.——*We here* would like to see France dismembered, taking a part to ourselves and leaving a part to Austria, perhaps. But, Russia, and Prussia, and Sweden would not like that.——So that, we shall, after all, be disappointed; we shall never get one half of what we are now grasping at.——We ought, at this season, to moderate our views.——The Speech of Lord CASTLEREAGH and that of Mr. WHITBREAD, on Tuesday last, upon the subject of a Bill to enable the King *to accept of the services of the Local Militia out of their respective counties*, contain matter not to be passed over in silence.——Mr. WHITBREAD seem-

ed in wonderful haste to approve upon this occasion, though he does not appear to me to have stated any good ground for his approbation.——The Reader will bear in mind what the Local Militia *is;* that men are *compelled* to serve in it; that they must belong to no *club* of security against it. That, if unable to pay *a fine* of ten pounds, they must serve.——Mr. WHITBREAD said: "it appeared, from "the motion of the Noble Lord, that "this modification of his former plan had "been adopted in consequence of the late "glorious events in Holland, in consequence of which he was desirous that "every facility should be given to the collection of a large military force. Never "was there a more favourable opportunity "for the employment of the whole military "force of the country. Never was there an "event in history which so urgently called on "the efforts of this free country *(hear!)*— "to exert their whole military force in asserting the liberty of another country. "As to the particular motion in the hand "of the Speaker, never was there a time "when, except from the unfortunate circumstance of the *necessary detention of* "*so many prisoners, and for the ordinary* "*duties of the police*, the service of any "troops within the kingdom was less required.—Never, most happily, was there "more internal peace and tranquillity "*(hear!)*—The abundant harvest, with "which, *by the blessing of Providence*, we "had been favoured, had caused that cheapness which, co-operating with returning "employment to our manufacturers, had "dried up all the sources of discontent.— "*(hear!)*—The discontents thus appeased, proved satisfactorily that which he "had contended for at the time, but which "had been disputed by some, that those "disturbances had arisen in necessity alone, "which now having ceased, the disturbances ceased with it. He had reposed "confidence in the Government, in consideration of the proper use which they "would make of it. But now, one voice, "from the centre to the circumference of "the empire, called on them to exert all "their force in the assistance of the Dutch. "The war was now their own—a war of "the people—no longer a war of Sovereigns. It was because *that* was not a "war of the Prussian people that the Prussian Monarchy was overturned at Jena. "It was that *this* was a war of the Prussian people, that the Prussian Monarchy "now existed. It was that the Russian "people, would not suffer (as it is said) "their Government to accept terms of "peace, that the mighty army which entered the Russian territory never returned. It was that the people of Sweden "got rid of a Government which was unfit "to rule them, by a bloodless revolution, "and elected from the French armies that "great Captain, who was enabled to contend with him, by whom he had formerly been commanded, that they saw the "glorious results of the battles which had "been fought. It was that the energies of "the people of France were called forth by "the Revolution, that the French Ruler "had possessed the power which he so lately "wielded—it was, that these energies were "spent under his despotism—that, with "the aid of his inordinate ambition, this "mighty power crumbled to dust in his "hand. The People of England, he doubted "not, would give to the Crown any power "which might be directed to so holy a cause. "The time of the year was also peculiarly "favourable to the collection of a military "force. It was discreet and wise in the "Ministry to propose only a limited power over the Local Militia; and happily "the season that the men might be applied "to the services which they were to fulfil "with less inconvenience to the works of "agriculture than at any other time, and "every disposition (he doubted not) existed on the part of the officers and men, "to relieve those troops which were disposed of on more efficient service. With "these measures and opinions he agreed. "But in assisting others we should *not forget ourselves*—while vindicating *the liberties of other nations*, we should *not* "*forget our own*—nor should we forget "the large share of *influence thrown by* "*these measures into the hands of the* "*Crown*. We should recollect, that however necessary events might have rendered these measures, they put in the "power of the Crown more influence than "was possessed by it at any former period "of our history. This he said only as "*a monitory reflection to the House;* but "he gave his consent to the measure, and "if the consent of an individual was valuable, it was the more valuable because "he gave it with his eyes open to its inconveniencies."—I will not say all that I think of this speech, for fear of offending Mr. Whitbread. But, really, is it not enough to make one laugh to hear this "*monitory* "*reflection;*" and that, too, at the end of such a speech?——Lord Castlereagh says,

that, in case of any disturbance at home, he shall have 300,000 men in this country and Ireland.——But *why;* why have them, and "*well-armed and disciplined*" too? Who are they to put down? Take away the Local Militia, and there are no people left amongst the poor, but the women and children, and feeble men, ten of whom might be kept in order by one vigorous woman.——*Why*, then, take all this precaution; why provide, inch by inch, for sending the Local Militia about over the kingdom? The *prisoners?* we have more of our own countrymen in jails and hulks, I believe, than we have of French prisoners in the country.——But, be this as it may, we have about 50,000 French prisoners. They are in *prisons.* They are not in the field against us. We cannot want 300,000 men to guard them. Besides, one would think, that they must hate Napoleon even more than we do, seeing that he is such a cruel oppressor of France.——*Why*, then, I ask, should we need a law to enable the government to send the Local Militia men from one end of the kingdom to the other. ——How men familiarize their minds, by dint of habit, to all sorts of ideas. We here find Mr. Whitbread talking, as a matter of course, of employing soldiers "in the ORDINARY DUTIES *of the* "*police.*" Except for *these duties* and the guarding of prisoners, he says, that the country never stood in *less* need of *troops*, for the purpose of maintaining *internal tranquillity.*——We shall have not much short of a million of men in arms, in one shape or another. All this Mr. Whitbread *approves* of. Very well: but, then, to give us his "MONITORY REFLEC-"TION;" to *remind* us, that some *influence* is about to be given to the Crown; *influence* to a Crown, which has 300,000 men, "*well-armed* and disciplined," for the purposes of preserving *internal tranquillity;* to trust us to this monitory reflection was, I think, going a little beyond what even the present auspicious moment would fairly warrant.

Infidelity.—The letter, which I subjoin, and which, as the reader will see, comes from Oxford, I strongly recommend to the perusal of every one.——The writer may be assured, that, in spite of all the scoffs of Mr. Fordham, I shall *not give up the devil.*

Wm. COBBETT.

Botley, 25th Nov. 1813.

INFIDELITY.

Mr. Cobbett,—In my opinion the two letters which appeared in your Register of last week, signed Hector Campbell and A. B., contained more *impiety* than any thing advanced by Mr. Fordham, whom you have so successfully combated.—I do not mean to trouble you on the score of Mr. Campbell's *wonderful* System, which he pretends is sufficient to cure "all the "ills of life;" for, to tell you the truth, (and many others have made a similar confession) although I have attentively perused both his letters which you published, the last of which occupies no less than *seven* columns of your Journal, I have not been able, for the life of me, to discover what the man would be at. You seem to have thought that you had *discovered* his meaning, but he is of a very different opinion, and boldly sends you back, "most seriously to *attend* before you "again venture to prejudice the minds of "your readers."——Obscure, however, as this writer is when he attempts to develope his *own* favourite system, he has contrived to make himself sufficiently understood when he speaks of our *holy* religion, which he treats with so little consideration and so *profanely*, that I am sure his language must have shocked the feelings of every pious Christian. We have it solemnly and emphatically announced by the Holy Spirit, in the Scriptures of truth, that it is by "God we live, move, and have our "being"—a declaration which even the most determined infidel will scarcely venture to dispute. But what does this Mr. Campbell say—this great schemer for the deliverance of Britain from "impending "ruin?" Why he impiously asserts, that it is by "the price of Bread we are per-"mitted to live, move, and have our "being." You may talk of your Ecce Homo's, and your Observators, as long and as much as you please; but I defy you, or any of the opposers of these enemies of Christ, to produce a passage from their writings equal to this in point of profanity. But this Exploder of "old, crude, "and undigested tracks," does not stop here:—he actually *wantons* in impiety. He says that "the price of bread is a "subject of a *much more* interesting nature "than even that of *the Church.*"——Why then, according to this doctrine, all that the Almighty has done; all the pains he has taken to establish a Church upon Earth, and all his endeavours to protect her purity till "the consummation of "ages," are of no consequence whatever.

The creation of the world, the fall of man, the universal deluge, the dispensation of the law by Moses, the extermination of millions of heathens by God's chosen people, the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, his splendid example, his death, his resurrection, and his triumphant ascension into heaven, are matters of *less* importance than the price of a *quartern loaf!!*—Was there ever such blasphemy heard of?—Your correspondent A. B. has said, that Voltaire, Rousseau, Mirabaud, and other celebrated philosophers, were perfect "*infernals*," because they drew a "*parallel* between the Saviour of the world and virtuous personages of antiquity, and attributed *as much* to the creature as to the Creator." But where are we to find words to express a just abhorrence of Mr. Campbell's principles? For he does not condescend even so much as to draw a *parallel*, or attribute *as much* to the Creature as to the Creator; but he actually *prefers* a loaf of bread to God Almighty!!! How, in the name of all that is sacred, could you, Mr. Cobbett, allow such horrid sentiments as these to appear in your Register?—You, who have so far outstripped all former writers in vindicating "the faith once delivered to the Saints."—I have no doubt that this writer, who, like all other Projectors, seems to have an itching for the quill, will trouble you with more letters. For your own sake, therefore, if you *must* give a place to these, I beseech you to purge them of every thing that savors of profanity.——What to think of A. B. I am somewhat at a loss. To judge of him by his furor and obscurity of style, I might perhaps rank him with the Methodists. He seems to have been aware, that his letter was "too confused or too prolix" to meet the public eye. So farewell:—I like a *modest* man, and perhaps it was this feature in his character, which induced you to publish his letter. But how reconcile this modesty with the liberty he takes with whole *civilized* nations, and celebrated philosophers. He speaks of France, as the Seat of Satan's empire:—"into what a *pandemonium*, says he, has not that country been turned by the *infernal* writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, &c." This is any thing but the language of Modesty. It resembles rather the cant of bigotry; and if A. B. calculates on reaching conviction to the minds of the "depraved wretches" of whom he speaks, or on refuting their "pestiferous writings" by "damning words," I am afraid he is yet a Stranger to the rudiments of liberal controversy, and to the all powerful voice of truth. The Doctrines also which he avows, are so completely subversive of those taught by the Church, that I suspect his mind is tinctured with the opinions of the Unitarians, who deny those two great *essentials* to Salvation—the devil and the divinity of Christ. It is a point of the established faith, which if any man doubts, he will be damned, "that there is *no other name* given under heaven, nor amongst men, whereby a man can be saved, *but the name of Christ Jesus.*" Now what does A. B. say? why he affirms, that people have been saved, who never heard, nor ever could possibly hear of the name of Jesus. He does not simply assert, that the Patriarchs and Jews who lived under the law, were saved *without* faith in Christ; but he maintains, that there were many who lived "without the pale of the tabernacle," or, in other words, *without* any knowledge of revelation, who escaped eternal reprobation. He even goes so far as to avow, that the "Magi," that is, the ancient Magicians, who dealt with the devil, obtained the Kingdom of Heaven, through an "*amiable docility!!!* Really, Mr. Cobbett, if we are to go on at this rate; if Mr. Fordham, on the one hand, is to be permitted to deny the devil; Mr. Campbell, on the other, to prefer a Crust of bread to the Deity; while A. B. brings up the rear, by declaring that Men may be saved without the Merits of Christ, I know not what will become of us. The very idea of these people ever obtaining an Act of Parliament to sanction such monstrous impiety, fills me with horror. But what shall I say, after already witnessing the Guardians of our faith, the pastors of our Church, allowing a law to pass authorizing any Man to deny the blessed Trinity, without making one struggle against so rank a heresy?—My spirits fail me, when I meditate upon so dreadful an inroad upon our holy faith. For God's sake, Mr. Cobbett, never give up the devil, for, as you justly remark, *every thing* hinges upon his existence. Fight for him as long as you have breath to draw, whatever Scorners may suggest. The Adversaries of Religion are become so numerous; they have assumed so many shapes; and they assail us from so many quarters; that unless you receive aid from above, to enable you to overcome, I am afraid you will have but a broken reed to rely on in the Clergy: They seem, in truth, to be regardless of the judgments of God, who has

assuredly said, that he will "spew the luke-warm out of his mouth." That you and I may be found, at the glorious coming of Christ, not "hiding our talent in a napkin," is the fervent wish, and earnest prayer of

A CHURCHMAN.

Oxford, 23d *Nov.* 1813.

P. S. If I knew in what way to get the "History of the Devil" conveyed to you at the least expense, I would forward it immediately, as it would powerfully assist you in this holy warfare.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.

(Continued from page 672.)

connected with the Bohemian army. On having received intelligence that the enemy's 6th corps d'armee was marching on Grossenhayn, General Blucher caused the corps of General Sacken to move forward to Camenz. The vanguard of this corps disturbed the enemy the whole of the 15th and 15th.——The 6th corps d'armee fell back on Dresden, and the first cavalry corps put itself in motion to follow the infantry. General Count Tauenzien was preparing to pursue them.——The Wirtemberg General Franquemont had complained to General Delort, Chief of the General Staff of the 4th corps, that his troops were always in the van when advancing, and in the rear when retreating. That General answered him, 'You must be content with its being so, it is our interest that you should all be killed, for otherwise you would soon be against us.' ——Denmark, which had yielded to the threats, and the vaunting intelligence of Baron Alquier, has on the 3d September declared war against Sweden.——It is strange, that in this Declaration, the hostilities which had been previously committed against Sweden, both by land and sea, are passed over in silence. We must hope, that the Danish Government, being informed of the occurrences in the progress of the war, will at length perceive the dangers it runs; and, compelled by the total derangement of its finances, will take its resolution, and accept the proposals which will be made to it.——In the contrary case, and if that Court will not join the common cause, until it has already triumphed, it will then be no merit, nor be of any utility in obtaining for it such moderate conditions. The whole North sees with concern the delusion of the Danish Government. The Minister Alquier, who is kept there, must be himself astonished at the power and effect of his commands. At the moment when all the Princes of the Rhinish Confederacy are preparing to throw off the yoke, it is a hard matter to account for the submissiveness of the Court of Copenhagen.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 22.

General Plowaisky, with his Cossacks, and Gen. Von Dobschuss with four squadrons, which made a part of General Count Tauenzein's advanced guard, on the 19th inst., between Berack and Schwedess, met with the 1st, 8th, and 10th French regiments of horse chasseurs, and attacked them so successfully, that scarcely thirty men of these three regiments escaped. Col. Talleyrand, two lieutenant colonels, sixteen other officers, and 500 men, were made prisoners, and the rest were either killed or wounded. A remarkable circumstance, and which can only be attributed to the want of union which prevails in the enemy's troops, was, that our whole loss consisted in a single wounded Cossack.——General Dobschuss has occupied Cosdorf and Mechlberg. General Wobeser observes Torgau. Two great boats, which came down the Elbe, laden with ammunition and clothing for the garrison of the latter fortress, have been taken.——Captain Von Zeunert, who had been sent with 30 men of the landwehr on horseback, to the left bank of the Elbe, has destroyed the entrenchments thrown up near Rosalz. The enemy sent from Wolmerstadt 100 men to prevent this, but Captain Zeunert fell upon them at the head of his thirty men, and after an obstinate resistance cut them down. Some prisoners were made who had been all wounded. Captain Zeunert himself was wounded severely in the action.——Colonel Bjornstjerna having been detached with Swedish troops to the left bank of the Elbe, marched on the 20th to Kimberg, in the hope of surprising there a troop of Poles, but it had already left that place and taken the road to Leipzic. The Colonel went last to reconnoitre the bridge-head near Wittenberg, and took under the very cannon of that work an advanced corps and a courier with several letters upon him; taken among these are several from the Governor General Laporjhe, addressed to Marshal my Duke of Elchingen, to the Duke of Reggio, to Generals Regnier, Narbonne, and Margueron,

The contents of these letters shew that not only the soldiers, but the officers and serjeants of the weak garrison at Wittenberg are daily deserting to the enemy.——General Count Wallmoden reports, under date of the 19th, that General Tettenborn has pursued the flying enemy to Blukede, Brackede, Lunenburg, Winsen, and even to Harburg; we have every where picked up soldiers that had been left behind. General Pecheux has made his escape with five or six hundred men, which he collected at Lunenburg, where he arrived early on the morning of that day after the battle, and proceeded on his march to Winsen and Hopte without stopping. The enemy's General Osten had gone before with a detachment from Harburg to Winsen, but left that place when our detached party approached it. A number of wounded were still lying dispersed on the roads. General Tettenborn collected them and sent them in, besides some ammunition waggons that had been left behind. The number of prisoners had increased to 1,300 during the pursuit; a pair of colours belonging to the 3d regiment of the line was taken. On the 18th, the enemy made a strong reconnoissance from Mollen towards Zarrentum, and at last threw himself back on Boetzenburg with his right wing. Count Walmoden has received orders to attack the Prince of Eckmuhl, with his joint force. He is to be supported by 15,000 men of the Mecklenburg Landstrum, under the command of the Hereditary Prince. ——The *levies en masse* are organizing every where on the right bank of the Elbe. This example will soon be followed likewise on the left bank of the Elbe, and a national war will shortly be seen extending from the Elbe to the Rhine, similar to that with which the liberation of Spain commenced. The Chiefs of the districts only await the signal for collecting their forces, and the moment is not now far distant. ——General Blucher has pushed forward a strong detachment on Konigsbruck. Count Von Tauenzein has taken possession of Lubinwerda and Elsterwerda, and the line behind the Esler. The enemy has broken up his camp at Stolzenhagen, near Elsterwerda, in the night between the 19th and 20th: it is estimated at 4,000 men. According to the latest accounts, the King of Naples is still at Grossenhayen.——The Emperor Napoleon, in person, on the 17th, attacked the post of Nollendorf, in the narrow passes of Bohemia; but was repulsed by the Austrian corps of Generals Colloredo and Meerveld, with the loss of seven cannon, one standard, 4,000 prisoners, and the General of Brigade Kreuzar, who was taken.——The united Army of the North of Germany has taken more than 28,000 prisoners since the truce ended. From the 17th August to the 18th September, there have passed through Berlin, as prisoners of war, 18,257 soldiers and 299 officers, and upwards of 2,000 men were on the road to that city; from 2 to 3,000 have remained behind, sick, in the hospitals of Juterbock, Treuenbetzen, Belzey, and Brandenburg; and the corps d'armée of Count Walmoden, which sends its prisoners to Stralsund, has more than 4,000 of them. If we add to this number that of the killed, wounded, and missing, we may reckon the total loss of the army, opposed to that of the North of Germany, at not less than 45,000 men since the 17th August. The prisoners taken by the army under General Blucher, and the grand army of Bohemia, amounts to 40,000. We may, therefore, without exaggeration, estimate the enemy's loss, since the recommencement of hostilities, at more than 100,000 men and 250 pieces of cannon.——If, as every thing gives us reason to hope, Bavaria and Wirtemberg should join the cause of German liberty, the Emperor Napoleon will not have more than 150,000 men to oppose to the Allies. ——The King of Denmark has sent the Prussian Minister back, and stated as the cause of it, that as Prussia is engaged in a war with the Emperor Napoleon, the presence of that Minister could no longer be allowed at Copenhagen. This Court endeavours to justify itself to the Allies, on account of the Declaration of War against Sweden, and pretends to have taken that step merely to avoid the incessant demands of Baron Alquier, who demanded ten thousand men more to be sent to Holstein. In this, however, there appears a vast difference between the intent and the deed. The enemy has not any more strong position on the left bank of the Elbe, from Wittenberg and Schonebeck. His advanced posts are still between the last-mentioned place and Magdeburg. General Czernetscheff is at Bernburg, Major Von Rosenstern at Little Rosenburg, and Major Czec at Zoerbog. Detached parties have penetrated as far as Halle, where they have put themselves in connexion with the corps under General Thielmann, and from thence as far as Delitsch and Bellerfeld, and on the left wing as far as Egeln and Wartzleben. They have been able to make only a small num-

ber of prisoners, as they never could find the enemy in any considerable force. Major Von Lowenstein has taken a transport of 1,300 measures of oats, and other provisions, which were intended for Magdeburg. ——The van-guard of the Russian army, commanded by Count Von Woronzoff, is at Luken, on the left bank of the Elbe. The Swedish van-guard, under the command of General Schulzenheim, is at Dessau.——The Crown Prince has intrusted the siege of Wittenberg to Gen. Bulow.

Berlin Gazette *(extra paper.)*

We have just received the following from head-quarters at Toplitz, dated Sept. 20:—— "The Imperial Major-General Schlutberg has executed the orders given him to march on Frieburg, with that precision and courage for which he is so well known. He posted himself on the evening of the 17th inst. in ambush at Ebisdorff, near Frieburg, and by that means appeared unexpectedly before the gates early on the morning of the 18th.——The enemy had shut up the town, and all the gates were manned with infantry.——Gen. Schlutberg caused several divisions to advance by circuitous roads against the Meisner and Dona Gates, whilst he himself led the main column against the Erbersdorf Gate.——The enemy defended himself with great obstinacy, but at length the Erbersdorf Gate was broke open, and some divisions of cavalry immediately gallopped into the town, and after a short resistance made the garrison prisoners.——General Bruno, 20 Staff and superior Officers, 400 mounted hussars, and 220 infantry fell into our hands. Our total loss consists in one yager killed and three wounded.——Gen. Schlutberg praises the distinguished conduct of his troops, of all descriptions, and makes very particular mention of the 7th yager battalion, Colonel Von Vayder, and Lieut.-Colonel Angermoyer, of that battalion, Captains Devaux and Wusthoff, of the regiment of Vincent's light horse, and Lieut.-Col. Martine, of the General Staff, have highly distinguished themselves."

FRENCH PAPERS.

Paris, Oct. 7.—To-day, Thursday, the 7th of Oct. at one o'clock, her Majesty the Empress Queen and Regent set out from the Palace of the Tuilleries, to repair to the Senate, with the retinue, the order and procession of which has been published in the journals.——The Great Officers of the Senate, and twenty-four Senators, received her Majesty at the outer gate of their Palace.——The Empress Queen and Regent, after having reposed herself in the apartments prepared to receive her, repaired to the Hall of their Sittings.——[Here follow the names and order of the procession of the Attendants, Great Officers of State, &c.] ——On the arrival of her Majesty, all the Senators were standing and uncovered.——Her Majesty ascended the throne placed to the left of that of the Emperor, and the Ministers and Great Officers were seated in chairs to the right and left.——Her Majesty then delivered the following Address:

"Senators,—The principal Powers of Europe, indignant at the pretensions of England, had, last year, united their armies to ours, to obtain the peace of the world, and the re-establishment of the rights of all nations. By the first chances of the war, the slumbering passions were awakened,—England and Russia drew in Prussia and Austria to join in their cause. Our enemies wished to destroy our Allies—to punish them for their fidelity. They wished to carry the war into the bosom of our beautiful country, to revenge the triumphs which led our victorious eagles into the midst of their States. I know better than any one what our people will have to dread, if they ever suffer themselves to be conquered. Before I ascended the throne, to which I have been called by the choice of my august Spouse, and the will of my Father, I had the greatest opinion of the courage and energy of this great people. This opinion has been every day increased by all that I have seen pass under my eyes. Acquainted for four years past with the most intimate thoughts of my Spouse, I know with what sentiments he would be agitated on a degraded throne, and under a crown without glory.——Frenchmen!—Your Emperor, your country, and your honour, call you."

The Prince Arch-Chancellor having taken the orders of her Majesty, gave the word to the Minister at War, who mounted the Tribune, and read a Report addressed to the Emperor.——The Prince Arch-Chancellor having taken again the orders of the Empress, gave the word, in the name of her Majesty, to the Count Regnaud, one of the Orators of the Council of State, who presented to the Senate a *projet* of the *Senatus Consultum*, after having explained the motives of it.——The *projet* of a *Senatus Consultum* has for its object a levy of 280,000 men, of which 120,000

are to be of the classes of 1814, and the preceding years, in the departments which have not contributed to the last levy of 30,000 men; and 160,000 on the conscription of 1815.——The Count de Lacepede arose and said,—

"Madam,--Before proposing to the Senate measures relative to the *projet* of *Senatus Consultum*, which has just been presented, I have the honour to request that your Imperial and Royal Majesty will permit me to offer you, in the name of my colleagues, the respectful homage of all the sentiments with which we are penetrated in seeing your Majesty preside in the Senate, and in hearing the memorable words which you have uttered from the throne.——With what gratitude, with what religious care, shall we for ever preserve the memory of them!——Senators, I have the honour to propose to you to refer to a Committee."

According to the orders of the Empress Queen and Regent, the Prince Arch-Chancellor put to the vote the proposition of Count Lacepede, which was adopted.——A scrutiny for the nomination of the Committee was proceeded to.——The Committee will be composed of Count Lacepede, the Duke of Dantzic, Count de la Apparent, Count Dejean, Count Colellen. It will make its Report next Saturday.——Her Majesty adjourned the sitting, and returned to the Thuilleries with her retinue.

French Documents.

(Continued from page 667.)

No. X.—*Extract of a Dispatch from Count Otto to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Vienna, *March* 8, 1813.

Monseigneur,—I was yesterday to have gone to Count de Metternich, to be informed of communications, which had just been made to him by M. de Stackelberg, but the Minister wrote to me that his occupations would not permit of his seeing me, and that he requested. I would call upon him this morning.——I went at ten o'clock: the Minister informed me, that he had read the dispatches from the Emperor Alexander, and that he was perfectly satisfied with the tone of moderation which reigned in them.——Russia not only accepts the Russian Plenipotentiary, but even her interference for peace. The Emperor of Russia regrets that Austria will not profit by the present favourable circumstances to recover her losses, but he respects her motives; he has no other object than the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe, and the conclusion of a general peace. The political system of Austria being definitively fixed, Russia will not suffer any proceedings to turn her from it.——Such is, in a few words, the substance of this first reply; the Minister, nevertheless, confessed to me, that Russia took infinite pains to draw Austria into her alliance, but that she would not succeed.——This first step of Russia is but a reply to the command concerning M. de Lebzeltern's mission.——Intelligence is daily expected of Plenipotentiaries, and immediately after the arrival of this account, Prince Schwartzenberg will set out to confer with your Excellency. (Signed) Otto.

No. XI.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, *March* 20, 1813.

Monseigneur,—Count de Narbonne arrived here on the 17th, and delivered to me the letters for my recal, which your Excellency has done me the honour of addressing to me. They shall be presented to-morrow, and on the same morning my successor will deliver his credentials.——The Austrian Cabinet has at length received intelligence from Count Lebzeltern, and an official reply from M. de Nesselrode, the original of which Count Metternich has sent me, and a copy of which I have the honour to send with this. This document is drawn up in a manner to accommodate itself to all the interpretations which may be wished to give it. It announces the desire of peace, but with modifications which prove how much Russia fears compromising herself with England. We do not understand what Russia understands by the *guarantees of peace*, unless that she means by those words, the convocation of a Congress, where the principal Powers of Europe should agree to the establishment of a state of things, permanent and sanctioned by each of them. In reality, the best guarantee for Russia is in its geographical position. It is rather against her, that Austria, Turkey, and Germany require a guarantee, which will either be found in the preponderance of France, or in a formal agreement to preserve in common the limits which shall have been fixed by the treaty.——The objection was foreseen here which Russia would make to the friendly interposition of a Power actually at war with her, and the Chevalier de Lebzeltern was charged to reply to it. To us, however, this objection is a fresh proof, that there subsists between the two Courts no secret understanding which can render the candour of

Austria suspicious.——This deduction is the more just, because in the same document Russia *makes* no scruple of acknowledging her *intimate* connexion with Austria, which she declares to be her ally, so *much so,* that her consent appears to be necessary for opening negociations for peace.——There has existed since the 11th March (the date of M. de Nesselrode's letter) a formal treaty between the two Courts; and as this understanding was no ways necessary to cause the evasive reply of Russia, it proves that she considers this new alliance as a great advantage.——The defection of Prussia is positively announced by M. de Nesselrode's letter, but it is not yet proved by an official declaration. Count de Metternich only waits for this moment to make at Breslau the same overture which has been made in England and Russia.——Count Zechi, Austrian Minister, has been provisionally ordered to leave the Court of Russia, and all communication with Baron de Humboldt, Prussian Minister at Vienna, has been interrupted.——Count de Metternich has just read to me, with the greatest satisfaction, the dispatches which he has received from Count de Bubna, and M. de Floret, to the 9th of March inclusive. They give a detailed account of the conversations which they have had with his Majesty, and with your Excellency, and their result has caused the most sensible pleasure.——Count de Narbonne will not fail informing your Excellency of the preparations which have been made here to man a frontier much more exposed than it was at the commencement of the war, as it extends from Czernowitz to the Egra. To meet the expense occasioned by those preparations, the Emperor has appointed a Commission, charged with establishing a just mean between the extreme heavy system of taxation proposed by M. de Wallis, and the bank and loan system suggested by other financiers. This Commission began its sittings yesterday; it is presided by Count de Stadeon.

(Signed) OTTO.

Document joined to the preceding Dispatch.

M. le Comte,—In the absence of Count de Romanzow, who has been detained at St. Petersburgh on important business, the Emperor has ordered me to reply to the official dispatch of which Chevalier de Lebzeltern was the bearer.——His Majesty has directed to that document that attention which a proceeding caused by an object of so high importance demands.——Always free from passion, his political principles have never changed. He wishes for peace; but a peace, consequently, with such guarantees that Austria herself ought to defend. However, it must be admitted, it is for the first time, that a Power still at war, proposes to interpose for peace. Forms and customs are at variance with such a prerogative. But his Imperial Majesty has it so much at heart, to give the Emperor, your august Master, an unequivocal proof of his confidence and his esteem, that he does not allow himself to be guided by such considerations. This manner of receiving your propositions, M. le Count, should give the explanations a character of frankness, which can alone ensure the proceedings of a negociation tending to conciliate so great interests. It remains then to be considered, that since the date of your ministerial letter, Prussia, from motives of which Europe will judge, has joined her arms to the Russian arms, and in this way presents several interests combined into one. The ties are too strong between Russia and Great Britain, too intimate between Russia and Prussia, too strongly established with Sweden, to allow your Majesty espousing her cause from that of any of the Powers allied with her. The Emperor in consequence orders me to declare, in his name, that he will accept of the interposition of Austria, in the event of its being equally accepted by England, Prussia, and Sweden. You yourself will judge, that it would be impossible for his Majesty to make a more categorical reply, nor one more friendly. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will find the same principles on all occasions. They are considered with us as the only means of obtaining the results proposed.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) Count de NESSELRODE.

Kalisch, 27 *Feb.* (11 *March*), 1813.

No. XII.—[This is merely an Imperial Edict from the Emperor of Germany, for the creation of a fund of 45,000,000 of florins in paper money, under the denomination of *Billets d' Anticipation.*]

No. XIII.—*Verbal Note from the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Schwartzenberg.*

Paris, April 22, 1813.

In the conference which the Ambassador from Austria had yesterday with his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, Minister for Foreign Affairs, he had the honour to explain himself agreeably to the meaning of the dispatches which he has just received from his Court, respecting the contents of

the verbal note transmitted by the Ambassador, Count de Narbonne, to the Minister, Count de Metternich.——His Excellency having requested the Ambassador, considering the importance of the questions, to give him a summary of them in a verbal note. He hastened to satisfy that wish. ——His Majesty the Emperor having at heart, that at this important critical moment the most perfect understanding should continue to subsist between him and his august Ally, believes that this understanding cannot be better consolidated than by the most complete reciprocal knowledge of the two Courts; he has in consequence determined upon explaining himself with all frankness upon the overtures which have been made to his Minister by the French Ambassador. ——His Majesty finds that the objects to which those overtures lead, are completely divided into four principal questions.—— Q. 1. The attitude of Austria to bring about a negociation, and during this negociation.—Q. 2. Accord between the two Courts of Austria and France, respecting the general arrangements of pacification?—Q. 3. The attitude of Austria, in the event of the negociations not leading to a peace? —Q. 4. Military operations in this last case?——Ans. 1. According to the terms in which the Ambassador expresses himself in his verbal note, "Austria, who has made the first proposals for peace, and who so anxiously wishes it, should like to obtain this end, a decided character, insist upon the immediate opening of a negociation, demand that Plenipotentiaries should be named, an Armistice concluded, and enter into the contest as a principal party."—— To attain this end there exists but one single diplomatic form, that of armed mediation. His Majesty consequently binds himself to take that attitude. He will hold the language of it to the Allied Courts, and neglect nothing to give all possible weight to his language.——The idea of an immediate assembling of Plenipotentiaries coincides with the views of the Austrian Cabinet, which, nevertheless, waits the arrival of the first courier from its Ambassador, to see what will be the form his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon will choose to regulate its proceedings; that is to say, to know if his Imperial Majesty will think proper to spontaneously proceed to the nomination of a negociator, or wait the uniform demand which the Court of Vienna will address upon this subject to all the Courts interested: we expect that this same courier will bring intelligence from Baron de Wessemberg, who probably arrived in London on the 24th or 25th March. Whatever the reply may be made by the British Cabinet, it will be important to know it; for in the supposition of its being favourable, the pretence that Russia would with reason advance, of wishing, before entering into negociations, of knowing the intentions of her Allies, can no longer exist, and the proceedings of the Austrian Cabinet towards the Emperor Alexander and King of Prussia, in the supposition of an English *negative* reply, assume a decided character in the sense of a negociation for a *continental* peace.——Ans. 2. Previous to entering into details upon this important object, the Austrian Cabinet must wait the first replies from its Ambassador at Paris, as to what he expects when the Emperor Napoleon shall have more explicitly stated his ideas.—— Ans. 3. It results from the nature of things, and is very easy to be seen, that the Emperor of the French partakes the conversion of the Austrian Cabinet, that the proceeding of events, the approach of the theatre of war upon an extent of more than 400 leagues, upon the most important points of the Austrian frontiers, no longer admits of the Emperor taking a part, as a Power simply auxiliary in the war, if against her dearest wishes it should continue.——The French and confederated army opened the campaign in 1812 as a principal army, more than 400,000 men, and upon a line the most distant from the frontiers of the monarchy, a corps of observation, inferior in number to the auxiliary corps, was then sufficient to cover that corps, whilst now it required 100,000 men to cover the immense frontier touching the presumed theatre of war.——In such a position of things, so different to that of last year, there will undoubtedly remain nothing else for Austria to do, if her mediation should not have the desirable result, than a choice between the two only parts stated—either to retire behind her frontiers, neutralizing her territories, or take a most active part in the war, as a principal party.——His Majesty cannot, therefore, but agree in the opinion of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, that the stipulations of the succours limited by the treaty of alliance are not applicable to the circumstances of the moment.—— This particular position of things, and independent of Austria, prejudges in nothing the basis of her alliance with France.—— The alliance of 1812, although brought about by circumstances, does not the less offer a real and solid political basis to the

two high contracting powers. This alliance cannot be confounded with treaties (we cannot except any of them) contracted by France, since the wars of the revolution; that of the 14th March offers the most perfect reciprocity, it therefore contains the first of conditions for its duration. His Majesty the Emperor of the French himself admits, that the treaty of Tilsit, and the alliance between Russia and France are very distant from that with Austria. If Russia, feeling the necessity of modifying her relations with France, did not enter into explanations with her ally, she did wrong, and in particular did not follow the councils of the Court of Vienna. If the Emperor Francis found a word to change in the basis of his alliance, he would be the first to mention it.——By common consent, the restrictions laid down according to the text of the treaty in respect to the *military* engagement of Austria, may be changed in a war, the entire nature of which, and even the ground on which it is carried on, has changed; this case has happened. The Emperor will in proportion extend his military exertions, if the coalesced Powers should not agree to reasonable arrangements, although the succours stipulated by the treaty of the 14th March are only for 30,000 men. Both of those chances result even from the force of circumstances. The assurance that the Emperor does not find a word to alter in his written engagements with France, proves more than any arguments could how very natural and convenient those engagements appear to him, especially in a time of repose, which forms his Majesty's most pleasant reveries, and that the bonds which unite him to France will become essentially strengthened.——Ans. 4. It is essential that the Emperor of the French should know very exactly the position of the different Austrian corps d'armée, for the reasons assigned in Art. 4.——The auxiliary corps, after having ensured, by a momentary suspension of hostilities, of the possibility of occupying the last point in the Duchy of Warsaw, was in a condition to admit within its radius the remains of the Polish army, and protect it against the superiority of the Russians. The General commanding this corps had expressed, after the retreat of the fifth corps upon Czentockow, Prince Poniatowski's wish that it should be placed in the Austrian Circle, in order not vainly to excite the enemy's attention, and lead it to ruinous enterprizes, on account of the fifth corps, and compromise the abode of the Austrian troops in the Circle of Cracow. The Poles, far from following this prudent and benevolent counsel, acted quite contrary, and it was only after having been uselessly harassed and losing several thousand men, that they at last ranged themselves behind the Austrian line, continuing however, to still attract the Russians' attention by useless provocations. From that time they appeared to have adopted the resolution of dislodging the Polish corps placed on their flank and in their rear. This supposition, very natural in itself, acquired more strength by the motions and assembling of their troops. The Emperor determined upon not uselessly sacrificing men for the preservation of a Circle entirely exhausted, and no longer offering any resources to the troops, which must have been provisioned in every thing from the Austrian provinces, transmitted the eventual instruction accompanying this to General Fremont.——The General did not then find himself under the necessity of using it, the denunciation of the armistice not having taken place on the part of the Russians.——The retreat of the Poles upon the Austrian territories was attended in every respect with the most disagreeable complications. It could only be effected on that point, the most embarrassing for the subsistence of the troops; the part of Cracow at the upper part of Cracow is but a narrow neck between the Corpathis and Silesia. It found on this point troops belonging to the army of the Prince of Reus, and the corps of General Fremont was too numerous to be provided for with them, without reciprocally starving each other. The Emperor would not in any other case have permitted the Poles to sojourn in his States, but he admitted of an exception to an invariable principle, and hitherto so fortunately maintained, not to allow any foreign troops to touch or cross, finding that this chance offered fewer inconveniences than that of the abode of a troop, to which in a military point of view he renders complete justice, but which on all occasions expressed and conducted itself more like an enemy towards the Austrians than even towards the Russians.——A Convention for the passage of the Poles and weak remains of the Saxon corps of Gablintz has just been concluded with General Watzdorff. The Ambassador has the honour of sending it with this; he flatters himself that your Excellency will find in it a conviction that Austria has used in this affair all possible delicacy towards the General and troops in

question. As Gablintz corps has joined the remains of a French battalion, the Emperor has thought fit to give a particular mark of his attention to this troop, explicitly ordering that the Commandant of the battalion should also preserve a company under arms.——His Imperial Majesty considers the present moment as that which must decide the fate of Europe, by deciding that of the intermediatory Powers. Neither France nor Russia have any risks to run; the quarrel must either be terminated by an agreement so desirable among great Powers, or drag into an abyss difficult to be measured, Austria and other States useful to the very existence of the two Courts of France and Russia. The Emperor of Austria will remain faithful to his character; he will not confine his proceedings in favour of that cause which he considers it his duty to plead—that of peace, in simple words; and if exaggerations, possible in the views of the coalesced Cabinets, should prevail over that reason and moderation which his Imperial Majesty will not cease to profess, he will place, without hesitation, an imposing force in the balance of the Power which she considers her natural Ally.——His Majesty must wait the first explanations which shall take place between his Ambassador and the French Minister upon general basis, before being able to propose an Armistice. This step would offer, in the actual position of things, and without being accompanied by any explanation whatever, but compromises the more gratuitous for Austria and France, that the Allies would consider such a demand as a proof of weakness, and that, as such, far from serving his Majesty the Emperor of the French, they would place his attitude to the losses he had sustained, and that of Austria, in an entirely false point of view, by prodigiously raising in the eyes of Europe the coalesced Powers. The Ambassador thinks it right to add here, that at the moment when his dispatches were drawn up at Vienna, his Majesty's Ministers had not then received those which he had addressed to him since his return to Paris, and which contain a developement of the ideas of his Majesty the Emperor of the French upon that subject.——The Ambassador ought not again to fail observing, how much the very particular situation in which actual circumstances place the Emperor in regard to his own people, demands the attention of his august Ally, and how much they positively deserve to be taken into his calculation. The Austrian nation, fatigued by so many years of calamity, has but one wish—that of the repose, which will permit its Government to cure past misfortunes, establish order in the finances, and revive the ancient prosperity of the State, which for a length of time the nation had ceased to enjoy. The alliance with France should realise all those hopes, and it is only under this point of view, that, after a long series of sufferings, this new order of things would have become popular. However, the war in the North broke out; the part which the Emperor took in it imposed unexpected sacrifices on his subjects; they were borne, but they, with pain, saw that the consequences of the new political system were not yet felt in a manner as beneficial as the wants of the nation demanded.——The events of the last campaign deceived all calculations. The Emperor not having thought proper to take part in that war, but partially, suddenly saw an immense extent of his frontiers threatened: notwithstanding the great embarrassment of the actual state of the finances, circumstances imperiously demanded that considerable forces should be in activity; the Emperor was forced to have recourse to his subjects in place of the repose he had promised them, as the fruit of the new order of policy;—every thing presaged a general war. In this order of things, there remains but one part for the Emperor to take; it is to manage the good will of the nation, as the most precious basis of his resources. To attain this, there is only one way, that of declaring, that he alone arms for the purpose of obtaining a speedy and solid peace.

No. XIV.—*Note transmitted the 21st April, to Count Metternich, by the Ambassador from France.*

The Ambassador of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, had the honour of giving his Excellency Count Metternich, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, a communication from the dispatch of the Duke of Bassano, of the 11th April. This dispatch, in announcing that his Majesty the Emperor would probably be at Mayence, where later intelligence state that he arrived on the 16th, contains exactly the passage which the undersigned is going to place before your Excellency.——His Majesty told Prince Swartzenberg, to whom I repeated it, "As soon as I shall have arrived at my first head-quarters in Germany, I will send to General Fremont, by a courier, who shall pass through Prague, an order to denounce the Armistice; you

ought therefore to inform Count de Metternich of it, and unreservedly explain yourself to him on this subject, that you may positively assure yourself that my orders shall be executed without discussions. It will also be proper that M. de Metternich should inform General Fremont, in order to prevent all possible misunderstanding, the consequences of which might be very disagreeable."——In another paragraph, he says, "It is very probable, that the order for denouncing the Armistice shall be sent by his Majesty, between the 22d and 25th. It has become of the highest importance that General Fremont should be punctually informed of it."——The undersigned, in making known to his Excellency the Count de Metternich his Majesty's intentions, does not in the least doubt, that in the reply he should receive a full and entire acquiescence in intentions so strictly conformable to the last treaty at Paris.——It is therefore with equal surprise as pain, that the day following this communication, he learned from the mouth even of the Count de Metternich, that the auxiliary corps under the orders of General Fremont would not permit any hostility against the Russians; should not, in the event of its being in a condition, with any troop whatever, of thinking himself sufficiently strong to attack it; and that without waiting the term of 15 days stipulated by the Armistice, and consequently without knowing whether he should or should not be attacked, General Fremont put himself in full march to effect his retreat.——The undersigned was the more inclined to believe, that at least the term of 15 days would be observed; as when on the 16th instant his Excellency Count de Metternich decided to give M. de Lebzeltern orders to demand the revocation of the denunciation of the Armistice, which took place on the 12th, he had calculated that the reply directly conveyed to General Fremont would have before reached him, before he could have effected his movement, and that orders should be dispatched to him to that effect. It is easy to foresee, that if this arrangement had been fulfilled, the orders of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, which ought to have been expedited to Erfurth on the 20th, would have easily reached the Commandant of the Auxiliary Corps before the expiration of 15 days.——The undersigned is therefore induced to believe, that those orders were not properly executed, as it is all kinds of hostilities that Austria wishes to avoid.——Undoubtedly, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French will see with extreme satisfaction the wishes of Austria for peace fulfilled, and that she should use all her means, all her efforts to procure it to Europe; but he never understood, nor will be able to understand, that this wish for peace should annul an existing treaty. This treaty stipulates an auxiliary corps; this auxiliary corps must be under the orders of his Majesty the Emperor; if it is not obeyed, what has not a right to be inferred from it?——The undersigned, whose first instruction is to use every exertion to maintain good understanding between the two Empires, on every occasion to prove the sentiments which animate the Emperor his Master for his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, believes that the best means for fulfilling so sacred a duty is to maintain to the utmost of his power the treaties so happily subsisting between their Majesties.——He therefore appeals to that of Paris, to induce his Excellency Count de Metternich to immediately give orders to General Fremont, to preserve, by all possible means, the position the Armistice designated him, and that he should there wait the orders of his Majesty the Emperor of the French may be pleased to send him.

(Signed) L. NARBONNE.

Vienna, April 22, 1813.

No. XV.—*Note transmitted by Count de Metternich to Count de Narbonne.*

The undersigned Minister of State for Foreign Affairs has submitted to the Emperor the note which the French Ambassador did him the honour to address to him on the 21st inst. He has received orders to give his Excellency the following reply:——The Emperor has nothing more at heart than the preservation of the relations of friendship and good understanding with his Majesty the Emperor of the French; his Imperial Majesty has given in moments of the most critical importance, too many proofs of this sentiment not to depend simply upon facts.——At the same time that Austria made formal overtures of peace to several Courts, distinctly separated from each other, that she would enter into conferences upon subjects, perhaps the most complicated that ever presented themselves in policy, the events of war and military preparations did not on that account daily receive less developement. Immense armies were found in presence of each other. The wishes of Austria in favour of peace, far from weakening the approach of a great

and new crisis, only have confirmed it in a more decided manner. Had the Emperor only half desired this peace, the necessity of which is so universally felt, he would not have acted as he has done. It is therefore with great satisfaction that his Imperial Majesty is convinced, not only by the communication which his Excellency the Ambassador from France has made, from the contents of the Duke of Bassano's dispatches, but also by Prince Schwartzenberg's reports, that by the developement of new means, he has met the wishes of his Majesty the Emperor of the French.——The communication made by Count de Narbonne, in form of a verbal Note of the 7th April, contains what follows:——After having placed in opposition with the pacific intentions of France, the appearance of sentiments very different on the part of Russia, his Excellency the Ambassador says,——"In this conjuncture Austria, who stands so prominently forward for peace, and who so anxiously desires it, must take, to obtain this end, a determined character, insist upon the immediate opening of a negociation, and enter into the contest as a principal party. In the beginning of May, when the Emperor of the French shall be in person upon the right bank of the Elbe with 300,000 men, Austria should reinforce the army of Cracow, and carry it, with Prince Poniatowski, to more than 150,000 men, those movements having taken place in April, the army concentrating itself should place itself in a defensive position, but in readiness to resume the offensive. A corps of 30 or 40,000 should be assembled in Bohemia, and on the day of the Emperor's arrival at the head of the army of the Mein upon the Elbe, the Austrian Minister should make his declaration to the Emperor Alexander, the army of Cracow should denounce the armistice, and the troops from Bohemia march from their entrenchments, &c.; the military means of Austria should be raised to 100,000 men, for the army of Silesia; from 30 to 50,000, for that of Cracow; the remainder remain at the disposition of France, in the Bukowine and Gallicia."——In reply to the overtures offered in this communication, his Imperial Majesty directed his Ambassador at the Imperial Court of France to be furnished with orders dated the 14th April, which the undersigned has had the honour of communicating to his Excellency the Ambassador.——The reply from his Majesty, in substance stated, that his Imperial Majesty and Apostolic King had decided upon taking the attitude of an armed mediation, as the only one that the two Imperial Courts found to be consistent with the actual position of things; that nevertheless his Imperial Majesty would declare at the same time, that if, contrary to his dearest wishes, the return of peace should not crown his wishes, Austria, in consequence of her attitude as a mediating power, and of the geographical situation of her empire, could not henceforth take part in the war, in the quality of a power simply auxiliary; and that, consequently, the stipulations of the succours limited by the alliance of the 14th March, 1812, *would cease being applicable to the present conjuncture*.——Although the Emperor was far from believing that this determination, brought about as much by the force of circumstances, as the views and wishes of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, could be considered as an abandonment of the alliance of the two Imperial Courts, his Imperial Majesty has nevertheless directed his Ambassador to add to that declaration, that that step *would in nothing prejudge the basis of our alliance with France*.——The simple recital of those transactions would be sufficient to completely reply to the Note of the French Ambassador, if the Emperor did not believe it proper to point out that this Note was addressed to the undersigned after the denunciation of the armistice by the Russians had completely changed the order of things, presumed by his Majesty the Emperor of the French to still exist in the Duchy of Warsaw.——The Emperor Francis, before having reason for believing from the movements of the Russian corps, that their intention was to dislodge the Austrian corps from the circle it occupied in the Duchy of Warsaw, had, by an order, with which the Court of France was acquainted, prohibited Lieutenant-General Fremont from engaging in affairs that might compromise his corps d'armee. The motives for this determination were amply detailed in a dispatch to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, dated the 14th March; the undersigned can only refer on this head to its contents.——If, however, the armistice had not been denounced on the part of the Russian General, the Emperor would not on his part have hesitated to make representations against a denunciation on his side. That measure, in fine, could only be regarded under two points of view; as the means of war or negociation. The Emperor is convinced that it does not belong to the mediating power to be the first in

opening the campaign; as a means of peace, the Emperor *is not* less convinced, that if is not with 30,000 men he can support his mediations, and that the most efficacious means of negociation are found, of which his Majesty of the French has expressed a persuasion, in the developement of more imposing forces, all directed to one only and single end, peace; in a developement which should leave no doubt that the mediating power would be ready, in the event of not succeeding, to appear upon the scene as a principal party, and to give to her pacific interference the necessary support.——The undersigned, in transmitting to Count de Narbonne the present reply, is expressly charged to reiterate to his Excellency the assurances which he verbally received in the last audience, from the Emperor, of the unchangeableness of the sentiments which his Imperial Majesty bears to his august Master.——The Minister of State and Foreign Affairs has the honour to present to the Ambassador the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Vienna, April 26, 1813.

AMERICAN WAR.

Downing Street, Oct. 14, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are Copies, were this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Head-Quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, August 8, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the enemy's fleet of twelve sail made its appearance off York on the 31st ultimo: the three square-rigged vessels, the Pike, Madison, and Oneda, came to anchor in the offing, but the schooners passed up the harbour and landed several boats full of troops at the former garrison, and proceeded from thence to the town, of which they took possession. They opened the gaol, liberated the prisoners, and took away three soldiers confined for felony: they then went to the hospitals and parolled the few men that could not be removed; they next entered the store-houses of some inhabitants, seized their contents, chiefly flour, the same being private property; between eleven and twelve o'clock that night they returned on board their vessels; the next morning, Sunday the 1st instant, the enemy again landed, and sent three armed boats up the river Don, in search of public stores, of which being disappointed, by sunset both soldiers and sailors had evacuated the town, the small barrack, wood-yard, and store-house, on Gibraltar Point, having been first set on fire by them; and at daylight the following morning the enemy's fleet sailed.——The plunder obtained by the enemy upon this predatory expedition has been indeed trifling, and the loss has altogether fallen upon individuals; the public stores of every description having been removed; and the only prisoners taken by them being confined felons and invalids in hospital.——The troops which were landed were acting as marines, and appeared to be about two hundred and fifty men; they were under the command of Commodore Chauncey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, an unexchanged prisoner of war on his parole, both of whom landed with the troops: the town, upon the arrival of the enemy, was totally defenceless, the militia were still on their parole, and the principal Gentlemen had retired, from an apprehension of being treated with the same severity used towards several of the inhabitants near Fort George, who had been made prisoners and sent to the United States: Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby, of the Glengarry fencibles, with the detachment of light troops under his command, who had been stationed at York, was, upon the appearance of the enemy's fleet off that place on the 29th ultimo, ordered, with his detachment and light artillery, to proceed for the protection of the depôts formed on Burlington Heights, where he had joined Major Maule's detachment of the 104th regiment, and concentrated his force on the following evening. The enemy had, during the course of that day, landed from the fleet five hundred men, near Brandt's House, with an intention of storming the heights; but finding Major Maule well prepared to receive them, and being informed of Lieutenant-Colonel Battesby's march, they reimbarked and stood away for York.——My last accounts from Major-General de Rottenburg are to the 3d instant, when the enemy's fleet had anchored off Niagara; I have received no

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Invasion of France.——This is the season of exultation and of extravagant expectations. Our news-papers now begin to talk very undisguisedly upon the subject of *invading* and *punishing* France. The idea of 1793 seems to have been revived, and we are now to believe, that the opportunity has returned for "*clipping the wings* "*of France for ever.*"——Whatever may be the lot of Buonaparté, this project will assuredly fail. France is too populous; too rich in soil, climate, and natural productions; too full of men of talent; too abundant in military skill and courage: in short, too great a nation ever to be reduced, for any length of time, to an underling state. ——The *envy* of these islands, small and poor naturally, compared to the territory of France, has always been worked upon by an artful Government, to keep alive a hatred of France in this country, though the interests of the two countries really appear to be as mutual as those of any two individual members of the same community.——Why, in the name of common sense, should the people of England not be permitted to drink the fine and wholesome wines of France? Why should they be compelled to go to Portugal for wine, when they can have it so much better and cheaper across the Channel?——It is this hatred of France, bottomed on *envy*, that produced the consent of the people to the present war, which has already entailed on them and their posterity a debt, to pay the *interest* of which, they must pay heavier taxes *for ever* (unless a national Bankruptcy take place), than the whole of the taxes which they had to pay before that war began.——The bare interest upon the debt, which has been occasioned by this French war, will, next year, amount to about *Forty Millions*, at *three* per cent.; or, about *Thirty-two Millions*, at five per cent.——Therefore, in consequence of this war against the people of France, begun in 1793, the good people of this country will have to pay *for ever* (unless a general bankruptcy arrive), taxes to the annual amount of 32 millions of pounds; that is to say, more than double the amount of all the taxes raised in the country previous to the beginning of the war! Ay, and more than four times the amount of all the taxes raised in the country *at the time the present King came to the throne!*——This is paying pretty decently for the gratification of our hatred against France.——It is no matter how the contest may end; whether the inhabitants, the gallant people of that fine country be finally replunged into the abyss of *tailles* and *corvées*, or whether they be freed from all the base slavery imposed on them by any means whatever; it matters not to us, which way the fate of France may go: of this we are certain, that the war, begun against the French people in 1793, and continued on since, against all the different governments which have existed in France, has cost us a sum which will (without a national bankruptcy) entail upon the nation *for ever* the *annual* payment of 32 millions of pounds in taxes; which sum *is more than equal to the annual amount of all the wheat grown in the country!* It will require, at the present prices, more than *ten millions of quarters of wheat* to pay the interest of that part of the debt, which this war against the people of France has caused to be contracted; and, under an average calculation, it will require as much wheat as grows in the country. So that this war, end how it will, will prove a profitable job; we shall have paid pretty handsomely for our generous attempt to "*clip* "*the wings of France for ever.*" We have done her great injury; we have been the principal cause of marring all the plans of those who really appear to have laboured most ardently to make her free and happy. We have done her most terrible mischief. But, after all, though it is shocking to reflect on what she has suffered, we have not injured France so much as we have injured ourselves. She has, at any rate, got rid of Tailles, and Corvées, and Gabelles, and Silence de Grenouilles, &c. &c. These real, substantial curses, she has got rid of, and she has also got rid of her *national debt*.——Let who will get upon the throne in

France, these curses are done away for ever. But, what have *we gained* by this wing-clipping war? What have *we gained?* Can any man point out the particular, in which our lot has been mended?——We have got by this war: A land-tax made *perpetual*, by the means of which a part of every man's estate is in reality *alienated*, and may be actually sold by the Government to the highest bidder.——We have gained *a property-tax*; that is to say, a deduction, by the Government, from every man's income to the amount of a tenth part of that income.——We have gained divers other things of the same kind, making, together with the new laws on treason, sedition, and libel, as decent a little bunch of *acquisitions* as any one need wish to behold.——Besides all these, however; besides the *current charge*, we have gained the *Debt* before mentioned, which is not to be got rid of by any philippic, or any number of philippics, against the French nation. ——The *envy* of the people of this country towards France has, it seems, to me, always been turned to account by the Government, who has wished to see the people here hate those on the other side of the Channel. But, we must not blame the Government exclusively. Envy is a very base passion, and is never to be justified. It seems, that to see a neighbouring nation enjoying a finer soil and climate, and a happy disposition, has, at all times, been too much for us to endure with patience.——While the French people appeared contented under their former sovereigns, we reproached them with being *slaves*. We reproached them for their attachment to their kings. We laughed to scorn their notions of duty to their "*Grand Monarque.*" But, the moment they attempted to change their Government and to get rid of that race of kings, for their attachment to whom we had so long reviled them, that moment we began to call them *rebels* and *regicides!*——Our conduct towards the French people, at the outset of this war, ought never to be forgotten, and, at this time, when we are talking of a new attempt upon the French territory, it seems peculiarly proper to call to mind what that conduct was.——No nation has a right to interfere with the internal concerns of another. The people of France had as good a right to put down their Royal Family in 1792, as the English had to change theirs a hundred years before, and as the Swedes had to change their dynasty only a few months ago.——We drove away the French Ambassador because the French nation had put their King to death. What had *we* to do with that act? What right had we to resent that act? We were none of the parties concerned. It was insolent in us to attempt to express, in an official way, our disapprobation of that act.——But, if the French nation were led into excesses; if they did hurl down a throne and an hierarchy with too little ceremony, who was more to blame than *ourselves?* For many, many years, and particularly from the time that England became connected with the Dutch and Hanoverian Families, it had been the constant fashion in England to speak of the French as of *slaves*. Let any one read the *Freeholder* and other writings of Addison, and he will see a pretty good specimen of efforts that were constantly made to ridicule and blacken the French Government. Thousands of publications of this sort appeared. The object of them all was to hold the French people up to ridicule and contempt on account of their submitting to so tyrannical a government and so debauched and intolerant a hierarchy. ——Hogarth's popular picture of the "*Gates of Calais*" represents a French soldier half-starved, shirtless, and pale, with eyes ready to start out of his head at seeing a *surloin of English beef* arrive, while an enormously *fat monk* came to hail its arrival and to pat it with his finger.—— In another picture, entitled, "*England* and "*France*," all is good clothing, fat cheeks, and beauty, on our side; while on the side of France, are a group of bandy-legged, ragged, bare-boned, miserable creatures, lapping watery soup and roasting frogs, while, in the back ground, a woman is at plough with a cow and an ass, and while in the fore-ground, a priest is, with great apparent satisfaction, feeling the sharp edge of an *axe*, lying upon a wheel of torture. ——Such was the light in which the press and the pencil of England were employed to exhibit the people of France. It was not done in this, or in that, particular instance; it was constantly done. It was the general practice; and the people of England believed firmly, that the French people were most wretched creatures, and that their general diet was broth made of cabbage-leaves, and such stuff, together with frogs roasted, and now and then a bit of sallad.——But, above all things, they believed them to be oppressed by their Government and by the priests. They thought that they were *compelled* to wear wooden shoes; and that this article of dress (a very useful one by the by) was an odious badge

of slavery.——To all this was added a belief, that the *Mounseers* were shocking *cowards*. If a poor, feeble, frivolous poltron was to be exhibited on our bragging theatre, a *Frenchman* was chosen for the character. The maxim, that *one* Englishman could beat *three* Frenchmen, no more admitted of dispute, than that three were more in number than one.——This maxim was so firmly rooted in the minds of the people of this country, that it could not be removed, till the affair of the Duke of York at *the Helder*. That affair seems to have cut up the maxim, and we have never since heard of the boast of *one to three*.——Now, leaving all the State trick out of the question; supposing the *people* of England to have been inclined to believe the *truth* about France; still they must have been, knowingly, the most envious, foul, and base calumniators of the French people and Government, or, they must have believed all that they said of them. If the former, their character needs no more said of it. If the latter, if they did sincerely believe the people of France to be the most cruelly oppressed, most miserable creatures upon the face of the earth, and that their kings and priests were such abominable tyrants as the English writers described them to be; if the people of England did sincerely believe this, ought they not to have been transported with joy at hearing that the French were about to become free? Ought they not to have petitioned the Government to render to that long-oppressed people all the aid in its power? Ought they not to have done themselves all in their own power to assist a nation struggling for freedom?——What *did they do?* Most earnestly besought their Government *to go to war with this same people;* and affected (tender souls!) to be filled with horror, because the French people had put to death one of those kings and some of those priests, to exterminate whom the people of England had been, for many years, exciting them.——It was curious to see how we tacked about all of a sudden. We discovered, that the Bourbons were a most mild and humane race of kings; that the slavery of the people of France was merely imaginary; that the priests were a mighty good sort of people indeed, and wonderfully pious and chaste, which were main points with a thinking people like us. The people of France must, if they could have seen it, have been wonderfully struck with our reception of the *Emigrants*. The *Seigneurs*, whose feudal rights we used so loudly to condemn; the *priests*, whose extortions and whose roguish tricks we used to expose with so little mercy; all these, and especially the *priests*, we received with open arms, gave them a share of our money, victuals, and clothes!——This showed what our real feelings were towards the *liberties* of the people of France. This showed on which side we were. This showed how sincere we had been all the while we were abusing those who tyrannized over the people of France.——It was fully in the power of England to prevent all the mischief that was done in France, and all the long and bloody wars that have since followed.——If she had said: I will suffer no coalition against France, so long as France keep within her own territory, there would have been no coalition; and, in all human probability, the King of France would have now been alive.——It was a curious sight to behold; it was something that ought to have made a deeper impression than it did; to see us, a nation who had for ages been expressing our contempt of the French people, because they submitted to the Bourbons and the priests; to see *us*, all at once tack round, embrace these exiled Bourbons and priests, and abuse the French people as *rebels* and *sacrilegious* wretches!——I shall be told, that I am unjust to the *people* of England; for that, *they* did feel an interest in the success of the French nation, and that some of them (at the hazard of their lives) *expressed* what they felt.——This is very true; and, I wish it were in my power to make the exceptions by name. But, of these exceptions the world can know nothing. The mass of the nation was against the people of France; and, as the war originated in that cause, it is no more than strictly just, that the 32 millions of taxes, which will be annually required to pay the interest of the money borrowed to carry on this war, should fall upon the people of this country and their descendants.——It is a pretty smart price to pay for the luxury of clipping the wings of a rival; or, rather, of *making the attempt*.——That the war originated in *envy* I, for my part, have no doubt. To see *Frenchmen* become *free;* to see our exclusive boasting broken in upon, was a little too much; and, then, there did not want persons, cunning enough to perceive, that the *sort* of liberty which people were about to have in France, might give rise to very disagreeable comparisons. An *intercourse* would naturally have taken place between the two countries. People coming back from France would have related what they had seen.——Well: it is

passed. We indulged our propensity; and we ought not to grumble at paying the 32 millions a year. This war against the people of France, if it end next year, will only cost us and our posterity (if they like to remain here to pay it) just about as much as *all the bread we eat costs us*!——No, no; people are not to play such games at wing-clipping for nothing. Wing-clipping is a great luxury; and those who will have luxuries, must pay for them.——I have been the more full upon this subject, because I think I see a wing-clipping project now on foot again. If this be attempted, I should not be surprised, if the 32 millions were swelled to 64 millions before the conclusion of the war.——Those who have fixed incomes may, in this case, as well sell out the principal, and have one merry year of it, and then go off the stage in the most decent way that presents itself.——The very idea of such an island as this *clipping the wings* of a country like France; the very idea merits humiliation. One would wonder what can have made us talk in the manner that we do about France, excelling us, and so *far* excelling us, as that country does in *every thing*, usually esteemed amongst men. And, we have the impudence to talk of the French nation as something to be employed, or disposed of, for *our* benefit and behoof!——Nothing can teach us moderation. What with our lying histories; our speeches; our barefaced speeches; our vaunting and stupid songs and plays, which are so disgustingly fulsome, that one wonders how any man can be found to pronounce them without having his face hidden by a mask: what with all these, we seem to lose, in time, the very idea of modesty; and, when success has lasted with us for a few successive weeks, we become intolerable even to one another. ——However, it must be confessed, that we *pay* for it pretty decently. *Thirty-two millions* a year for ever;—the amount of what would buy us all bread for ever;—this is a good smart price for our luxurious enjoyments.——Suppose a circle of people, just having finished reading the news-paper, which tells them, that, at last, they have a prospect of "*clipping the wings of France*;" suppose such a circle to be told, that this clipping work is already costing them, and will continue to cost them as long as they live, as much money as the article of bread costs them in their several families, would not their joy be a little mitigated?——Yet, this is perfectly true. It may well be questioned, whether *any* object to be obtained by war can be equivalent to such a sacrifice; but, I am quite sure, that nothing which we shall ever obtain by this war will be equivalent to a hundredth part of it.——There seems to be a strange *hesitating* as to what is to be done about the *Bourbons*. ——Why not proclaim, at once, the intention of *restoring them*? There is no hesitation about the *House of Orange*. The Dutch; the happy Dutch, are favoured with their old masters without a moment's delay.——Why not act upon the same principle as to France? Why not favour the French people in the same way? It is very curious that no notice is taken of the Bourbons.——Is it feared, that the proposition would rouse the people of France to rally round Napoleon? Is it feared, that, rather than receive the Bourbons, the French would return to a Republic? This is, I am persuaded, the most frightful object that the enemies of Napoleon can discover. Much as they hate him, because they so much fear him, they would still prefer his reigning to another reign of a *Convention*. They hate him in a very deadly degree; but they hate the Jacobins ten thousand times more.——He, at any rate, is a despot; he sets no examples, and permits no examples, of *licentiousness* of any kind; he has re-established the Bishops, priests, and all the mummery of masses; he permits no liberty of the press, though he does not, indeed, undermine it by base and hypocritical pretences of law; he forbids the use of the press as to politics and religion, and there is an end of that; he takes care, that the children shall be educated in a way best calculated to make them subservient to his will.——In short, there is not a *more regular Government* in all Europe. ——Therefore, to run any risk of changing this Government for another *Republic* will never do. The thing which our news-paper men seem to desire, is, to cripple Buonaparté; to make him give up his fleets and part of the territory of France; to make him consent to betray France into our hands, so that she may be rendered, for ages, a poor, insignificant nation, while we go on bullying it over the whole world. This is what our wise news-paper men seem to desire; and, upon this condition, they would leave Napoleon and his Austrian wife to grind the very souls out of the people of France.——*Envy*; that old, rooted, base feeling would make them delighted to see the French nation doomed to everlasting slavery.——This, however, is what they will not see. They will see Napoleon still a great sovereign;

they will see the Bourbons great in his stead; or, they will see the heart-cheering times of the Republic return; they will see the hopes of the oppressed of all nations revive.—— They will not see that which they desire: they will not see, let what will take place in the way of war, *the wings of France clipped;* and, therefore, all the debt, which is about to be added to what the nation is already compelled to pay interest for, will be so much added to no purpose, if clipping the wings of France be the object.——The Bourbons, of whom nobody takes any notice, need not care for any of the allied powers; for those powers will never be *able*, even if *willing*, to restore them. If restored, they must be restored by *the people of France;* and they will not, unless they are very foolish as well as very base, make any bargain with foreign powers as to the extent of their dominions.——The great object, therefore, of these news-paper men, the *crippling of France*, will not be obtained even by the restoration of the Bourbons. It is a strange state of puzzle! Very willingly kill Buonaparté; but, who knows what that might produce? Who knows, that the Bourbons might not be more formidable; or, that the *Convention* (the terrible Convention!) might not return?——In short, unless these news-paper men could cut the throats of the people of France, they do nothing. The ground of their fear still exists; and, they may be assured, that, if peace were made to-morrow with the Bourbons, France would gain upon us every hour, being free from all those enormous debts, which are pulling us down to the earth, and which cannot be done away without universal confusion, unless such measures were adopted as never will be adopted here.——France, rich in soil, climate, products, and in the industry and genius of her people, and in her geographical situation, was always, under her old corrupt government, an object of envy and of dread to these islands, to whose monopolizing enterprises she was a constant check. What must she be now, then, freed as she is from all her debts, while we have swelled our debts from two to nine hundred millions, and have actually imposed upon ourselves a sum, to pay in the shape of interest of debt for ever, more than double the amount of the whole of the taxes collected in the country, previous to the war?——Under these circumstances, what must be the difference between the two countries?——If we, in 1793, had let the French alone; if we had gone quietly on in the enjoyment of the monstrous advantages which we then derived from the commercial treaty with France, we should, at this day, have not known what Assessed Taxes, what Income Tax, what Property Tax, meant. We should have had scarcely any taxes to pay; the Bank would not have stopped payment in gold; and the country would not have been inundated with paper-money as it now is. We should have had no war with America, and America would have had *no fleet.* But, we wished *to clip the wings of France;*—we saw her (our best customer) plunged into domestic troubles; we thought the opportunity was fair; we dreaded, too, the *example* she was about to set; we seized hold of the occasion, while she was assailed by a continental coalition: we seized the opportunity; we took time by the forelock; and we . . . . . . added 30 millions a year to the taxes necessary to pay the interest of our debt; but, without succeeding, in the smallest degree, in *clipping the wings of France.*——To hear the bragging and shouting at this moment, one would imagine, that we had *gained* some great thing by this war; that, *at last*, after a long struggle, we had gained our point. ——What point? What is it that we have gained, since 1793, when the war began?——I should be glad, if some one would attempt to show me what we have gained. France is more powerful than she was then, and has got rid of her debt; and we have spent hundreds of millions in *defending* ourselves against her.—— We have, indeed, escaped invasion and subjugation; and that is all; though we have been able to do that only at enormous expense. We have been able to do it only by incurring a debt, which must make our taxes, in time of peace, so heavy as scarcely to be borne.——Is this any thing to boast of? Is this what was promised us, when there was such cheering to war, in 1793? ——I state it as a fact that no one will venture to deny, that this war has cost us, does cost us, and will cost us, a sum equal in amount, annually, to the amount of all the bread that we eat.——I say, that the *interest* of the debt, created by the war, will, next year, be 32 millions; I say, that we, and our descendants, for ever (unless in case of a national bankruptcy) will have to pay, annually, these 32 millions of pounds; I say, that, supposing the population to amount to 12 millions, here are 50s. a head for every man, woman, and child; I say, that if we allow each (babies and all) to

eat a quartern loaf a week, the 33 millions would pay for all the bread eaten in the country, in the course of the year.——This is what we have *gained* by the war! This is what we have to boast of! This is what we have so often fired guns and made illuminations to celebrate!——There is no getting rid of this. Whoever lives in England must pay his share of this debt. His income, his talents, his cares, his labour, must be taxed to pay the interest of this debt; and this fact should be kept constantly present to the mind of every man, and especially of every one who is still for "*clipping the wings of France.*"——This debt has been contracted for the purpose of hiring other nations to fight against France. This very campaign has been carried on with our money. The Swedes had to be paid by us before they could stir. This is what we have been at for the last 20 years; and, in the end, we boast, that we have *saved ourselves!* We have not, however, saved our *purses.* There, in that tender part, we have to smart for the rest of our lives, and to hand down the smart to our children. Tax-gatherers yet unborn will cover the land in consequence of this war, the apparent result of which is such matter of bragging.

Counter-revolution in Holland.—It is laughable enough to read the accounts of the expressions of joy in Holland, at the restoration of the House of Orange. All *now* is *love* of the dear House of Orange, so that one cannot help wondering how the Dutch ever came to *part* with that dearly beloved house!—But why so eager to send an *English army* thither at this moment? If such be the disposition of the Dutch, why not leave the affair to themselves? Is the presence of an English army necessary to confirm the loyal and generous Dutch in their good intentions?——All our gallant noblesse are, I see, volunteering to go to Holland! Up with the Orange cockade!—Well, and what of all this? Why all this bombastical work, if the counter-revolution has really taken place? To be sure, the expedition will not be less likely to succeed, because the French army is out of the country. There is no danger now, I take it, of a repetition of what happened at the *Helder.*——The Dutch will, in likelihood, return to a state somewhat resembling that in which they were before the French revolution. Measures will, I dare say, be taken to prevent any uneasiness to the House of Orange again. But, still, Holland, in spite of us, must and will be connected with France; for, without that, the Dutch know, that they would be wholly at the mercy of their rivals in trade.——Holland, too, will have paid her *debt.* We alone shall remain loaded with enormous debts; and, does the reader believe, that any one will pay the interest of them, if he can avoid it?——The Dutch, like all the other conquered people, will, no doubt, *profess* great joy at the return of their old masters; but, mind, so they did at the arrival of the French! From what they say, or what they do, we cannot judge of their sentiments. They submitted to *force* before, and so they do now. They are on the side of the strongest, as such a people always will. The last time an English army was in Holland, it was detested by the people of that country, who even destroyed their provisions rather than *sell* them to our people. Now, I suppose, we shall be received with open arms.

Religion.—I have inserted below another letter from "Observator," and two in answer to my correspondent, "A Churchman," at Oxford; or rather, these two contain *censures* on that "ardent-minded" writer, and on me for admitting his letter.——I must confess, that I thought his zeal carried him a little too far, and that he appeared to handle my former correspondents rather roughly; but, I excused him on account of his zeal for the Church; and am not now convinced, by any means, that he deserved all the censure conferred on him by these two writers.——However, I clearly perceive, that it is impossible for me to please *all* parties; and that, unless I mean to be burnt between them, I must withdraw myself from the controversy, and refer the combatants to some other more capacious channel.——But, though I do not think it right to make my Register a vehicle for such angry effusions, I shall certainly avail myself of it to endeavour, by a plain and humble statement of my own difficulties, to obtain such information as may be useful to myself and to the domestic circle, whom it is my indispensable duty to instruct.——The truth is (and I am not ashamed to avow it), that the reading of Ecce Homo, which I have performed with great care, has given rise to *difficulties* in my mind. There are parts of that work, which, I confess, I am quite unable to answer; and which, nevertheless, I must see *answered* before my mind can be settled upon the subject.——It is, therefore, my intention to state

the *difficulties* which I experience, in the hope that some one will clear them up for me. We are a pretty large family here; and, it is of importance that we should think rightly upon a matter of such vast consequence.——The same difficulties that occur to me, will, in all human probability, occur to others; and, therefore, the solution given to me will serve for the public, and will, I should hope, tend to the producing of great benefit to the nation at large. ——It is very certain, that, where there are so many sects, all calling themselves *Christians*, and all differing from one another, *some of them must be in error.* They cannot *all* be right. Some of them must be teachers of falsehood. And, from the teaching of falsehood, surely, no good can possibly arise.——It shall be my object to elicit the *truth*, as far as my inquiries go. I will state the causes of my doubts; and, if I receive no satisfactory answer, the fault is not mine.——It is not enough to tell me, that I am to have no difficulties because none appear to have been entertained by many great and wise men. For, there are other men of the same description, who have had difficulties. ——In short, there is no general argument against numerous particular facts and arguments differing widely in their purport and in the conclusions, at which they aim. ——For this reason, for my own satisfaction, and for the public good, I shall, with becoming modesty, I hope, state to the Head of our Church the religious difficulties which have been excited in my mind.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 30*th Nov.* 1813.

MORALITY.

Mr. Cobbett,—I shall now, as I intended before my attention was drawn from the subject by Mr. Fordham, proceed to illustrate my *second* proposition, that the *beneficial tendency* of the heathen morality will appear, at least, equal to the Christian, from a comparison of the lives and character of those who lived under their respective influence. In discussing this point, I have considered it of some importance to be particular in the choice of my authorities, as I was aware, that to avail myself altogether of testimonies inimical to Christianity, might expose me to the charge of partiality, which, in treating of a subject of this nature, ought most carefully to be avoided. It appeared to me also of importance, if I could show, upon the authority of those who wrote in defence of religion, that the influence of the morality of the ancients was such as, in my opinion, gives it a decided preference over theological morality. It will be seen, by my subsequent remarks, how far I have conformed to this mode of illustration.—I shall begin with the character of the heathen; and the first testimony which I shall notice, is that of the learned *Abbé* Fleury, who, of all men, was the last that could be suspected of entertaining a prejudice in favour of the ancients; and whose works, I find, are referred to as high authority by all our ecclesiastical historians. In that author's "Historical Account of the Manners and Behaviour of the Christians;" he states, that "there was no provision made by the heathens for the instruction of the common people in matters of *religion:* they had only the lectures of their philosophers, who read to them the precepts of *morality*, but never meddled with the proper offices of religion." The same fact is mentioned by Origen (*contra* Celsus). Diogenus Laertus speaks of the school of Epicurus, which, he says, "subsisted for a very long period." Lactantius informs us, in his Divine *Institutions*, that the Epicurean philosophy "was publicly taught in, and mostly followed at, Athens during many centuries."—The beneficial effects of these lectures, which presented morality as a science of life, unconnected with the belief of any religious dogma, could not fail to be very conspicuous in the conduct of those who were accustomed to hear it. "There were among them," adds Fleury, "many who did in good earnest, and with the utmost powers of their reason, seek after the means of becoming happy; who *seriously* laboured to come to the knowledge of the truth; who *honestly* applied themselves to the practice of virtue according to the best of their knowledge; and who, to pursue this study, *renounced* all other interests and engagements—sparing neither cost nor labour, nor travels, to attain to the knowledge of those things which they accounted the most excellent."—The *exemplary lives* also of its *teachers*, must have been a powerful stimulant to the practice of virtue. The world is represented by Fleury, to have been "*full* of philosophers," who not only taught but *practised* virtue; who had, for many ages, been in great reputation; who made it their business to reform mankind; and who suffered persecution on that account.—D. Laertius says, "that Epicurus was in incredible favor, and that his coun-

try caused statues to be erected to him." Cicero also, who appears to have been an enemy to the opinions of the Epicureans, is full of the probity of Epicurus and his disciples, who were remarkable for their friendship to each other. Hume says, " Probity and honour were no strangers to Epicurus and his sect."—The same author, speaking of several of the ancients, asks, " Who admires not Socrates; his perpetual serenity and contentment amidst the greatest poverty and domestic vexations; his resolute contempt of riches, and magnanimous care of preserving liberty, while he refused all assistance from his friends and disciples, and avoided even the dependence of an obligation? Epictetus had not so much as a door to his little house or hovel; and, therefore, soon lost his iron lamp, the only furniture which he had worth taking. In antiquity (continues Hume) the heroes of philosophy, as well as those of war and patriotism, have a grandeur and force of sentiment, which astonishes our narrow souls, and is rashly rejected as extravagant and supernatural."—Under the tuition of such masters, whose bright examples gave additional weight and lustre to the precepts which they inculcated, it was impossible not to find virtuous citizens. The Greeks and Romans, who lived under these fortunate circumstances, are accordingly described by Fleury, as having been possessed of " dispositions and tendencies towards virtue, such as gravity, patience, obligingness in conversation, complaisance, cheerfulness, esteem, affection, with a true sense of decency and decorum, of which they were complete masters." They were likewise particularly remarkable for their hospitality, which " grew to prescription in families; it was the principal cement of friendship and correspondence between the cities of Greece and Italy, and afterwards spread over the whole Roman empire. Nay, so sacred was this practice of hospitality, that they made it a part of their religion: Jupiter, said they, presided over the affair—both the persons entertained, and the table at which they eat, were counted sacred."—Plutarch and others mention that the heathens erected temples to honour, piety, hope, chastity, peace, and all the virtues. We have even the concession of St. Augustin, in favour of those men whom we have been taught to consider barbarians. He says, " there were many heathens who were virtuous, and who led lives morally good: were true to their word, just in their dealings, abhorred fraud and avarice. In a word, observed *all* the laws and rules of civil society."—To this may be added what Dr. Stanhope, the translator of Epictetus's Morals, says of the Stoics: " They are most deservedly admired, for their noble notions of virtue above any other sect, and the brave attempts they have made towards reducing nature to its primitive purity and perfection." But morality was not confined to the Greeks and Romans. Of the Germans, Fleury has this testimony, that " they were naturally great observers of common equity, generously plain and open hearted, chaste, despisers of pleasure and sensual gratification, lovers of justice, hospitality, and alms-giving." So admirable were the heathen virtues esteemed, in the early periods of the Christian church, that many of the fathers and martyrs obtained additional respect, in consequence of its being supposed that they imitated them. " The bravery of the Roman spirit," says Fleury, " appears in many of the glorious martyrs, as St. Laurence, St. Vincent, St. Sebastian; and in many great bishops, as St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Leo, &c. —As for the gravity of the Greek philosophers, one may see it in the acts of St. Polycarp, St. Pionius, priest of Smyrna; and in the writings of St. Justin, and St. Clemens Alexandrinus."—If we go farther back than either the Greeks, the Romans, or the Germans, we shall find that virtue was respected, because it was essential to the existence of nations. The Egyptians, who are said to be in possession of memorials, which prove their country to have been once the most civilized and flourishing of all ancient states, are thus spoken of by Volney: " Ever open to observation, they must first have passed from the savage to the social state, and consequently attained that physical and *moral* knowledge proper to civilized man."—The practical effect of this knowledge was, a " strict observance of the laws of morality, in its native simplicity; and a judicious practice of all that is conducive to the preservation of existence, to the well-being of the individual and of his fellow creatures."—When this people acted otherwise, he attributes their defection to what occasions the perversion of all morality, namely, " the introduction of senseless fanaticism, and deplorable superstition." The Persians, disciples of Zoroaster, were remarkable for affection to their parents, whom they supported; for alms-giving to the poor; and for never violating their word. When in doubt as

to the justice or injustice of an action, they uniformly abstained from it. The Bramins of India, according to Voltaire, "did not limit their duty to justice in regard to others: they were austere in regard to themselves; their principal duties were, silence, abstinence, contemplation, and a renunciation of all pleasures." The most ancient and authentic accounts of the Chinese, represent them to have always been a moral people: possessed of such a system of morality as that of Confucius, who recommends the practice of all the virtues, nothing less could be expected of them. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians held it to be their "duty to respect their fathers and mothers; and that perjury, calumny, and murder, were detestable crimes." In short, from the history of every ancient state, it appears, that the principles of morality were, more or less, practically realized amongst their inhabitants. In what light then can those writings be considered which represent the "*whole world,*" prior to the Christian era, as "lying in a state of *wickedness?*" It is by *detraction* that designing and unprincipled men, in all ages, have endeavoured to establish the reign of Superstition; it can admit of no rival. Necessary, therefore, it was to the success of the first propagators of the new doctrine, that they should attempt to depreciate the morality of the age, and declaim against vices, real or supposed, with an ardour corresponding to the object they had in view. It is not pretended that there were no vicious or unprincipled men in the world at this period; but when the very numerous and respectable testimonies which I have quoted, are candidly considered; it must, I think, be acknowledged, that the language made use of eighteen hundred years ago, to depict the then and previous aspect of the world, was not warranted by the real state of facts. It seems, indeed, impossible to do justice to these authorities, without entertaining a very exalted opinion of the moral precepts of the ancients, and being, at the same time, fully persuaded, that a very great majority of the inhabitants of the earth, were then conscientiously engaged in the practice of the social duties. The great length to which this letter has extended, compels me to delay the further consideration of this subject.——Yours, respectfully, OBSERVATOR.

8th Nov. 1813.

ANSWER TO THE CHURCHMAN.

SIR,—Having perused, with great attention, the letter of A. B., inserted in your Register of the 20th inst., and the observations made upon it by a Correspondent, styling himself *a Churchman,* and which form part of his letter, inserted in your Register of the 27th inst., allow me to offer a few short remarks on this latter document.——I am at a loss to conceive how you, Sir, who possess so strong a judgment, and to whom it belongs to determine what is worthy, or not, of being offered to your readers, could give insertion to a letter replete with misrepresentations, and betraying so much ignorance of the subject it pretends to discuss and defend.——In the first place, *the Churchman* charges A. B. with "the liberty he takes with whole civilized nations and celebrated philosophers." It is evident to me, that A. B. applies his remarks solely to France and her philosophers; and with how much justice we can all appreciate, when we recollect that the following inscription stood over the entrance of the Cemeteries:

"Death is an eternal sleep."

This was done by the followers of the antichristian philosophers, whom *the Churchman* would fain protect; and certainly, that nation could not properly be called, enlightened, or civilized, where an inscription of so horrible a nature was ordered and permitted to stand. I shall confine myself to this instance of misrepresentation: now for one or two of ignorance.——*The Churchman* (I am really sorry he should have assumed that name) says: "Now what does A. B. say? Why, he affirms, that people have been saved who never heard, nor ever could possibly hear, of the name of *Jesus.* He does not simply assert, that the Patriarchs and Jews, who lived under the law, were saved without faith in Christ; but he maintains, that there were many, who lived without the pale of the tabernacle, who escaped eternal reprobation. He even goes so far as to avow that the Magi, that is, the ancient magicians, who dealt with the Devil, obtained the kingdom of Heaven, &c. &c." In answer to this, it suffices to inform *the Churchman,* that Job was out of the pale of the tabernacle, and yet he is called, in Holy Writ, a holy man. The Magi were not necromancers, as *the Churchman* ignorantly believes; they were the kings of the east, who were led by the miraculous star to the spot where our blessed Saviour had just been born; and there, *instead of dealing with the Devil,* they prostrated themselves, and adored him whom they acknowledged

their God.——I have the happiness, Sir, to belong to the most numerous and ancient religion of Christians. That religion teaches me, *that* children who die without baptism, and who, of course, are not Christians, are not to be looked upon as condemned to eternal damnation. It also forbids me to pronounce upon the fate of those who never had the means of knowing Christ and the holy mystery of Redemption. Certainly, Sir, God, whose essence is justice and mercy, may, I hope (without *impiety*), be expected not to condemn to eternal punishment, those of his creatures who never knew Christ, because they never could know him; but fulfilled to the utmost of their power the duties of social life, and of the religion of nature. As I am not a divine, I hope, Sir, this opinion will be received with indulgence, even by the *Churchman*.——I avail myself of this opportunity, to return my sincere acknowledgments to A. B. for the edification I have derived from his honest and manly defence of our faith.——Allow me, Sir, also, without intending, however, to give you the least offence, to declare it to you, as my candid opinion, that your inserting the letter, signed by *A Churchman*, and dated from Oxford, is calculated, to say the least of it, to show how far, although the declared champion of the doctrines of the church, you can carry your impartiality. ——I am, with great esteem, Sir, your obedient humble servant, A. B. G.

Pentonville, 30*th Nov*. 1813.

W. Cobbett, Esq.

ANSWER TO CHURCHMAN.

SIR,—The *furor* (to use his own expression, in deference to classical locality, he being an Oxford man) with which your Correspondent, *a Churchman*, attacks, amongst others, your friend A. B. in a wild farrago of his in last Saturday's Register, disgraces that paper.——Did the nature of such correspondence admit of the thought, it would seem that the effervescence with which the Churchman was seized, and to which he ran so hastily to give vent, had been set in motion by some bitter personal animosity; and that the rhapsody which he so eagerly breathes forth, at the expense both of his head and his heart, was a vehicle expressly designed to convey the gall of his resentment to the blackest of enemies. —— For my own part, I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of your Correspondent A. B. He has, to speak figuratively, picked out a little assortment of pearls; and however (allowing this to be the case) irregularly he may have strung them, their value and purity are most conspicuous. ——This is clear, however concise, in his happy and appropriate scriptural allusions, as well as in the whole of his excellent epitome in miniature, if I may thus express it, upon the subject of the divine economy in revealed and natural religion; touching, as he does, briefly, but most truly and justly, upon redemption, justification, and salvation.——And most unhappily, indeed, must that heart be placed who *would* resist or gainsay any thing that A. B. has so energetically expressed in this little summary. ——But the Churchman, except he step forward and make A. B. and your paper, too, Sir, *an amende honorable*, must indeed "hide his diminished head."——Now, I must myself turn to A. B., and inform him, that the only blame I attach to him is, his having disqualified his highly to be respected effusion with doubts of fitness "to "meet the public eye," as the *Churchman* malignly expresses it. I likewise blame Mr. Cobbett, whose judgment is certainly of the first stamp, in allowing this diffident clause of his friend's letter to have been thus unnecessarily inserted.——I remain, Sir, your sincere servant, &c.

B. W.

Wm. Cobbett, Esq.

ECCE HOMO.

MR. COBBETT,—Far be it from me to triumph over a fallen enemy. But as that enemy, like some of our modern warriors, not only refuses to acknowledge he is *beaten*, but pretends, though *driven* from the field, that he has been victorious, it occurs to me that he ought not thus to be allowed to triumph with impunity. It was not Observator that called Mr. Fordham into action: it was himself that *volunteered* in the conflict. My object was Mr. Elton; but that gentleman having, after the perusal of my first letter, prudently declined the contest, I unexpectedly found the gauntlet taken up by the redoubtable Mr. Fordham, who seems to have been sufficiently persuaded, that it was only necessary for him to grasp the pen, and by *one* bold effort, lay the enemy prostrate at his feet. It no where appears to have entered the noddle of this valorous chieftain, that it was *possible* he might first become the vanquished foe. This ill-timed confidence in his own strength, at once accounts for his reluctance

to acknowledge himself defeated, and for the pitiful evasion by which he has attempted to justify his declining further discussion. In your last Register you very clearly exposed the *absurdity* of the reason which Mr. F. assigned for dropping the correspondence: this renders it unnecessary for me to enter on that topic. As to the *offence* which he has taken at some of my expressions, I really thought he had more penetration than to have allowed so favorable an opportunity to be lost, which this circumstance gave him, of *practically* demonstrating the *superiority* of the morality which he advocates, over that of the heathen. One of the fundamental maxims of Christianity teaches its votaries "not to "return railing for railing," but to "*bless* "those that *curse* them, and do good to "those that despitefully use them, and "persecute them." But much as Mr. Fordham admires the *theory* of the *evangelical* morality, the *practice* of it was not at all congenial with his feelings; for, instead of *blessing* me for what he considered my harsh language, he expresses a wish that you, Mr. Cobbett, may rail at, and censure me. In fact, this testy gentleman, like the generality of Christians, leaves the morality of which he so much boasts, to be practised by the *enemies* of his religion, while he assumes the right of "dealing damnation round the land," and of loading every one with abuse who presumes to question the correctness of his opinions. He thought it no violation of the precepts of his master, to denounce the author of Ecce Homo "a brute," and "a madman," and to hold him up as destitute of "justice and integrity;" neither did he hesitate to regard me as an "impudent quack," and to treat my propositions, which he could not refute, with scorn and ridicule. This may be *his way* of illustrating the *passive* and *forgiving* spirit of Christianity; but I must be pardoned for thinking, that no man, be his profession of religion what it may, ought to be answered "in sentences of *horrid* words," when he makes use of such language. To call it the effect of "holy frenzy," appeared to me the most charitable and unexceptionable way of treating such conduct.——Having thought it proper to advance thus much on the behaviour of Mr. Fordham, it remains for me to offer a few remarks on what he has said respecting Ecce Homo. In undertaking this, however, I do not wish it to be understood that it is my intention to justify the author of that work in *all* that he has written, or in the fearless and wanton manner with which he treats opinions that are now-a-days held *sacred* in consequence of their *antiquity*. Such, indeed, is his temerity; such his disregard for every thing esteemed *holy*,* that he discusses these topics with a freedom never before used in matters of religion, and in which I have no desire to imitate him.—His attack, in particular, upon the clergy, exceeds all bounds, and cannot be vindicated by any man that entertains the least respect for that body, or any regard for his own personal safety. It is only the passages referred to by Mr. Fordham, which, he says, afford complete proof of the *falsehood* of this writer's statements, that I mean to examine. The first of these is the one which respects the miracle at Cana, of turning water into wine, and upon which the author of Ecce Homo has the following remark:—"*perhaps* indeed this miracle was witnessed by the steward alone, with whom it is not impossible Jesus had secret intelligence."—In the account given of this affair in the New Testament, it is said, that the miracle was performed in presence of several servants, and, in noticing the transaction, our author has *strictly adhered* to that account. He appears indeed to have *supposed* that there might have been collusion in the business; but then he only brings forward this as a *surmise*; he no where asserts it as *a fact*; and that his meaning might not be mistaken, he uses the word "*perhaps*" in preference to any other. Obvious, however, as the author's intention must appear to every unprejudiced mind, Mr. Fordham was determined not to understand him; and, by a mode of construction peculiar to himself, and which, I conceived, justified me in considering him perverted in intellect, he has discovered a *positive* declaration in what, I am persuaded, no man in his senses will find more than a *mere conjecture*: yet it is upon this sort of evidence that Mr. F. founds his charge, against Ecce Homo, of falsehood—of being *full* of falsehoods—of the book being "perfectly infamous."——Whether the author of that work was justified in *conjecturing* matters in the way he has done, is a question which I shall not pretend to decide. Such as are inclined to enter upon the discussion of this point, will find the reasons which he assigns for his incredulity in the following extract; "The incredulous, less easily persuaded than the poor half-intoxicated villagers, do not observe in this transmutation of water into wine, a motive for being

convinced of the divine power of Jesus. They remark, that in the operation he employed water in order to make his wine; a circumstance which may give room to suspect that he made only a composition, of which he, like many others, might have the secret.—There was, in fact, no more power necessary to create wine, and fill the pitchers without putting water into them, than to make an actual transmutation of water into wine. At least, by acting in this manner, he would have removed the suspicion of having made only a mixture." p. 84. From the able manner in which you refuted Mr. Fordham's charge as to the "abominable propensity," said to have been imputed by Ecce Homo to Jesus Christ, I think it only necessary to say upon that point, that Mr. F.'s proposition contains in itself a complete refutation of the charge; for I defy him to produce one instance where "the unnatural *propensity*" and an "inordinate *affection* for the fair sex" ever *predominated* in the same individual. *He* will, no doubt, say, that he never intended to advance such an absurdity. Neither will I hold the author of Ecce Homo, any more than Mr. Fordham, to be so stupid as to confound the indulgence of two passions so very opposite.—— Mr. Fordham's remaining charge against Ecce Homo is couched in the following words: "He represents Jesus as a *libidinous* and *debauched character*, without producing a single fact, or even the shadow of a fact." By this statement it is evident, that Mr. F. wished it to be believed that the author of Ecce Homo represented Jesus to be a *perfect libertine*. For my part, however, I see no reason for holding such an opinion—It may be said of many a man, perhaps of Mr. Fordham himself, in the precise words of Ecce Homo, that he entertains a "weakness for the fair sex," or that "the ladies are his foible." But were I to go so far as to infer, from this circumstance, that he was a "libidinous and debauched character," I am certain he would be the first to complain of the unwarrantable liberty which I had taken: he might answer me, that as well may I consider him a *drunkard* because he sometimes indulges in a glass of wine, or as deserving hell-fire for an occasional slip of the tongue, because the scriptures denounce that punishment upon all swearers and upon all liars. The author of Ecce Homo appears to have formed his notions of Christ's moral character upon the *antiquated* and *exploded* maxim, that, "a man is known by the *company* he keeps." In the New Testament, Jesus is said to have associated with publicans and sinners; with toll-bar keepers and tax-gatherers, who were then the offscourings of society; and to have constantly had a number of women following him, several of whom had previously led very debauched lives. In Matthew's gospel we are informed that Jesus "took our *infirmities*, and bore our griefs." A similar expression is used in the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is added, that he "was in *all points* tempted like unto us."——I wonder much Mr. Fordham did not endeavour to refute (which he could easily have attempted) the inference drawn from these passages unfavourable to Christ, by referring to the ancient moralists, against whom it is never objected that they kept improper company, though it must be evident, that they had the same propensities as other men. But perhaps Mr. F. thought that this mode of refutation might prove fatal to the opinions held by the Unitarians, of which he is a staunch supporter. They deny the *divine* nature of Jesus; they assert that he was a *mere man;* and that he came into the world through the same *carnal* means by which other children are propagated. It may suit the views of people who hold such opinions, and who at the same time wish to be considered Christians, to *profess great regard* for the *purity* of Christ's character; but they must not *reason* upon this, because they are perfectly aware that, by stripping him of those attributes by which alone he could resist the powerful temptations of the flesh, they expose him to all the attacks which Ecce Homo, and other unchristian writers are in the constant practice of making against Christ. It is indeed ridiculous to hear the Unitarians talking, and that loudly too, about the "dishonesty" of the writer of Ecce Homo. Among all his faults, and they are not a few, he cannot be charged with dealing in *half measures*; while his opponents, who pretend to be the *only true* believers, and are unceasingly clamouring about the want of toleration, have not only sapped the very foundations of Christianity, but would be the most intolerant of all sectarians, if they possessed the same powers which the legislature has thought proper to confer on the established church.

Your's, respectfully,

OBSERVATOR.

10 Nov. 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN WAR.

(Continued from page 704.)

tidings of our squadron under Sir James Yeo, since its sailing from hence on the 31st ultimo.——I have the honour to be, &c. George Prevost.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Head-Quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, August 8, 1813.

My Lord,—Referring to my dispatch of the 1st instant, wherein I had the honour of acquainting your Lordship that I had thought it expedient to relieve Upper Canada from the pressure of the war, and to call the enemy's attention to the defence of their own settlements on Lake Champlain, by employing such naval officers and seamen, as circumstances would permit me to obtain from Quebec, to man our gun-boats, and the captured American vessels, for the purpose of co-operating with a small but chosen body of troops, in various demonstrations on that sheet of water.——I have now the satisfaction of transmitting herewith to your Lordship, for the information of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the copy of a letter I have just received from Major-General Sir R. H. Sheaffe, commanding in the Montreal district, conveying the official report of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, detailing the operations of the combined movements which took place on the 29th July; and I also annex the copy of another, which I have received from Captain Everard, of the Royal Navy, to whose prompt, zealous, and able assistance, I feel highly indebted.——The objects of this service have been fully accomplished, by the total destruction of all the enemy's arsenals, block-houses, barracks, and stores of every description at Plattsburgh, Swanton, and Champlain Town, and the extensive barracks at Saranac, capable of containing four thousand men, have been burnt; all naval, ordnance, and other stores, on the west side of the Lake, have been destroyed or carried away.——This important service has been performed with a degree of promptness and regularity highly honourable to the officers directing the expedition, and without sustaining any loss.——I have, &c.

(Signed) George Prevost.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Montreal, August 5, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Excellency, the reports of the Naval and Military Commanders of the force employed on the expedition to Lake Champlain, undertaken in obedience to your directions.——Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, with the troops, and two of the gun-boats, returned on the 3d instant to Isle aux Noix, and the vessels arrived there yesterday. The service on which they were sent, has been effected in a manner which reflects great credit on the Commanders, and on those who acted under them.

(Signed) R. H. Sheaffe, Maj.-Gen. &c.

His Excellency Sir George Prevost, Bart. &c. &c. &c.

Isle aux Noix, August 3, 1813.

Sir,—The land forces of the expedition that left the province on the 29th July, on an enterprise on Lake Champlain, returned this day, after having fully accomplished the objects proposed, and having carried every order into execution.——The enemy's arsenal, block-house, commissary's buildings, and stores at the position of Plattsburg, together with the extensive barracks of Saranac, capable of containing four thousand troops, were destroyed; some stores were brought off, particularly a quantity of naval stores, shot, and equipments for a large number of batteaux. The barracks and stores at the position of Swanton, on Missiquoi Bay, together with several batteaux at the landing-place, were destroyed.——A detachment has been sent to destroy the public buildings, barracks, block-houses, &c. at Champlain Town. Every assistance was rendered by the co-operation of Captains Everard and Pring, Royal Navy, commanding his Majesty's sloops of war Broke and Shannon.——I experienced very great benefit from the military knowledge of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, 13th regiment (second in command). I have to report, in the highest terms of approbation, the discipline, regularity, and cheerful conduct of the whole of the troops; and feel fully confident, that had an opportunity offered, their courage would have been equally conspicuous.——General Hampton has concentrated the whole of the regular forces in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, at Burlington, from the best information, said to be about four thousand five hundred regular troops, and a large body of militia.——The militia force assembled for the defence of Plattsburgh, disbanded on the appearance of the armament. The naval part of the expedition is still cruizing on the Lake. For any

further information, I beg leave to refer you to your Aid-de-Camp, Captain Loring, the bearer of this dispatch.——I have, &c.

(Signed) J. MURRAY, Lieut.-Col.

To Major-General Sir R. H. Sheaffe, Bart. &c. &c. &c.

Isle aux Noix, August 4, 1813.

Sir,—Referring to my letter of yesterday, I have now the honour to enclose the report of Captain Eliott, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, stating his having completed the service he was detached upon. I take this opportunity of expressing the very great benefit I derived from the judicious and zealous conduct of Captain Eliott, in the execution of the arduous duties of Deputy Assistant-Quarter-Master-General to the expedition.——I have, &c.

(Signed) J. MURRAY, Lieut.-Col.

Major-General Sir R. Sheaffe, Bart. &c. &c. &c.

Isle aux Noix, Aug. 4, 1813.

Sir,—Agreeable to your orders communicated to me yesterday, I landed with a detachment of the 100th regiment under my command, and proceeded to Champlain Town, where we burnt two block-houses, and destroyed the commissary's stores. This service was performed without opposition, there being none of the enemy's troops at that post, and the inhabitants remaining perfectly quiet.——I have, &c.

(Signed) G. A. ELIOT, Captain, and D. A. Q. Mr.-Gen.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, commanding.

His Majesty's Ship Broke, Lake Champlain, August 3, 1813.

Sir,—Major-General Glasgow has apprised your Excellency of my repairing with a party of officers and seamen to man the sloops and gun-boats at Isle aux Noix, in consequence of your letter of the 4th ultimo, addressed to the Senior Officer of his Majesty's ships at Quebec, stating it to be of great importance to the public service that an attempt should be made to alarm the enemy on the Montreal frontier, &c. and agreeable to your wish that I should communicate any thing interesting that might occur, I have the honour to acquaint you, that the object for which the corps under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray had been detached, having been fully accomplished by the destruction of the enemy's block-house, arsenal, barracks, and public store-houses at Plattsburgh, and the troops having been embarked on the 1st instant to return, there being neither public buildings nor store-houses remaining on the west side of the Lake beyond Plattsburgh, I stood over to Burlington, with the Shannon and one gun-boat, to observe the state of the enemy's force there, and to afford him an opportunity of deciding the naval superiority on the Lake. We were close in on the forenoon of the 2d, and found two sloops of about one hundred tons burden, one armed with eleven guns, the other thirteen, ready for sea, a third sloop (somewhat larger), fitting out with guns on board, and two-gun schooners laying under the protection of ten guns mounted on a bank of one hundred feet high, without a breastwork, two scows mounting one gun each, as floating batteries, and several field-pieces on the shore. Having captured and destroyed four vessels, without any attempt on the part of the enemy's armed vessels to prevent it, and seeing no prospect of inducing him to quit his position, where it was impossible for us to attack him, I am now returning to execute my original orders.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOS. EVERARD, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Wasp.

Lieutenant-General Sir Geo. Prevost, Bart. &c. &c. &c.

Foreign Office, Oct. 15, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia.

Prague, Sept. 17, 1813.

My Lord,—Although nothing very material has occurred in this quarter since my last dispatches, I take advantage of an opportunity that offers to state to your Lordship a few particulars that may be interesting.——On the 13th, Gen. Count Bubna, who now commands the Austrian corps lately under General Neipperg, which has been much reinforced, entered Neustadt and Neukirchen, and came into close communication with General Blucher, who had his head-quarters at Hermshutt, with his advanced posts beyond Bautzen, the enemy having retired to Bishoffswerder.——On the 14th, in the morning, the advanced posts of the grand army advanced again to the frontiers by the road to Peterswalde. The rear-guard of the enemy, consisting of

two battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and some guns, were forced from Nullendorf by Count Pahlen, commanding Count Wittgenstein's advance. The artillery of the Allies, and more force, were in readiness to follow as soon as the roads could be made practicable. The Prussians, under General Kleist and Prince Augustus, moved to Ebersdorf and Tolsdorff.——Buonaparté assisted personally at the grand reconnoissance that was made on the 10th: he had his head-quarters at Leibstadt on the 11th, and moved forward on the left of the Allies to Barenstein, near Altenburg, on the 12th. The plan of the enemy seems to have been to have attacked the Allies, if he could do so with an evident advantage, if not, to impede their advance, and by menaces gain time either to extricate himself from the dangerous predicament in which he stands, or to manœuvre the Allies out of their position.——On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy continued to retire, and Prince Schwartzenberg ordered a general reconnoissance on all sides to be made; Count Wittgenstein's and Count Pahlen's corps fell in with the enemy near Peterswalde. Four squadrons of Russian cavalry very gallantly charged a French column, and cut down several hundred men. To give your Lordship some idea of these attacks, from a French return which has been found of the loss of the 7th regiment of infantry, when the Russian cavalry in Count Osterman's action charged, they had eight hundred and twenty wounded, and seven hundred and thirty killed; the residue of fugitives remaining were six hundred.——The enemy's corps in advance, opposed to Count Pahlen, consisted of twelve thousand men, under General Bonnet; they made a good stand near Gotliebe. Six Russian light guns did great execution, and forced this column to leave their ground. The main position of the enemy was not attacked. ——An Austrian corps of seventeen thousand men, under Count Colloredo, equally reconnoitred the enemy on the side of Barenstein and Breitenau.——The head-quarters of the enemy, according to report, were now removed to Dippoldswalde.——Gen. Thielman's partisan corps, which I have already mentioned to your Lordship, has had considerable successes. He took possession of the town of Weissenfels, which was occupied by infantry and artillery, and made a General, forty officers, and near one thousand three hundred men prisoners. ——The Austrian Colonel Mensdorf, another partisan, took a French courier, between Leipzick and Dresden, charged with dispatches and letters from the French army for Paris, at least five thousand in number. These letters give the most doleful details of the French army, and of their defeats. The whole are to be printed, and are in the most desponding style.——Of the whole corps engaged under Marshal Ney, only sixteen thousand men have escaped, ten thousand have arrived at Dresden, under Oudinot, the rest at Wittenberg and Torgau.——It is also stated, that the new guards, and particularly the artillery, suffered dreadfully in the battle by Dresden; Generals Vachot and Seibier were killed; and Generals Dumoutier, Dental, Gros, Boieldieu, Maison, Veen, and Aubert, severely wounded.——Reinforcements, amounting to sixteen thousand men, have reached Erfurt; but they are of a bad quality of troops.——On the 15th, in the evening, the enemy brought up more troops against Count Pahlen, and as it was not the intention of the Allies to engage in a general affair in the mountains and defiles of Saxony, the advanced corps moved back to Nollendorf. The French had two corps d'armée supporting their advanced corps of twelve thousand men.——General Blucher's last accounts were from Bautzen, and his advanced posts at Weiskelurch, within a German mile of Dresden, and he is in close communication with the Prince Royal's army.——General Kleinau's corps is at Marienberg. A considerable corps of the enemy is at Freyberg, and a corps of their cavalry between that and Nossen.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. Stewart, Lieut.-Gen.

Prague, Sept. 19, 1813.

My Lord,—It appears that the enemy on the 16th occupied the mountain and heights in front of Nollendorff, in considerable force. They made, in the evening, an attempt to turn the right of the Allies before Culm, while they also assailed the centre and left.——Buonaparté seems to have assisted in person at this affair.——Fifteen thousand men were detached to turn the right, eight thousand advanced in front and on the left: about thirty thousand men and eight thousand cavalry in reserve formed the attack on the part of the enemy.——On the 17th, the corps moving on our right, being concealed by an intense fog, and, advancing through thick woods, had succeeded in gaining our flank before its movement was perceived. While the enemy forced the Russians and Prussians from the village

of Nollendorf by very superior force, but were kept in check on the left, General Jerome Colloredo, with a corps of Austrians, fell on the enemy's advanced column, which had gained our right, and with an intrepidity, steadiness, and order that has gained universal admiration, completely defeated it, took between two and three thousand prisoners, among whom is the General of Division Kreitzer, and many officers, and ten guns: our loss may have been about one thousand killed and wounded.——At the time the enemy made their attack on the centre, the Prussians were about to be relieved by the Russians, which occasioned some momentary disorder. A very fine young man, a son of General Blucher, who was distinguishing himself very gallantly in re-establishing order, was killed.——The enemy, repulsed at all points, retired into their position again on the mountains, occupying, however, Nollendorf. The Allies took up their old ground, and extend across the plain in a semicircular position.——The continued affairs and skirmishes during the last fortnight have cost many men on both sides; but there can be no doubt of the enemy having suffered in at least a double proportion.——It is stated as a positive fact, that Buonaparté had his horse shot under him while reconnoitring on the hill.——I enclose a detailed report received from Colonel Cooke, of the affair of the 16th and 17th.——I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Chas. Stewart, Lt.-Gen.

Then follow a report from Colonel Cooke, detailing the same circumstances as mentioned in Sir Charles Stewart's dispatches, and two Austrian military reports to a similar effect, dated Toplitz, Sept. 15th and 17th.

French Documents.

(Continued from page 703.)

Documents relative to the proceedings of the Cabinet of Vienna in the exercise of the Mediation, and at the Congress at Prague.

France, allied to Austria, made it a point of duty to communicate to her, with the most entire confidence, the details of her military dispositions, and of the immense means she had collected for the defence of the common cause. But the Cabinet of Vienna, which had adopted the passions of the enemies of France, partook also of their delusions, and nothing could equal its surprise, when it was informed that victory had crowned our arms at Lutzen—it sent Count de Bubna to Dresden. The stay of the Austrian Ambassador, which, for the moment, kept the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, prevented him being with his Majesty. He confided to the Duke of Vicence the care of hearing Count Bubna, and discovering the reasons which had determined his mission. The protestations which the Cabinet of Vienna had so long used, and which Count de Bubna renewed, respecting the pacific intentions of Austria and its attachment to the alliance, ill concealed the ambition of that Cabinet.——It was evident that the armaments with which it supported its own pretensions, and independent of those of the enemy's, had for their object to obtain possession of the Illyrian provinces and part of the Duchy of Warsaw, the establishment of a new frontier upon the Inn, and arrangements destructive to the confederation of the Rhine. ——The Emperor proposed by Count Bubna, the assembling of a general Congress. He demanded that a negociator should be furnished with powers to conclude a convention, which would regulate the acceptance of the mediation.——Count de Bubna left Dresden, and proceeded to give an account of his mission.——The Emperor marched against the Russian and Prussian armies, which had halted in their retreat, and taken a position at Bautzen. However great his confidence of victory, he resolved to endeavour to prevent a battle; he gave the Duke of Vicence powers to propose and conclude an armistice. But the enemies chose to try the chances of another battle; they were conquered at Wurtzchen.——They then made the demand of an Armistice, through an Austrian agent who resided at the head-quarters of the Combined Armies. This letter, on the 28th May, found the Emperor in Silesia. In the powers given by the General in Chief Barclay de Tolly, to the Russian and Prussian Commissioners, to treat for an Armistice, he openly announced *that the Armistice should have for*

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 24.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 11, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONQUERING FRANCE.——From one step we proceed to another. For many years past we have been told, that the war was carried on for our *independence*; and that, if we did not go on with it, we should become the real slaves of Buonaparté.——*Self-preservation* was *then* the cause, in which the nation was called upon to shed its blood and expend its money.——Our views extended as Napoleon retreated.——He was to be driven into the *ancient boundaries of France*.——But *now*, he is to be *beheaded*, according to the TIMES news-paper; and, according to the COURIER news-paper, the *people of France* are to be *punished*, unless they abandon him, and obey, at once, a Bourbon in his stead.——Thus, in the space of four months, the war, from a war of *self-defence*, a war for *our own existence*, is become a war for IMPOSING A GOVERNMENT UPON THE FRENCH PEOPLE. In short, we have returned to the notions and the scenes of 1792 and 1793. The Allies are crossing the Rhine, and, as we are told by these writers, proclamations are to be issued, similar to that of the Duke of Brunswick, in which the people of France were threatened with dreadful *punishments*, unless they submitted to the dictates of the Allies with regard to the arrangement of their government.——The articles to which I allude here, I will insert; not only because I wish to place them upon record, but because the reader should be convinced, that I do not *misrepresent* the writers, and because it will be useful for the public to see clearly what the views of these writers and of their abettors really are.——The following article is from the TIMES of the 4th instant:——"When, or under what "circumstances, the great Commander may "think fit to carry his forces against the "large military or commercial depôts of "the south of France, we do not pretend "to form conjectures. We are confident, "that as nothing will disturb the calm and "meditative prudence of his plans, so nothing will arrest the rapidity of their execution. We trust alike in his caution "and in his resolution: but, perhaps, "there may be in store for him a higher "destination than the capture of a town or "the reduction of a province. What if the "army opposed to him should resolve to "avenge the cause of humanity, and to "exchange the bloody and brutal tyranny "of a Bonaparté for *the mild paternal sway of a Bourbon?* Could a popular French "General open to himself a more glorious "career at the present moment, than that "which *Providence* seemed to have destined to the virtuous Moreau? Or, is it "possible that any power now existing in "France could stop such a General and "such an army, supported by the unconquered Wellington and his formidable "legions, if they were to resolve boldly to "march to Paris, and *bring the Usurper to the block?* Every disposable soldier "in France is on the Adour, or on the "Rhine. In the case we are supposing, "there would be no enemy to encounter, "unless the northern frontier were at once "denuded of troops, and the road to Paris "on that side laid open to the Allies. This "is no question of the attachment of the "French nation to one dynasty or to another: it is a question of military enterprise, in the minds of military adventurers. The simple possibility, not to say "the high moral probability, that in a moment of general defection, an army which "has so much in its hands may run with "the stream of popular feeling throughout "Europe, is enough to make the Tyrant "tremble on his throne. Lord Wellington is doubtless prepared to take advantage of so desirable an occurrence, in case "it should happen without his previous interference: but we wish him *to interfere;* we wish that he were authorized "plainly and openly to offer his mighty "co-operation to any body of men who "would shake off the Tyrant's yoke in "France, as has been done in Italy, in "Germany, and in Holland!"——Let it be observed, that it is here expressly recommended to make war for the purpose of putting Napoleon to *death*.——He has

been acknowledged as lawful ruler of France by *all the* Powers at war with him. He has had almost every one of the hostile Sovereigns absolutely in his power. He has spared not only their lives but their thrones; and now an English journalist recommends to those same Sovereigns to make war upon him for the express purpose of *putting him to death*.——Nothing can be clearer, than that he owes his present dangers wholly to his having *spared* those, who are now his most formidable enemies. If he had extinguished the Austrian power, he would never have been in danger. The sottish desire to royalize his family, and the hope of being able to rule the people of France as the old families ruled: these have led to his present state of peril, and, if the people of France turn against him, will, in all probability, cost him his life; but, at any rate, that life ought not to be sought by those whom he has spared.——More of this another time Let us now hear the COURIER: *that* vile trumpet of everlasting war.——"We expect that the "next dispatches from the Allies will announce their having crossed the Rhine. "Lord Cathcart, we understand, in his "last dispatches, stated that it was the intention of the Prince of Schwartzenberg "to pass the Rhine in a fortnight from that "date. We are glad to hear this—for not "a moment should be lost—no time given "to Buonaparté to reassemble a large army, "and recruit his means. By passing the "Rhine and entering the Netherlands at "once, they will immediately deprive him "of the resources in men and necessaries "which he might derive from that country, "disable him from carrying on the conscription in that quarter, and thus Holland and the Netherlands being cut off, "he must be reduced to depend upon old "France alone, which having thus an increased pressure upon her, must feel "more and more disaffected to his Government and person. Lord Wellington, we "should suppose, will advance from the "South, whilst the Allies march into "France from the East. The aggregate "force of all the armies against Buonaparté, including the reserves, is estimated "at eight hundred thousand men.——The "passage of the Rhine by the Prince of "Schwartzenberg will be accompanied by "a Proclamation in the name of all the "Sovereigns allied against Buonaparté, "stating their objects and views. This "important document we have not yet "seen; but we should be glad to find it "bottomed upon this principle, that the "Allies, convinced by experience that no "secure peace could be made with Buonaparté, who had uniformly shewn himself "an enemy to the repose and independence "of the world, and whom no treaties and "no principles of justice and good faith "could bind, would *not make peace with* "*him* as the ruler of France; that it remained for France to determine whether "she preferred incurring all the *miseries* "*in which adherence to him must involve* "*her*, or restoring herself at once to real "peace, security, and *independence*, by "throwing off his tyranny, and reinstating "her ancient family? *Buonaparté and* "*war! The Bourbons and peace!* This "should be their device, and a Bourbon "should accompany the Allied Armies."——Whether this, and such like writings be intended *to feel the public pulse* I do not know; but, I really do fear, that the notions here promulgated are not very rare.——The project is here openly avowed: the project of *compelling France to adopt that sort of government which we approve of*, and which, of course, is most likely, in the opinion of these writers, to keep France in a low and feeble state.——At any rate, here is the project openly avowed of punishing the French nation, if they refuse to obey the orders of us and of those who are subsidized by us. Here are we, the inhabitants of these islands, at the end of twenty years of war and taxation, to defend ourselves against France, setting ourselves up, in the language of this writer, as the dictators of a government to this same nation! As the dictators of a government to a country like France!——Let this be borne in mind.——To hear our newspaper people talk, who would not imagine, that France was a country of the size of the Isle of Wight, and that her inhabitants were like those of Java or India? It is most presumptuous, most impudent language; and, who will make a bet, that it is language of which we shall not most sorely repent.——If any thing can exceed its impudence, it is *its folly*. Do these foolish and malignant men imagine, that the French people will like Buonaparté less at *their* recommendation, or at the recommendation of the *Allies?* If the French people are really attached to him, can it be supposed that a proclamation, threatening them with punishment, unless they turn against them, is the way to make them turn against him?——There is, as far as I can see, no sign of disaffection towards him

in France. Disaffection may exist; but there is, as yet, no visible sign of it.—— An English army has been in France for some time: but it is not pretended, that the people of that country has hailed its arrival with joy. On the contrary, we see that it does not advance into France. Yet, if the people really sighed for a return of their old government, here is a most fair opportunity for them to show their disposition. ——This project of dictating a government to France is, perhaps, the very thing that Napoleon wishes. Let the Bourbons once march with the Allies, and then all France is up in arms for or against Napoleon.—— The question will be brought to issue without delay.——It is much easier to *talk* about crossing the Rhine than to cross it; and, suppose it crossed, how far will the Allies be able to go, if the people of France are cordial on the side of their ruler?—— All depends upon the disposition of the people of France!——But, who will give us security, *that the Emperor of Austria will not make peace with Napoleon?* The latter has ample means in his hands of gratifying his father-in-law.——If Francis be reinstated in all his old titles, *Emperor of Germany*, &c. &c.: if all the little Sovereigns, who have been enriched at his expense, be stripped of their new territories; if the House of Austria gain largely on the side of Italy, and be made master of the House of Brandenburgh: if this take place, what is to prevent Napoleon and Francis from again becoming allies? And, if they do become allies, what shall *we* have gained by the retreat of Napoleon?——Of one thing we may be quite sure: that is, that each power will do that which it shall deem most conducive to its own particular interest; and, it is very clear, that the interests of the several allied Powers are directly opposed to each other. —— There seems already to be a strange *lagging* in the war. The several armies seem to have come to a stand. There is no reason why Russia should wish to see Austria aggrandized, while the former gains nothing at all, to say nothing of the part which Austria took in the war, during which *Moscow* was burnt.——The allied Cabinets are now, I dare say, considering how they shall (each for itself) profit from what has taken place. The COURIER and the TIMES seem to think, that all these Cabinets partake in the desire of some English to see the French nation *punished*. These Cabinets are not so execrably foolish. The Prussian Cabinet, for instance, is considering, not how it shall go to work to gratify the hatred of England, but how it shall go to work to fortify itself *against Austria!* ——If the French people remain attached to Napoleon, nothing that the coalition can do will hurt him; and, I think, there are ten chances to one, that the coalition will be divided in less than three months.——Does the reader suppose, that our power by sea is no object of jealousy with any of the Allies? Does he imagine, that they would be content to leave us with all that power in our hands, and without a rival too? There may be men who think this. Our national pride and presumption make us look upon ourselves as swallowing up, of right, all the cares and consideration of the World. But, whoever thinks thus, will find himself egregiously deceived.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN HOLLAND. ——There appears to be an entire new government upon the anvil for the use of the Dutch.——The Proclamation, issued at Amsterdam, announces this event, and a very curious document it is.——"The "General Commissaries of the national "Government, residing at Amsterdam, to "the inhabitants of the said city:—— "Countrymen!—The moment is at length "arrived which puts an end to all your insecurity. The storms of change are past; "and the work *commenced two centuries* "*ago*, by our great forefathers, under "great disorders, is at length concluded "by us under still greater difficulties. No "*foreign* Prince, unacquainted with your "constitution and manners, shall hereafter direct your dearest privileges at his "pleasure; no longer shall the fruit of "your industry be the prey of *foreigners*; "no longer shall your children be dragged "away to *foreign* parts, to fight for "*strangers*, and in a cause *foreign to your* "*own happiness*: no longer shall the *incertitude* concerning the supreme Government weaken your force, and unsinew "your strength. It is not William the "Sixth whom the people of the Netherlands have recalled, without knowing "what they might have or hope to expect "from him. It is William the *First*, "who, as *Sovereign Prince by the wish of* "*the Netherlanders*, appears as *Sovereign* "among that people, which once before "has been delivered by another William "the First from the slavery of a disgraceful foreign despotism. Your civil liberty shall be secured by laws, *by a constitution* grounding your freedom, and be "*better founded than ever*. But the ex-

"ternal occurrences, the changes among "nations, whose political Government "have partly been the occasion, the cause "of the wonderful events, at which Eu-"rope for a while was astonished, shall "likewise be kept in balance *by a similar* "*arrangement*: it requires but *a few more* "*sacrifices*, and the name of Holland shall "again be honoured as heretofore, and the "flag of the Netherlands again be seen "flying on all seas. The *great birth is* "*effected*; the Netherlands are free; and "*William the First is Sovereign Prince of* "*the free Netherlands.*——Given at Am-"sterdam, the 1st of December, 1813.

(Signed) "I. M. KEMPER,
"FANNIUS SCHOLTEN."

——What is meant here one cannot very well see; but, that the Dutch are no longer to have an *assembly of the States*, with a controling power over the House of Orange, is pretty clear.——But, what puts Messrs. KEMPER and SCHOLTEN in such a rage against *foreigners* as rulers? WE have found it best *to have foreigners* for Sovereigns. We had even a *Dutch* king, and we call the choice *glorious* to this day. We say that it was a "*glorious revolution*" that put us under the sway of a Dutchman. ——GEORGE I. was a foreigner; so was GEORGE II. then *born* out of the kingdom. And, as to the present King, he is wholly of foreign parents by marriage at least; and the Queen being a foreigner, the Regent and his brothers have, of course, none but foreign blood in their veins. But, that, so far from being an objection with us, is a circumstance that renders them more agreeable to us. We *boast*; ay, it is our *boast*, that we are the *subjects* of the House of Brunswick, which House, we assert, has brought upon our heads innumerable blessings.——Why, then, so spiteful against *foreign sovereigns*, Messrs. KEMPER and SCHOLTEN? Have a care what you say upon this point; for, we English are very jealous here. You touch us here in a most tender part.——I do not pretend to understand what these gentlemen mean, when they talk about the fruit of the people's labour being *a prey to foreigners*; about their children being dragged away to *foreign* parts to *fight for strangers*, and in a cause *foreign to their own happiness*. I hope they do not cast insinuations; and that, by foreigners, they always mean *Frenchmen*. Yet, that will not do very well; for the people of Sweden have got even a *Frenchman* at their head; and, as we are told, this very Frenchman is now entering Holland to complete its deliverance.——Under these circumstances, Messrs. Kemper and Scholten might have been a little more measured in their hatred of *foreign sovereigns*.——But, to say the truth, they appear, in the delirium of their joy to have forgotten themselves more than once. They talk about *the flag of the Netherlands being again seen flying on all seas*! Indeed! Softly, gentlemen! Softly! Do not begin to talk about *flags* so soon. Think first about your herrings and cheese. *We* intend to watch the seas sufficiently for some time to come. None of your *flags*, if you please, just yet.——The COURIER has a commentary upon this proclamation, which is worth perusing. The wiseacre, who conducts that paper, does not seem very well pleased with the proclamation. He does not actually find fault with the prediction about the *flag*; but, you may very plainly see, that he does not like the thing altogether. He professes *not to be able to comprehend what it means*, which is no very weak manner of expressing his dislike of it.——The article is curious. "Late last night," says he, "arrived a mail from Holland, with "accounts to the 5th inst. His Serene "Highness the Prince of Orange made his "solemn entry into Amsterdam on the 1st, "amidst the loudest and most joyful ac-"clamations. His arrival was preceded "by an Address from the Provisional Go-"vernment at Amsterdam to the people, "proclaiming his Serene Highness *Sove-*"*reign Prince of the free Netherlands.* "Hence we infer that the title of Stadt-"holder is to be abolished; and, proba-"bly, the Assembly of the States General. "—'Your civil liberty,' says the Pro-"clamation, 'shall be secured by laws, "by a constitution grounding your free-"dom, and be better founded than ever.' "*In the old Government the bulk of the* "*people had no share in any part of the* "*Government, not even in the choice of* "*the Deputies to the States General.* We "are ignorant of the reasons that have in-"fluenced the Provisional Government in "giving to his Serene Highness the new "title of Sovereign Prince of the free Ne-"therlands. Is it meant that all the Ne-"therlands, *Austrian as well as Dutch*, "*should be annexed to the United Pro-*"*vinces?* Would such an arrangement be "*agreeable to Austria?* Does she think it "would be *a wise policy* to give such an ac-"cession of territory to Holland, as should "make her a strong military power? These

"questions we are yet unable to answer. "The territories which Holland possessed "in the Netherlands were not larger than "the single province of Holland; and the "population did not amount to half the "population of that province."——It would be curious indeed to see the Dutch, from being subjects of France, from being a conquered people, become all at once *conquerors* of part of the *Austrian* dominions! This would afford admirable matter for observation. Perhaps there would need nothing more than an attempt of this sort to undo all that has been done in Holland. But, surely, no such attempt will be made!——But, reader, is it not laughable to hear the COURIER preparing an apology for destroying the States General by telling us, that, "in the old govern-"ment, THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE "had no share in any part of the govern-"ment, not EVEN in the CHOICE OF "THE DEPUTIES TO THE STATES "GENERAL?" So, according to him, then, *the bulk of the people ought to have a share in the elections, at least!* Take care, wiseacre, what you are about, when you justify the destruction of the old Dutch government upon this ground.——At any rate, some good will come out of the discussions to which these changes will give rise. We are in *a new state of things* again. Napoleon's overwhelming power had awed the world into silence. Men now speak again, and talking will do some good.——The Dutch are a trade-loving people, and will not be content to see us monopolize all the trade of the world. They have *no Debt*, and will be able to start against us with great advantages. I should not be at all surprised if they had already devised a plan of a commercial treaty with Napoleon and America.——But, they must not grasp at the dominions of the House of Austria; for, if they do, though backed by Russia and England, Napoleon comes out again, as sure as they are in existence.——I should not wonder, however, if the old dispute between the Dutch and the House of Austria were immediately to be revived. That dispute was a very bitter one. The Dutch have not forgotten the treatment they received.——What is the use of *our army* in Holland? If Holland is freed; if the Dutch are all of a mind; if they are all for the House of Orange, why send an English army thither? There is a Russian army in the country already; a Swedish army is following; and for *what?*——Do we not gather from all this, that the power of France is still greater than our newspapers would have us believe it to be? Holland is nothing in point of territory. A small army, if good for any thing, is sufficient to defend it. What need can there be, then, of all these armies being marched into Holland? One thing is pretty clear: that the Dutch will have to keep them all. The herrings and cheeses will fly. Happy Dutch! To be *delivered* in so short a time, and by so many kind friends!——One thing, with regard to Holland, seems decided; and that is, that she is no longer to bear the hated name of *Republic*. The House of Orange are to *reign* as *Sovereigns*, and not as mere *Holders of the States*. This is a specimen of what we may reasonably expect elsewhere, if an occasion offers for changing the government.——And yet, we will not suffer the people of France to change *their* government!——The truth is, that there is no *reason* prevails, in this country, upon this subject.——The people here have been worked up to such a pitch of hatred against the French, that nothing short of their extermination will satisfy some people: and, therefore, it is quite impossible to satisfy them.——Some of the Allies will propose terms of peace; but those terms, be they what they may, will not satisfy the rabble of politicians in this country. We shall hear our writers accusing those pacific powers with treachery; and we shall be urged on to a new war, or to a continuation of this, without any definite object.——Nay, what object have we now? Why not even *now* propose terms of peace? Not a word of peace escapes our lips. We are now for punishing France, for killing Buonaparté. There is something perfectly monstrous in this language; and, really, upon a survey of the whole scene, peace seems as distant as at any former period.——This would be a mere trifle were our *debts* out of the question. But, when every year of war adds, perhaps, *two millions to the taxes which we must pay for ever:* and which cannot be diminished by any means other than a national bankruptcy, we, surely, ought to think, whether it be not possible to put an end to this war. ——What! the outrageous enemy of France will say, do you wish to save Buonaparté? No: good madman, I only wish to save your purses. I only wish to see you have a little part of your earnings left to yourself. ——However, if you like it, let me not intrude. Pay away; and find all the consolation you can in the reflection that the people of France have not become free.

TO MR. ALDERMAN WOOD,

On the subject of teaching the Children of the Poor to read.

LETTER I.

Sir,

I see, from accounts published in the news-papers, that you are taking great pains to establish a school upon the Lancasterian plan, the main object of which appears to be to teach poor children to *read*, and particularly to *read the Bible*. I have, for some months, had an intention to address you upon this subject, and to state to you my reasons for believing, that an act, arising solely from your benevolent disposition, is not, with sufficient clearness, founded in reason, and that it is not likely to produce the good which you certainly have in view.

The subject naturally divides itself into two parts; or, rather, presents two questions for discussion: 1st. Whether, under the present circumstances, in this country, the teaching of poor children *to read generally* be likely to do good; and, 2nd, whether it be likely to do good to teach them *to read the Bible*.

Whatever men may think about reading the Bible; however their opinions may differ as to the utility of reading this particular Book, the number is very small, indeed, who think that the teaching of poor children to *read generally* is not a good past all dispute. To that very small number, however, I belong; and my opinion decidedly is, that, under the present circumstances of this country, the teaching of poor children to read generally is calculated to produce *evil* rather than *good;* for which opinion I will now proceed to offer you my reasons, and not without some hope of being able to convince you, that your money, laid out in pots of beer to the parents, would be full as likely to benefit the community.

The *utility* of reading consists in the imparting knowledge to those who read; knowledge dispels ignorance. Reading, therefore, naturally tends to enlighten mankind. As mankind become enlightened, they become less exposed to the arts of those who would enslave them. Whence reading naturally tends to promote and ensure the liberties of mankind. "How, then," you will ask, "can you object to the teaching of the children of the ignorant to read?" But, Sir, when we thus describe the effects of reading, we must always be understood as meaning, the reading of works which convey *truth* to the mind; for, I am sure, that you will not deny, that it is possible for a person to become by reading more ignorant than he was before. For instance, a child has *no knowledge* of the source whence coals are drawn; but, if, in consequence of what he reads, he believes coals to be made out of clay, he is more ignorant than he was before he read; because falsehood is farther from truth than is the absence of knowledge. A child, in the neighbourhood of Loretto, who had been happy enough to escape the lies of the priests, would know nothing at all of the origin of the Virgin Mary's House at that famous resort of pilgrims; but, if he had read the history of the Bees' House, he would believe that it came thither, flying across the sea from Palestine; and he would, of course, be a great deal *more ignorant* than if he had never read the said history.

Thus, then, reading does not tend to enlighten men, unless what they read convey *truth* to their minds. The next question is, therefore, whether, under the present circumstances of this country, the children of the poor are likely to come at truth by reading; which question, I think, we must decide in the negative.

You will please to observe, that I am not now speaking of the Bible, or of works upon religion. Those I shall notice by-and-by. I am now speaking of *reading in general*. To those who object to the teaching of children to read the Bible, as being above their capacity to comprehend, it is usually answered, that if children learn to read the Bible, they will inevitably read *other things;* and that out of *reading* will proceed *light*, and the means of giving the people true notions of their *rights* in society. But, here again it is taken for granted, that what they will read, after they have been taught to read in the Bible, will be calculated to give them *true notions*, and will inculcate the principles upon which men ought to be governed.

Now, Sir, is this the fact? Does the press in this country send forth works calculated to produce such an effect? That is to say, are its productions *generally* of this description? Or, to put the question more closely, is the *major part* of its productions of this description? Because, if it send forth more productions which are calculated to give *false* notions, than of productions which are calculated to give *true* notions, it follows, of course, that reading, generally, must tend to the increase of a belief

in falsehood, which no one will deny to be the worst species of ignorance.

Let us see, then, what is the real state of this *press;* this vaunted press, which, in ninety-nine hundredths of the publications which issue from it, is represented as being FREE. Let us see what is the real state of this press.

In the first place, a man is liable, if he write, or print, or publish any thing, which the Attorney General (an officer *appointed by the Crown* and *removable at pleasure*), chooses to prosecute him for; any man who does this is liable to be prosecuted, and to be punished in a manner much more severe than a great part of the persons convicted of felony. You yourself remember (and I shall always retain a grateful recollection of your goodness upon the occasion), that I, for writing an article, respecting the treatment of the Local Militia at the town of Ely, was sent to pass two years of my life in a place where there were felons, and men actually found guilty of unnatural crimes. Many of the felons, at that time in Newgate, were punished with a shorter term of imprisonment than I was; to say nothing of the *fine*, a sum equal to what may be fairly deemed a fourth part of the average earnings of any literary man's whole life.

And, who will say, that, if he venture to utter what is calculated to displease men in power, he will escape such punishment? There are no laws, which set bounds to his pen; there is no settled rule of law which enables him to know what is criminal and what is not criminal. He is prosecuted if the King's officer chooses to prosecute him; and the Jury, by whom he is tried, is specially nominated by another officer of the Crown, the accused party having the privilege of objecting to twelve out of forty-eight of the persons so nominated. The Attorney General may, if he please, commence a prosecution and *not proceed in it.* He may keep a criminal charge hanging over the head of any writer as long as he chooses; and, with the consent of a Judge, he may hold the party to bail for his appearance for as long a time as he chooses to keep the charge suspended over his head. So that such writer, during his whole life time, may have a criminal charge kept suspended over his head, and, without forfeiting his recognizances and those of his sureties, he cannot, during his whole life time, quit the country, or be absent at any one term; for, at any term, whenever his accuser pleases, though, perhaps, after his witnesses are dead, he may be commanded to come and take his trial.

On the *other hand*, the Attorney General may, if he chooses, drop the prosecution, and that, too, at whatever time he may please to drop it. After having charged a writer with a crime, he may keep the charge suspended over his head for months or years; and then, without even leave of the Court, and *without assigning any reason at all*, he may *wholly withdraw the charge*, and relieve the poor creature and his family from their fears.

This is the state of our press as it is affected by the *law*. And, under such circumstances, is it to be expected, that the press will convey, freely convey, *truths* to the people? For, you will be particular in bearing in mind, that the *truth* of any writing, so far from being a *justification* of the author, is not permitted to be *pleaded* in his defence. To utter *truth*, therefore, respecting the measures of the government, the administration of the laws, the weight or the mode of collecting the taxes, the treatment of the army or the navy, the conduct of the clergy, the creeds of the Church; to utter *truth* respecting any of these may, in the eye of the law, be a greatly criminal act, and may subject the utterer to a punishment more severe than that inflicted on a great part of the felons.

We are not inquiring here, whether this law of the press be good or bad. There are those who assert it to be full of justice and wisdom. We will not, therefore, raise a dispute upon that point. We will content ourselves with observing that such *is* the law; and, then, we have only to determine, whether, under such a law, the press is likely to be the vehicle of *truth*. There are those, who say, that it ought not to be permitted to convey, in an undisguised manner, truths, upon all public matters and concerning all public men, to the people. Very well; but, if this be the case, can the reading of the productions of this press tend to dispel ignorance; can it tend to *enlighten* the people? Can it be any public benefit, can it further the cause of public liberty, to teach the children of the poor to *read?*

Let us, if you please, trace one of these poor boys in his progress of reading, after he has been taught, at your Lancaster school, to read in the Bible. He is, you will please to observe, not going to live in the house of a father or a master, who has the means or the capacity to direct his studies in any particular channel. He has no one to tell him what publications he ought

to look upon as *good* and what as bad. He has no one to point out to him what is the production of venality and what is not. He must take things promiscuously as they come before him. He has no guide; no criterion of truth; nothing to excite his doubts of the veracity of his author; but must swallow every thing which chance sends into his hands. What, then, will be the probable course of his reading? "*Children's Books*," as they are called, he will naturally begin with. As far as these consist of *sheer nonsense*, they may do his mind little harm; but, past all dispute, it is impossible for them to have the smallest tendency towards *enlightening* that mind. If they rise only a little above the nonsensical, look at them, and you will find, that from one end to the other, their tendency is to inculcate *abject submission.* His next series are ballads and songs, which, if they step out of nonsense, go at once into the national braggings, which, while they are applauded as the means of keeping up the *spirit* of the people, have been one cause of plunging us into, and of prolonging, those wars, which have occasioned our enormous debts and taxes, and have led to the filling of the country with all those military establishments, heretofore regarded as so dangerous to the liberties of England. Addison, who was a very vile politician, approved of these means of keeping alive what he called "the *honest prejudices* of Englishmen." What a base idea! To inculcate undisguisedly the praiseworthiness of *keeping the people in ignorance;* and that, too, for the *good of the country*, and by the *means of the press!* Honest prejudices! That is to say, an honest *belief in falsehoods;* an *honest belief that falsehood is truth!* One cannot help hating the man, who could avow such an idea.

If your pupil live in the country, his standard book will, in all likelihood, be MOORE'S ALMANACK, that universal companion of the farmers and labourers of England. Here he will find a perpetual spring of knowledge; a *daily* supply, besides an extra portion monthly. Here are *signs* and *wonders* and *prophecies*, in all which he will believe as implicitly as he does in the first chapter of Genesis. Nor will he want a due portion of politics. To keep a people in a state of profound ignorance; to make them superstitious and slavish, there needs little more than the general reading of this single book. The poor creature, who reads this book, and who believes that the compiler of it is able to foretel when it will rain and when it will snow, is very little more enlightened than those men who believed most firmly that St. Dunstan took the Devil by the nose; and, there is no doubt in my mind, that, if that legend were now published, they would believe it. You will say, perhaps, that it is only the very lowest of the people who believe in the prophecies of Moore's Almanack; but, is it not the very lowest description of people whom you are attempting to teach? And, when they get out of your hands, must they not be left to themselves? You certainly do not mean to follow them to their hovels to superintend their reading.

But, the great source of your pupil's knowledge, the great source of that *light*, which he is to acquire, will be the NEWSPAPERS. Here he will find a constant and copious supply. And of *what?* Of *truth?* Will he here find bold and impartial statements of facts? Will he here find plain and fearless censure of public wrong-doers? Will he here see the cause of the oppressed manfully espoused, and the oppressor painted in colours calculated to rouse against him the hatred of mankind? You know, Sir, that he will not. You know, that he will find the reverse of all this. You know, that he will find falsehoods, upon every subject of a public nature; praises of all those who have power to hurt or to reward, and base calumnies on all those, who, in any degree, make themselves obnoxious to power. "Yes," say you in the ardour of your zeal, "but, there are *exceptions*, my friend; there are *some* of the public papers of a different description." *Some?* How many, Sir? How many out of the 300 or 400 which are published in the kingdom? Are there *ten?* Suppose there are *twenty*. Then there are twenty chances to one against your pupil's imbibing the *truth;* there are twenty chances to one that his reading will produce in him an increase of ignorance, instead of pouring light into his mind. Besides, what is he to find in the very best of these public prints? Will he find any thing like *free discussion?* Suppose a venal wretch to fill his columns with praises of a wicked man in power. Will any one of your twenty news-papers dare freely to investigate those columns, and by bringing proof of the wickedness of the men in power, show their falsehood? You know well, Sir, that no one would dare to do this; you know that no writer, in his sober senses, would think of doing it.

What, then, is the undeniable conclusion? Why, this: that the praise, reaching the mind of your *reader*, and remaining uncontradicted, his reading must deceive him; must give him false notions; must, as to a matter of great public importance, make him *more ignorant* than he would have been if he had never been able to read; must make him the partisan of a man, to whom he ought, in duty to his country, to be opposed. We often hear it said, "let us have *discussion*, discussion will *do good*." But, Sir, what does *discussion* mean? It means, the arraying, by one person, of all the facts, and *all* the arguments that he can muster up, against the facts and arguments of another. It does not mean open-mouthed statement and argument on one side, while, on the other, the combatant is muzzled, is compelled, for his safety, to suppress his facts, and is only permitted tremblingly to state in parables, and argue by hypothesis In short, *discussion* demands a perfectly unshackled use of all that the mind suggests; and, if this be denied, there is *no discussion*. The Bishop of Landaff *answered* Mr. Paine; his Lordship *discussed* the matter with Thomas. But, Thomas's publishers were pro-ecuted by the Attorney General, and his book was suppressed. while that of the Bishop not only had leave to circulate freely, but was forced into circulation by all the aid that zealous churchmen and other christians could give it. I am not here speaking of the propriety or impropriety of this; but, it must be confessed, I think, that it was a singular sort of *discussion*. Yet, of very nearly the same stamp are all the discussions that your pupils will find in our public prints. If, for instance, a report be published of a trial in a court of justice, accompanied with astonishing praises of the wisdom and integrity of "the learned Judge;" and, if some one were to think that the decision evinced no such qualities in the learned personage, but, rather, the contrary; would he be much inclined to impart his thoughts to the public? If, in a moment of ungovernable zeal, he were freely to discuss such praises, and draw from his facts and arguments an opposite conclusion, would he not, when he came to see his writing in print, set himself down as ruined? Why, then, talk of *discussion?* Discuss, indeed, we may, and freely too, all questions relating to the qualities of trees and herbs. There is no danger in writing about dung or potatoes or cabbages. Here your pupils will have a large field; but, as to politics, law, and religion, the army or the navy, peace or war; as to all those subjects interesting to man as a member of society, they will assuredly meet with nothing, issuing from the press of this country, worthy of the name of *discussion*.

Why, then, teach the children of the poor to read? Why waste, in this pursuit, either money or time: seeing that, if you succeed, your success must necessarily tend to the increase of error and to the debasement of the people? It is not the *mere capability of reading* that can raise man in the scale of nature. It is the *enlightening* of his mind: and, if the capability of distinguishing words upon paper does not tend to enlighten him, that acquirement is to be considered as nothing of any value.

The great length of this letter makes me fear to proceed further at present; and, therefore, I conclude with an expression of my sincere respect for your character and your motives.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 8th Dec. 1813.

ERRATUM.—In the preceding Number (23), p. 725, 13th line from the bottom, for *horrid*, read *honeyed*.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from page 736.)

object to hear the propositions of the Mediating Powers, viz. to hear her dictate the law. The powers of the French Plenipotentiaries, more liberal, more generous, were confined to announcing the object towards which all the Emperor's wishes were directed. The Duke of Vicence went to Plezwitz, and the Armistice was concluded. ——The Cabinet of Vienna was charged with making known the acceptance of the mediation by Russia and Prussia, and it remained silent: the appointment of Plenipotentiaries on the part of the enemy, and it remained silent. The French Government had demanded, that its acceptance of the mediation should be stipulated by a convention, and the Cabinet of Vienna did not give powers to any person to negociate it. ——Count de Bubna had returned to the Imperial quarters. He was pressed to seriously treat on affairs of such importance; he notified the acceptance of Russia and Prussia, and when it was wished to enter

into explanations with him, he was found without authority and without power.—— Thus the Cabinet of Vienna allowed the month of June to be spent without the Congress being opened.——The Minister for Foreign Affairs then addressed to M. de Metternich two notes, in which he explained the views of France upon the questions relative to the alliance, the mediation, and the negociations for peace. M. de Metternich replied, and brought his replies to Dresden. They gave rise to several notes, which were exchanged during his stay, upon the question of alliance; he proposed to prejudge nothing against the existence of the alliance, and to suspend the stipulations of it, as if it could exist without producing its effect. It was beneath the dignity of the French Government to descend to these subtilties. It declared it would consider the wish of the Cabinet of Vienna to carry its reserves to the letter of the whole treaty, as equivalent to the renunciation of the alliance.——The Cabinet of France demanded, on the question of negociation, that it should extend to a general peace, and that it should take place in Congress, and in the forms consecrated by custom, and that the resumption of hostilities should not arrest its course. Upon the question of mediation, it proposed, as a basis for the Convention to be concluded, that Austria, animated by the most perfect disinterestedness, should not present herself as an arbitrator. —— As to an extension of the negociation to a general peace, which was always the wish of the Emperor, M. de Metternich desired not immediately to come to an absolute engagement upon it, but it was agreed that the Mediator would charge himself to make the proposal of it to all the Powers. A project was drawn up. M. de Metternich took it with him, and charged himself with sounding and making known, in this respect, the dispositions of Russia and Prussia. In respect to the continuation of the negociations during the resumption of hostilities, the Austrian Plenipotentiaries preferred a prolongation of the Armistice, which Austria would undertake to have accepted, and the French Government did not refuse it. As to the forms of the negociations and to the expression of the intentions of the Mediator, M. de Metternich gave all the explanations, and made all the declarations which were demanded of him. The Emperor consented, on condition that the convention should be confined to the proposition and the acceptance of the mediation, the assembling of Plenipotentiaries at Prague, before the 5th of July, and the prolongation of the Armistice.——The Cabinet of Vienna successively, and under different pretences, deferred the opening of the Congress to the 8th, and then to 12th July. It did not put itself in a condition to make Russia and Prussia accede to the engagement entered into for the prolongation of the Armistice. It was requisite to have recourse to a commission charged with its execution, to overcome difficulty upon difficulty. In short, the prolongation of the Armistice was concluded on the 26th, at Neumarkt; the Plenipotentiaries were assembled at Prague on the 27th July.—— The choice of Russia had fallen upon a man, who, born a Frenchman, and convinced of his incapacity for so honourable a mission, had only acquired in matters of business the character of an Agent of England, and who in 1805, was her principal instrument to induce Austria to war. The Emperor might have been indignant at such a choice, and rejected a man who had rejected the laws of the Empire; but his desire for peace made him pass over these considerations. He appointed to discuss his interests at the Congress, persons most worthy of his confidence, and who by the rank they held with him, and in the state, as well as by their personal qualities, enjoyed in the highest degree the public esteem and consideration.——Count de Narbonne had already received his full powers, which authorized the Plenipotentiaries to treat separately or jointly. He in consequence proposed to open the negociations. When the Duke of Vicence arrived at Prague, it appeared that nothing could oppose the immediate opening of the Congress, and there was every reason for hoping the negociations would proceed rapidly: but that system of incidents and obstacles incessantly arising, followed till then by the Austrian Cabinet, received a new developement.——The Plenipotentiaries hastened to demand on the 26th July of the Minister Mediator, that the opening of the Congress should immediately take place by a first conference, in which they should proceed in the usual manner, to the verification and reciprocal communication of their full powers.——No objection could have reasonably been expected respecting an affair of form so simple, and founded on immemorable custom; nevertheless, the Plenipotentiary from the mediating Court refused this demand. Desired to explain himself upon the motives which at the beginning could induce him to create an ob-

stacle so unexpected, he only replied by proposing a mode of negociation, which excluded all direct communication between the respective Plenipotentiaries, and confined the part of the negociators, to transmit, by writing their propositions to the Austrian Minister, who thus constituted himself an arbitrator. M. de Metternich forgot the notes he had transmitted to Dresden, and the declarations which had been made to him, and to which he had acceded, that the French Government accepted a mediation and not an arbitration, and that it did not mean to negociate but in the usual forms, and by Plenipotentiaries, who should assemble with those of other belligerent Powers, to enter upon explanations. The French Plenipotentiaries declared they could not consent to any other form than that of conferences, in which they would be held to the protocole, which would unite to the incontestible advantages of verbal discussions, those which are considered to be found in negociations by writing.—— Notwithstanding this previous explanation, the Austrian Minister insisted in his pretension, and founding himself upon this proposition, made it the object of a note which he addressed to the different Plenipotentiaries. In this note he supported himself by the example of Teschin.——However, no person was ignorant that nothing could be less applicable to the circumstance than that example. For at Teschin there were conferences, and the pretension had never been raised there, any more than at any other Congress of negociating with seeing, and without speaking to each other.——In truth, this basis had been previously laid down by writing, a mode then rendered obligatory, because the Mediators were some at Vienna, and others at Berlin. But even that proved the impossibility of following a similar method at Prague. Not only had no basis been adopted, but no preliminary explanation had taken place upon the ground-work of the negociation.——Notwithstanding so striking considerations, the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries agreeing with the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, hastened to adopt his proposition.——Whatever efforts the French Plenipotentiaries made in these official conferences, which they had successively with the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, on the 30th July, 1st and 5th August, they were not able to overcome his obstinacy. Forgetting in this conjuncture what he owed at least to circumstances, he did not make known the motives they alleged to the adverse Plenipotentiaries, and in this discussion, of a secondary order, he shewed all his partiality.——The French Plenipotentiaries, after having fulfilled the duty of earnestly, and for the dignity of Government, demanding what reason or custom the engagements contracted at Dresden by the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator himself gave them a right to demand, were authorized to propose a mode which would have satisfied all pretentions. They, in consequence, declared, by a note, addressed to the Mediator, that they consented the mode of negociation by writing should be admitted conjointly with that of conferences. This means combined all, and was most conformable to what was practised in the more important Congress of Nimeguen, Ryswick, Aix-la-Chapelle, and where each question had been discussed, either verbally or by writing, according as the nature of the case required. ——The enemies' Plenipotentiaries rejected this proposition, without giving themselves the trouble of combating the evident reasons upon which it was founded.——Several notes were afterwards exchanged on either part. ——On the 10th August the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries hastened to declare the Congress dissolved.——At the same moment the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator declared war. His declaration was transmitted by the Ambassador from France in the night between the 10th and 11th of August, at the same hour the Russian and Prussian armies entered the Bohemian territory by roads upon which far more than a month's preparations had been made to receive them.——To this cry of war, France replied by wishes for peace.

No. 1.—*Letter from M. de Bubna to M. de Stadion.*

Dresden, May 18.

I have the honour to announce to your Excellency that I arrived at Dresden the day before yesterday at noon, where I found his Majesty the Emperor of the French.——It is very agreeable to me to convey to the knowledge of your Excellency, that notwithstanding the success which has just accompanied his arms, the Emperor of the French appears to me disposed for peace, and wishes that the Plenipotentiaries which the Belligerent Powers shall judge proper to appoint, should assemble as soon as possible at Prague, or any other place between the residences of the Belligerent Powers. In the conviction that his Majesty will meet similar dispositions on the part of their Ma-

jesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, I hasten to engage you, M. le Comte, to do all in your power to accelerate the departure of the Plenipotentiaries for the place of Congress. His Majesty appears to me to partake the opinion of the Allies, and to consider a general peace as the means of really tranquillizing the world. He would, therefore, with pleasure, see there a Plenipotentiary from England, and one from America. He consents to admit one from the Spanish insurgents, should it be thought possible to incline England to peace. His Majesty, also, seems equally disposed for a Continental peace, and consequently to send Plenipotentiaries, as well as his Allies, as soon as the dispositions of Russia and Prussia shall be known.——The Congress once fixed, if the Belligerent Powers wish to conclude an armistice, or a suspension of arms, his Majesty likewise appears to me disposed to lend himself to it.——Having the honour to inform your Excellency of these dispositions of the Emperor of the French, I think you would do well to interpose with the allied Sovereigns, if they find this armistice to their satisfaction, that the overtures customary in such cases may be made, in consequence, at the French advanced posts.——At the same time, I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that I am going immediately to Vienna for some days, and that I will return, without delay, to my post.——I pray your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) Count Bubna.

No. II.—*Powers given to the Duke of Vicenza.*

M, le Duke,—Having resolved to employ all means to establish a peace, either general or Continental, we have proposed the assembling of a Congress, either at Prague or any other place intermediary to the residences of the Belligerent Powers. We hope this Congress will promptly lead to the re-establishment of peace, of which so many nations experience the want. We have, in consequence, determined to conclude an armistice, or suspension of arms, with the Russian and Prussian armies, for all the time the Congress shall last.——Wishing to prevent the battle, which, by the position the enemy has taken, appears imminent, and to avoid, for humanity's sake, an useless effusion of blood, our intention is, that you proceed to the advanced posts, where you will demand to be admitted to the Emperor Alexander, to make him this proposition, and conclude and sign any military convention, having for its object to suspend hostilities. It is for this purpose we write you the present letter, to make use of, if it is demanded of you, and in the form of full powers. Upon which I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) Napoleon.

Dresden, *May* 18, 1813.

No. III.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Stadion to the Prince of Neufchatel.*

Head-quarters of their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, May 22, 1813.

Monseigneur,—General Count de Bubna informed me, by a letter of the 18th instant, of the intentions which his Majesty the Emperor of the French had made known to him, relative to the means of bringing about a negociation for peace; and I hastened to communicate them to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia.——Their Majesties having found, by the opinion which the Emperor Napoleon made known on this subject, that he thinks an armistice may prepare the way to this negociation, they have declared to me they are ready to enter immediately into all the arrangements which this object requires, and to send to the advanced posts officers furnished with the proper powers.——Count de Bubna, not being at this moment with the Emperor of the French, I have thought it my duty to address myself to your Serene Highness, to make you acquainted with the sentiments of the two Sovereigns, and to beg you to convey them to the knowledge of his Imperial and Royal Majesty.——I should consider myself too happy, if these first words, which I have the good fortune to convey between the Powers at war, should quickly be followed by others that might lead to a state of peace, which my august Master has so much at heart.

(Signed) Count de Stadion.

No. IV.—*Powers given by General Barclay de Tolly, for the conclusion of an Armistice.*

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having determined to conclude between their armies, and those of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, an armistice, during which the power charged with the mediation for peace, shall make known the propositions which are to serve as a basis for this salutary work, we have in consequence charged and authorized, as we charge and

authorize by these presents, their Excellencies Lieutenant-Generals Count de Schouvaloff and de Kleist, in the name of their Majesties, and in quality of Commander in Chief of the combined armies, to negociate, conclude, and sign, with him or those who shall be appointed for this purpose, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, and furnished with powers, the armistice in question. We promise, on our word, and in our quality of Commander in Chief, to execute, and cause to be executed, all the articles of the armistice, which shall be signed between the said Plenipotentiaries. In faith of which we have signed the present full powers, and sealed it with our arms.——At our head-quarters, 16th (28th) May, 1813.

(Signed) BARCLAY DE TOLLY,
Commander in Chief of the Combined Armies.

No. V.—Is the armistice concluded on the 4th of June, which has already appeared.

No. VI.—*Copy of a Note from M. de Bubna.*
Dresden, June 11, 1813.

The undersigned received orders to again proceed to his Imperial Majesty of France, to give an account of the new overtures of peace which the Cabinet of Vienna hastened to make to the Belligerent Powers.——It was with real satisfaction his Majesty the Emperor and Apostolic King was informed by the return of the undersigned to Vienna, of the pacific dispositions evinced by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon. The mediation of Austria having been accepted by the Courts of Russia and Prussia, his Imperial Majesty of Austria will hasten to convey to the knowledge of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the basis of the pacification laid down by those Powers, and he has charged the undersigned to express a wish to be in like manner informed of the basis which his Imperial Majesty of France would lay down as most beneficial to the said allied Courts.——In order not to leave any doubt on the manner in which the Court of Vienna views the object of a Continental peace, as connected with a general peace, the undersigned will observe, that the Austrian Cabinet directs all its wishes to obtain by its cares a pacification that will ensure the future relations of all European Powers; but that it believes, under existing circumstances, that it will find the most certain means of obtaining that, by confining its views, for the present, to a Continental arrangement, which would facilitate or prepare a maritime peace.——His Imperial Majesty, setting a great value on accelerating, as much as possible, the conclusion of so salutary a work, the undersigned begs his Excellency the Duke of Bassano to have the goodness to convey, as soon as possible, the present official note to the knowledge of the Emperor of the French, and likewise to enable him to inform his Court of his Imperial Majesty's reply.

(Signed) Count BUBNA.
Dresden, June 11, 1813.

No. VII.—*Note from the Duke of Bassano to Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs for his Majesty the Emperor and King, has received orders to send the present note to his Excellency Count de Metternich, Minister of State Conferences and Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.——The treaty of alliance concluded at Paris on the 24th of March, 1812, stipulates, Art. 3d, paragraph 2d, the obligation for the two Powers to mutually assist each other, in the event that the one or the other should be attacked or threatened. Article 4 fixed the succours stipulated by Article 3 at 30,000 men, of whom 24,000 should be infantry, and 6,000 cavalry. The separate and secret articles signed at the same time applied the treaty of alliance to the actually existing case of the war between France and Russia.——On the 26th of April last, Count de Metternich transmitted to his Majesty's Ambassador a note, by which he declared, that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria could no longer fulfil the dispositions of Articles two and four, comprehended in the secret articles annexed to the treaty of alliance, and considered as not being applicable to the present conjuncture; consequently Austria withdrew the auxiliary assistance stipulated by the said treaty.——His Majesty must have been more sensibly touched with this change, operated at the moment when the campaign was going to open, as the Prince of Schwartzenberg, before leaving Paris, had reiterated to him the assurance that he might depend upon it that the auxiliary army would not cease being under his orders.——However, his Majesty the Emperor and King received, to render the unexpected determination less painful to him, the assurance at the same time given by Count de Metternich, "that it should not be considered as an abandonment of the alliance;" and the declaration made by the

Prince of Schwartzenberg, transmitted to the undersigned on the 22d of April, that "nothing was prejudged respecting the basis of the alliance with France; and that if the Emperor Francis found a word to change in these bases, he would be the first to mention it." This Ambassador added, "that they could suspend, by common consent, the restrictions laid down according to the text of the treaty in regard to the military relations of Austria." Count de Metternich has not since ceased, on his part, manifesting to his Majesty's Ambassador the intention of the Court of Vienna, in renouncing some of the dispositions of the secret articles, to subscribe to others more suitable to circumstances.——Such was the state of things when M. de Bubna presented himself at Dresden, on the 16th of May, to his Imperial Majesty and King. He gave him to understand, that it was necessary that he, or some other person, should be furnished with full powers to negociate, conclude, and sign new secret stipulations, without which it would be in vain to attempt to dissemble that the treaty of Paris would be annulled.——Count de Bubna returned to his Majesty's head-quarters on the 30th of May, and affirmed, "that his Court was disposed to pass an act, which, in establishing the treaty of Paris, would contain a reserve upon the stipulations which should not be found applicable to circumstances."——But when the undersigned asked him, whether he was authorized to negociate such a supplementary convention, he replied, that he had no instructions to that effect. Count de Bubna set out on the 4th inst. to return to his Court. He came back to Dresden on the 10th: and upon demanding of him what had been done, he declared himself without authority and without powers.——The question was, however, the more important to be decided, as it was intimately connected with that of the mediation.——His Majesty had told Count de Bubna that he saw no difficulty in giving instructions and powers to negociate, conclude, and sign a convention, by which they would treat of the mediation of Austria; but that it was of importance to know, previous to entering on negociations, if the alliance still existed; because, in that case, Austria guaranteed the integrity of the present territory of France, in as far as relates to us, in determined position; whilst, in the contrary case, we do not know in what situation the two Powers respectively are. It was not, therefore, a question foreign to the great object of peace, but one that had for its end to determine if the treaty of Paris still existed.——However, his Majesty saw renewed, in the note transmitted on the 11th by Count de Bubna, the offer of the mediation of Austria, without any Plenipotentiary appearing on her part, authorized to negociate, conclude, and sign, 1. A supplementary convention which established and ensured the existence of the treaty of alliance.—2. A convention relative to the acceptance of the mediation.——A mediation cannot be accepted without determining at the same time for what end, upon what object, and in what manner, it is to be exercised. It would be contrary to what has been practised by all nations, and particularly to the custom of the Cabinet of France, to treat for a mediation otherwise than by a convention discussed and freely consented to.——The undersigned is in consequence charged to demand, 1. That the Court of Vienna should make known whether the treaty of alliance of Paris is still existing and continues to connect the two Powers:—2. And in the event of an affirmative, that she shall give powers to negociate the new convention, which is to support the secret articles of the treaty of Paris, considered by her as not being applicable to the present conjuncture.—3. That she will charge a person, furnished with instructions and powers, to negociate, conclude, and sign a convention, relative to the mediation which she has offered. The undersigned, &c.

No. VIII.—*Note from the Duke de Bassano to Count de Metternich.*

Dresden, June 15, 1813.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs having received, through M. le Count de Bubna, a note dated the 11th inst. hastened to lay it before his Majesty the Emperor and King. His Majesty has ordered him to give the following reply to it, which the undersigned has the honour of addressing to his Excellency Count de Metternich, Minister of State Conferences, and Foreign Affairs, for his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.——His Majesty the Emperor and King has not ceased to express his wish for peace, both before the recommencement of military operations, and since the events of war have been favourable to his arms. He has held no other language in the communications with the Emperor of Austria, and with the agents who have been sent to him.——His wish is for a general peace, because till that shall have been concluded none of the Powers that have maritime in

terests will be able to enjoy their rights and the advantages to which this peace alone would permit them to hope for. The mission which the Court of Vienna gave M. de Wessenberg at London, and the object of which was, at that time, communicated to the undersigned, was received by his Majesty the Emperor and King, as leading towards a general peace. Count de Metternich joined to a note, transmitted to his Majesty's Ambassador on the 26th April, a report, by which M. de Wessenberg announced on the 6th of the same month, that in a few days the English Minister would explain himself. From that moment no communication has been made, and we would be in a state of belief, that after three months, things were still in the same state, if it did not follow from Count de Bubna's note, that the Court of Vienna had given up the hope she had conceived of a maritime peace.——When his Majesty proposed at Dresden, by the channel of Count de Bubna, the establishment of a Congress, where all the parties interested in a general peace should be called, and where bases to reconcile all pretensions would be laid down, he thought it would be proper for the United States of America and the Spanish insurgents, to take part in it, because all the maritime Powers had interests to discuss. The intervention of the United States appeared to be the more natural, as England had just refused to negociate, upon the mediation of Russia, for the arrangement of the differences which had arisen between America and Great Britain. ——But his Majesty at the same time made known that, if Russia and Prussia wished to treat without England, he was equally ready to agree to it. He announced that as soon as the dispositions of the Belligerent Powers should be known to him, in this respect, Plenipotentiaries appointed, and the place for their assembling in Congress agreed upon, he would send his there.—— It is a month since his Majesty thus formally expressed his wish for the opening of a Congress. Already have ten days elapsed since the armistice happily suspended the effusion of blood, and no communication has yet made known the dispositions of the Belligerent Powers.——His Majesty would, with regret, impute the loss of time so precious, and the slow approaches to an object of so great interest to humanity, to pretensions of which he however found indications in the note of M. de Bubna. It would seem, in fine, to result from that note, that the Belligerent Powers are to treat and communicate among themselves, through the medium of the Court of Vienna.——His Majesty would not hesitate to express his opinion upon that pretension. He cannot treat for peace without negociating it; he cannot negociate but in the forms consecrated by the usage of all nations, and by Plenipotentiaries who, joined to those of the Belligerent Powers, and after the exchange of their full powers will enter into explanations.——To wish that his Majesty should renounce the right inherent in the independence of Sovereigns, to cause his interests to be discussed by his Plenipotentiaries, conformably to rules, of which there is no example in history of their ever having been departed from, this would be to raise a pretension which every state preserving the sentiment of its dignity should repel. His Majesty will not consent to it; he has not the right of consenting to it for his allies.——His Majesty, at the time of the negociation of the armistice, already caused to be declared to Russia and Prussia, through the Duke of Vicenza, that he was ready to treat upon bases honourable to all parties.——He authorizes the undersigned to again insist upon the immediate opening, in a place between the residences of the different Belligerent Courts, of a Congress for a general peace (in case England should have refused, or should refuse, to adhere to it for a continental peace), and to make the reiterated declaration, that as soon as his enemies and their Allies shall have appointed their Plenipotentiaries, and that the place for their assembling in Congress shall have been designated, he will send his thither and invite all his Allies to send theirs. ——His Majesty earnestly persevering in the wish of entering into negociations, flatters himself that it is not to him can be imputed, either the intention of deferring the peace, or of the delays which have already occurred to the prejudice of humanity, to the opening of the Congress, the only means of arriving at the accomplishment of this salutary work, which is the object of all the wishes of his Majesty, and the aim of all his hopes.

(Signed) DUKE OF BASSANO.

No. IX.—*Note of the Count de Metternich in reply to the Notes of the 15th June.*

The undersigned Minister of State and of Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has received orders to make the following reply to the note which his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, did him the honour to address to

him from Dresden on 15th June last.——Austria and France concluded, on the 14th March, 1812, an alliance on the same grounds and in the same spirit as that of 1756. This alliance, purely defensive, was founded on the principle of "maintaining the peace of the Continent, and of re establishing a maritime peace." It therefore rests on the basis most conformable to a sound policy, and its stipulations contain the most perfect reciprocality between the high contracting parties. Any alteration which might be endeavoured to be made in the act of the treaty, could only be effected to the detriment of one or other of those principles. The separate and secret articles determined the species of co-operation which Austria was to give, in a war which unfortunately was only too easily to be foreseen, and which all the conciliatory efforts made by his Imperial Majesty and Apostolic King were not able to prevent. The war, in fine, broke out; nevertheless, the Emperor, true to his principles, never ceased even during the campain of 1812, which was marked by the greatest efforts of the Belligerent Powers, and by a loss of men, of which history presents but few examples, to direct his attention to the re-establishment of peace as speedily as possible, his Imperial Majesty, in order to render his wish the more efficacious, seized the moment, when, after a first campaign, a sufficient interval presented itself for an explanation with the several Powers; he offered in the month of February last, his mediation to France, Russia, and England; he extended this offer to Prussia, from the moment that Power appeared as a principal party in the scene of action, the whole, with the exception of England, accepted the mediation of Austria; but, nevertheless, it was soon but too fully ascertained, that a negociation, solely supported by the good offices of the Court of Vienna, would not be sufficient to reunite Powers, separated by a great diversity of interests, and to whom every sacrifice, every effort, must appear weak after those of the year 1812. The Emperor did not suffer himself to be discouraged, he was not slow in placing himself in a condition to support his pacific words, by organizing respectable forces; and it was with satisfaction that his Imperial Majesty saw, by the communications made by the French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna in the month of April last, that in this respect his opinion was participated by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon. The undersigned had orders to declare, in reply to the official note of Count de Narbonne, dated the 21st April, that his Imperial Majesty would elevate his simple intervention into a mediation, and that he would thus appear as a principal party in the scene; accordingly, Austria not being able to act at the same time as a principal Power, and lend a limited succour, the Austrian auxiliary corps received orders no longer to risk the fate of arms on a foreign territory, but to return within the frontiers of the empire. The Emperor at the same time declared to the French Government, that his mediation should not in any wise prejudice the basis of the alliance with France, as the two high contracting parties might, by mutual consent, place under a reservation the stipulations of the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, which were not irreconcilable with the attitude commanded by the necessity of the re-establishment of peace; his Imperial Majesty added, that he was ready to consign this reservation in a diplomatic act. ——The facts being thus stated in their natural order, it results from them that Austria is far from considering her alliance with France, this alliance which essentially rests on the principle of peace, as irreconcilable with her mediation, which only tends to restore repose to Europe. The Emperor would never have sanctioned an alliance which had not the basis of peace for its object, he would have renounced every engagement which should have opposed itself to its re-establishment.——His Majesty the Emperor of France, besides desiring that the offer and acceptation of the Austrian mediation should be likewise consigned in a diplomatic act, the Emperor of Austria made no difficulty in acquiescing in this demand.——His Imperial Majesty, in consequence ordered the undersigned to declare to his Excellency the Duke de Bassano,—1. That being persuaded that there is nothing contrary in the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, to the mediation of Austria, he authorizes the undersigned to agree with the French Government, on an

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEW GOVERNMENT IN HOLLAND.——It is so long since the old Government in Holland was put down, that many readers of the present day were not then born; and, it, therefore, may not be amiss to point out the change which appears to have taken place upon the counter-revolution.——Holland, under the old Government, was a *Republic*: it was called the Republic of the United Provinces. Each of these Provinces sent so many Deputies to an Assembly, called the *States General*, who exercised all the great powers of government. *War* and *Peace*, all *Treaties*, were made in their name; and they were called "*Their* "*High Mightinesses*."——The Prince of Orange was only the President, or State-Holder; and, though the post had, of late years, become hereditary in his family, it had not always been so.——The change, therefore, which has taken place, is of great consequence; for he is now to be "*Sove-* "*reign Prince* of the United Netherlands;" of course, the Republic is not restored; the sovereignty is to be exercised by him, in the same manner, I suppose, that other sovereigns exercise their power.——Thus, then, is Holland no longer a Republic, and the Dutch are no longer republicans.——In the House of Commons a sort of conversation on this subject has taken place, and, indeed, this is the only thing that has taken place there this session to relieve the scene from the dull uniformity of unanimous applause of the Ministers.——On the 14th instant, "SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH rose "and observed, that, in consequence of "having observed in *The London Gazette* "of last Saturday, a new designation given "to His Majesty's Ambassador at the "Hague, and a new Sovereignty announc-"ed as subsisting in the territory which, in "the ancient order of Europe, had been "subject to the Republic of the United "Provinces (a Government which after "two centuries, generally of the closest "amity with England, had at length been "destroyed upon the sole and avowed "ground of alliance with His Majesty) he "had deemed it his duty to come to the "House yesterday, as soon as he had seen "official and authentic evidence of so great "a revolution, to put a question respecting "it to the Noble Secretary for Foreign Af-"fairs. Circumstances known to that "Noble Lord had induced him to postpone "the question till to-day.——He was "aware that he was precluded by the usage "of Parliament from introducing it by any "preliminary observations; and if he had "not been so, he should have imposed the "same restraint voluntarily upon himself. "For he could assure the Noble Lord, that "though he trusted he should always bold-"ly perform his public duty whenever he "thought that he clearly perceived it, yet "he felt as strongly as the Noble Lord "could the painful delicacy of the subject, "and he should assuredly do nothing, either "now or hereafter, to aggravate the diffi-"culty which naturally belonged to it.—— "He then stated his question as follows: "——Was it known to His Majesty's Go-"vernment, before the departure of his "Royal Highness the Prince of Orange "from England, that his Serene Highness "intended to assume or to accept titles and "authorities unknown to the legal Consti-"tution of the United Provinces, and ma-"nifesting a determination not to re-esta-"blish the ancient and lawful Government "of that Republic?——Were these mea-"sures adopted by his Serene Highness "with the approbation of His Majesty's "Government, and with the concurrence "of his Allies?——LORD CASTLEREAGH "said, that he was not privy, before the "Prince of Orange's departure, to any de-"termination on the part of His Royal "Highness with respect to the Government "that was to be established, nor did he be-"lieve that His Royal Highness had come "to any such determination, as what was "called the Provisional Government, al-"ready exercised the Administration, from "which he had received the invitation. "——That the form of Government which "had been adopted, was *the result of the* "*spontaneous and unanimous wish of the* "*people of Holland of all parties*, as much "of those who were formerly the enemies

"of the House of Orange, and who were "now among its most zealous partisans, as "of those who had always been attached "to it.——That what appeared in the "*Gazette* was a notice of the appointment "of our Ambassador to the Government of "Holland. That in making this appoint-"ment the King's Government had an "anxious desire to abstain from any inter-"ference with the domestic concerns of that "country.——That the credentials to Lord "Clancarty had been purposely delayed, "until His Majesty's Government *knew* "*what form of Government was established* "*in Holland;* and it was not until it was "communicated to our Ambassador, under "what title the Prince of Orange was to "exercise the Government, that the cre-"dentials were sent to him in the form it "has appeared."——It is asserted here, by Lord Castlereagh, that the change of the government in Holland has been the result of *the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the people of Holland of all parties.* But, how, *in what way*, could this wish be known? What were the means adopted for collecting the will of the people? Had there been any meetings of the Citizens of the country? Nay, were all the territories of Holland out of the hands of the French, at the time when this change was announced? Have there, even to this day, been any meetings of the people of Holland? If there have not, and if no trace can be discovered of any act like that of collecting their suffrages, how is it to be known, that the change was the result of their *unanimous wish?*——Oh! what is our state, when we answer such an assertion in a manner like this!——But, why torment oneself? What are the Dutch and the fate of the Dutch to me? What is it to me, whether they have a King or a Stadtholder? It is their affair and not mine.——The Duke of Clarence, at a recent festival in honour of the Dutch counter-revolution, is reported to have said a great deal about the *unshaken friendship* of the Dutch to this country. Did they show it towards the close of the American war? It was either the *House of Orange* or the *People*, who were for joining France and America in that war; and His Royal Highness praised them *both* as our *firm friends.*——At any rate the House of Orange appears now to be freed from all interference of the *States General;* and, we may venture to predict, that, in the Constitution, which, as we are told, *is to be formed*, care will be taken not to embarrass him too much with the weight of popular assemblies.——Let us bear in mind, however, that this is not a *restoration* of the government of Holland; but an entire *new government*, and an abolition of the ancient Republic of the United Provinces.

The Bourbons.——It is strange, that no document of any authority speaks yet of the Bourbons! This family, for whose interests the Allies of the First Coalition professed to make war, is now passed over in the most profound silence, although they live now in England, and have been under the immediate protection of every one of the allied powers alternately.——This silence would lead us to suppose one of two things: that the scheme is to *dismember France;* or, that the Emperor of Austria *means not to destroy his Son-in-law and brother Emperor.*——If the former, we shall see, in all probability, a long and bloody contest; if the latter, it appears to me perfectly natural to expect, that Austria and France will not be long before they come to an understanding.——The boons, which Napoleon has it in his power to give to his venerable and august father-in-law, are immense. By an understanding between them, the Emperor of France might still be a great sovereign, and his august parent might be a greater potentate than he ever was before. In short, this appears to be the moment for the House of Austria to make such acquisitions of power as to enable her to set Russia and Prussia for ever at defiance. And, whatever the vulgar crowd may think of the matter, Austria will consult her interests.——The mad scheme of dismembering France can hardly be entertained by any sovereign of the coalition; and yet, unless it be entertained, how are we to account for the silence as to the Bourbons, except we attribute it to the *influence of Austria?*——To be sure, there may be preparations necessary for crossing the Rhine; but, still, the delay seems to be longer than ought to have been expected; nor should I be at all astonished to find, that, after all, the Rhine will not be crossed by the Austrians.——If the Emperor of Austria should resolve to *put down* Napoleon, or to attempt it, there will, as I said before, be little difficulty in obtaining a *divorce* of his daughter from the latter; but, it is his *grandson* who is to inherit the Empire of France, and this consideration may have great weight.——Now, suppose Austria, in consequence of immense concessions to

her on the side of Italy, securing to her at the same time, her Empire of Germany, were to say to the allies: "*I* am satisfied, "and so *ought you?*" Suppose this were to happen? Must not the rest of the allies be *satisfied* also? I do not see how they would dare to refuse to grant, or agree to, any terms, dictated by Austria and France united. Prussia would be too weak to resist; Russia is too far from home to do much for any length of time; the Dutch will have quite enough to do to defend their own frontier; and, as to Sweden, she cannot move an inch without money from us; and, indeed, she is, of herself, nothing at all in such a war.——Austria is *poor*; she has been exhausted by her long wars; peace and glory too within her grasp would be, I am persuaded, too much for her to resist.—As to what our news-papers tell us about the *overtures of Napoleon being rejected by the allies*, they know nothing of the matter. We have *no facts* that we can rely upon, and our opinions must, to be rational, be founded on what reason tells us is natural. And, I think, it is very natural to expect, that the Emperor of Austria, provided he gains all he can wish, will not wish to destroy the empire of his grandson, especially as he may, with France on his side, safely set all his northern enemies at defiance.——If a peace were to take place between Austria and France, the whole face of things would change in a moment. Those two powers would become the dictators to the continent, and the Emperor Alexander would have to look to the safety of his Polish dominions.——A war might go on, but under what circumstances! *We* might, and I dare say we should, continue the war: but, would *Prussia*: would *Holland?* In such a case, it would not be very surprising to see changes as great as any that we have yet seen.——It is natural to suppose, that nothing can be so near the heart of the House of Austria as the re-assumption of all its power and its titles in *Germany*. And, that House, which is noted for its excellent memory, will not have forgotten, that it owes its expulsion from, and its degradation in *Germany*, in part, at least, to Prussia, which was then in *close alliance* with *France*.——Events have made this degraded House the arbitress of Europe; she has now the power to carve for herself by a separate peace; and, it remains to be seen, whether she will avail herself of the opportunity, or will stick to the cause of England, and Holland, and Prussia, though at the hazard of losing every thing by a continuation of the war.——It will be seen, from the following article in the COURIER, of the 13th instant, that the writers in the interest of the government are very anxious to caution the people against an expectation of peace.——"It is "*strange* that some of our cotemporaries "hold out, with great confidence hopes of "a *speedy peace*. There does not appear "to be *the least foundation for them*. "Some affect to state that Buonaparté has "offered to the Allies the *uti possidetis*, "whilst others, pretending the most inti"mate knowledge of the secrets of the Cabi"net, declare that the Allies have required "the *status quo* during the consulate, as "the basis of negotiation. There is no foun"dation for either of these statements.— "The *uti possidetis!* in which Buona"parte would hardly include Holland, as "belonging to the Dutch or to the Allies. "—The uti possidetis for him would leave "him still Master of Italy, of the Nether"lands, of the Hanse Towns and Magde"burgh—in short, of the power of again "disturbing every power, and deluging "with blood every part of Europe. But "the Allies are stated to have required the "*status quo* during the Consulate—at "what period of the Consulate?—The pe"riod when the peace of Amiens was con"cluded? Well, we who found that "peace only a hollow and insecure truce, "who felt that neither repose nor secu"rity were to be enjoyed under it, we are "again to be willing to return to the *status* "in which that peace placed us, give up all "our conquests, Trinidad and Ceylon ex"cepted: leave Holland really dependent, "though nominally independent, of "France; in fact, abandon, by re-accepting "the peace of Amiens, all the advantages we "have acquired during this war, and stamp "upon that war the character of unjust, "impolitic, and unnecessary! We should "have been ashamed of wasting a moment "upon this subject, had not some of our "cotemporaries put forth the statement in "such a way as to induce some persons to "give credit to it. We repeat, that the "real permanent safety and honour of Eu"rope, are to be found only in the vigo"rous continuance of the war. *To make* "*peace now would be a base surrender of* "*the advantages which fortune has placed* "*in our hands, would be treachery to the* "*cause of justice and humanity.* We must "follow up the blow.

"We have scotch'd the snake—not killed it;
"She'll close and be herself, whilst our poor
"malice
"Remains in danger of her former tooth.

"We do not believe that any peace with "Buonaparté is likely to be secure, but "certainly none that shall leave him an "inch of territory beyond old France."—— *When*, then, are we to expect peace? "It is *strange*," we are told, that we should expect it *now!* When Buonaparté was *victorious*, then we were by no means to think of peace, because we could then expect nothing but a peace of *humiliation and disgrace*. And now, when he is defeated, we are told, that to make peace with him "would be *a* base surrender of our ad- "vantages; *treachery* to the cause of *jus- "tice* and *humanity!*"——When, then; under *what circumstances*, are we to indulge our hopes of *peace*?——Austria may, perhaps, not see the matter in the same light. She may be content with *scotching* the snake, and may not wish to *kill* it, especially as it is so nearly related to her. *Her* object is pretty nearly gained. She has no cause, if she now makes a separate peace, either to *envy* or to *dread* France; and, she may have abundant reasons for not wishing to see England without a powerful neighbour and rival.——Austria must wish to regain all her power and dominions in Italy and Germany; but, she may not wish to see England the sole mistress of the Mediterranean and all its Islands——If I, therefore, were minister of England, this is the time that I should choose for offering terms of peace, in conjunction with the allies if possible, and if not, without them. I do not know what might be done by Russia; but, we may be sure, that Austria will not carry on a war merely to gratify England. Indeed, every one of the allied powers will look to *its own interests*; and, if we fail to make a just estimate of those interests; if we are still ruled by our passions, rather than by our reason, we shall again be left to carry on the war "single-handed," as the Duke of Clarence calls it. When I hear, that the allies have proclaimed openly their intention of *restoring the Bourbons*, I shall then think, that Austria has resolved to attempt the total overthrow of Napoleon; but, until then, I shall suspect that that power is disposed to set a measure to its hostility; and that she will not pursue the war beyond what is necessary to her own aggrandizement.——She might leave Napoleon master of all the countries to the Rhine, and might receive from him ample indemnifications in Italy, better suited to her power, and of far greater intrinsic value.——Again, therefore, I say, *this is the time* for England to bestir herself in making peace.

To Mr. Alderman Wood,

On the subject of teaching the Children of the Poor to read.

Letter II.

Sir,

In the *printing* of my last letter a gross error, or, rather, interpolation, was made, in page 748, where "the history of the "*Bees'* House" is spoken of. I never heard of such a history, and am utterly at a loss to conceive how the blunder could have been committed.*

When I closed, rather abruptly, my last, I was about to notice the cause, as appeared to me, of the wonderful concurrence of all the sects to promote this work of reading. These sects, which agree in nothing else, all agree as to *this* matter. They all think, or say, that *good must come from reading*. Yet, they must, one would think, be aware, that, by learning to read, the poor will run the risk of reading books, which each sect looks upon as very mischievous. But, the truth is, that each sect pleases itself with the idea, that *all* those who read will become *its* proselytes. But, perhaps, a more powerful cause is the vanity of *literary men*, who are all for the reading scheme. Each of them supposes, that, whatever neglect the present race of readers may show of his writings, a new race will be charmed with them, and, indeed, will read nothing else. Dr. Rees and Mr. Belsham believe, I dare say, that all the boys, whom you and other liberal gentlemen are causing to be taught to read, will read *their Sermons*. Not at all! They will read Dibdin's songs, Moore's Almanack, and the news-papers; and the sermons of these worthy and zealous gentlemen will remain to be read in the confined circles, in which they are now an object of attention.

The news-papers will always have the preference; and these *must* do harm to your readers, because, in the present state of things, they will, of course, be the vehicles of darkness rather than of light. I have shown before, that there is not, in our press, any such thing as free discussion, when the subject is of a nature interesting to man as a member of society. There is no man in England, who will venture to deny the truth of this. There is no man who will attempt to controvert the proposition. There are, indeed, men, who, in

* This error originated in an indistinctness in the Manuscript. More than ordinary care was taken by the Printer to give the doubtful word (*bees*) as it seemed to be written.

their writings, affect to boast of the blessings of a *free press;* but, in this they only discover their baseness. They know, that what they say is false, and they say it, in many instances, merely to disguise their shame. They wish to be looked upon as free to utter their thoughts; and this wish leads them to belie both their opinions and their knowledge.

The law of libel and all its terrors out of the question, there is abundant reason why the press should be *partial* and *servile.* Nay, supposing that no corruption of the press is employed by the Government; still the press must naturally be almost wholly devoted to it. There is an *influence,* which very greatly surpasses in its effect all direct interference of the Government. I mean the influence of *taxation.* The Government has *a hundred millions a year to expend.* Such an expenditure must make the press its own without supposing one penny expended in purchasing the press. Men who live by writing are very rarely over-rich. They must eat as well as write. They must, therefore, write to please those who have the power to give them the means of eating. Those who receive the hundred millions a year; those amongst whom that all-influencing sum is distributed have that power; and, it follows, of course, that those who write will endeavour to please them.

These remarks will appear just to whomsoever will take the trouble to calculate the immense amount of the *advertisements* inserted for the different purposes of the Government, not only in the London but in the country news-papers. These alone form no mean part of the profits of every news-paper which has them to insert. Their insertion is, perhaps, necessary to the affairs of the Government. But, the selection of the news-papers must be with its officers, and they, of course, will give their valuable custom to those papers which please them the most. If you add to these the advertisements of Magistrates, Clerks of the Peace, Sheriffs, Commissioners of Taxes, &c. &c. you will, in this article alone, see quite sufficient cause for the partiality of this part of the press. It is a sort of influence such as a rich gentleman has amongst his tradesmen and his tenants. It arises out of the system of taxation, which makes the Government the *employer* of half the nation. "Liberty of the press," exclaimed a friend of mine, who is now dead; "a pretty thing, indeed, to talk of "liberty of the press in a country where "the Government has forty millions a year "to expend!"——What would he have said now? And, what would he have said of the idea of teaching the poor to read the productions of this press, with the hope of aiding the cause of public liberty?

If your readers should reach so high as *Magazines* and *Reviews,* what will they find there? The productions, for the most part, of men actually in a state of the most mercenary and servile dependence; or the mere partisans of a faction. Works of this sort become daily less interesting. It is well known, that there is, in their authors, no hope of impartiality. The far greater part of the writers of them are in some place or employment, which, to say the least of its effects, must make them partial. In short, a Review is any thing, now-a-days, but what it professes to be.

But, some, at least, of your readers, will dip into *history.* Will they? And what will they find there? From the history, indeed, of *remote periods,* they may collect some truth; but, what is to be expected from a history of the last fifty years? A very pretty specimen of this sort of productions is to be found in the history of Lord Nelson's achievements, in 1799, *in the Bay of Naples!* Capt. Foote, goaded on by a desire to avenge himself on those who had, as he says, ill-treated him, has given the world a true history of those acts; but, in how few instances has the like happened! In how few instances has *truth* been able to make the smallest stand against overwhelming falsehood! To a *lying eulogium* on any person in power who dares to reply in a manner demanded by *truth!* You know well that no man dares do it. You know well, that most terrible punishment would await any man, who should dare to show, that an eulogized person in power was worthy of contempt or hatred. And, this being the case, and writers being at all times to be found to eulogize the great, what benefit, I seriously ask *you,* can be expected from teaching the poor to read *history?*

Lastly, as to works upon religion. Who dares to express his thoughts without disguise, if his thoughts be in contradiction to what is deemed essential for the people to believe? There are men, who, so far from believing in the doctrines of Christianity, believe those doctrines to be pernicious in their effects. Take it for granted, that such men are in error; but, if they be not permitted to publish their thoughts; if *every one* be not at *full liberty* to say just

what he thinks upon the subject, what good is *reading* to do your pupils? If there be a certain set of dogmas, which no man is to speak against, what have your pupils to do but to learn those dogmas from the mouth of a priest of some sect or other? Why should they *read*, if others are not to *write*? In truth, they are not at *liberty to read*, unless any one who chooses may write what he chooses upon this subject. So that, you will find, at last, that you are teaching the poor to read and to believe what others choose they should read and believe, and nothing more.

The recent instance as to a theatrical piece, would, in any other state of things, lead men to reflect. The facts are thus related, in the form of a Letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, inserted in that paper of the 9th instant.——"Sir, influenced by what I conceive to be the general feeling of my countrymen, I went last night to Drury-lane Theatre in the expectation of *seeing a Piece* founded on the influx of grateful intelligence which has of late so eminently exhilarated, I hope, every individual of these truly happy realms. To my utter astonishment and disappointment, a printed paper was put into my hand at the door of the Theatre (the contents of which are, of course, notoriously public), intimating that an interdiction of the performance had been issued by Mr. Larpent, in the name of the Lord Chamberlain, five hours before the period of intended representation, on the sole plea that the licencer had not had sufficient time to peruse a piece of one act sent to his office the Saturday preceding.——When the glorious and disastrous intelligence of the Victory of Trafalgar reached this country, a one act piece was produced at Covent-Garden Theatre, under the title of '*Nelson's Glory*,' in three days after the news was announced. Surely *the same licenser* who did not then disapprove *one day's notice* (which was all he had) ought not now object to *four days'* opportunity, scrutinizing an effort of similar length, the intent of which was equally directed to aid the common cause and common feelings of the country.——Many instances can be produced of licenses granted to theatrical pieces on less notice than that given in the present case, and where the urgency of immediate production could not be pleaded.——A proof also exists, that a farce, after being some time in rehearsal at Covent-Garden Theatre, under the title of '*The Two Farmers*,' was suppressed by Mr. Larpent, in his official capacity, because it attempted to draw a line between monopoly and honest dealing; and because, as Mr. Larpent personally informed the author, it was highly improper to give a dishonestly speculating farmer the name of Locust.——*The Liberty of the Press most happily and properly interests every thinking individual of these realms*: and, next to the Liberty of the Press (if not immediately connected with it), is the freedom of echoing on the British Stage the genuine, praise-worthy, and, allow me to say, the Providential feelings which have prevented this great, enviable, and commanding country from becoming a Province of France, and its inhabitants from degenerating into vassals of the would-be Emperor of the Universe.——Whatever your critical strictures on the suppressed piece might have been, you would at least have given credit to the propriety of its intention, and, had it been unworthy of repetition, had rather seen it fairly condemned by a jury of its Author's countrymen, than denied a trial on so futile a plea as that which put a veto on—Orange Boven."

Now, let us, if you please, not pester ourselves about the *one day's notice* and the *four days' notice*, and about who this Mr. *Larpent* is, or about what miserable trash he may now have put a stop to. Let us, Sir, leave all this aside, and pin our attention to this simple fact: to wit; that there actually is a person appointed by the government, and, I suppose, removable at its pleasure, *whose license must be obtained to every theatrical piece, before the actors dare to perform it*. Now, then, if your pupils should become readers of plays, here, at any rate, they will not read a word but what the government has previously granted them permission to read. Here there is no pretence of freedom of the press. Here the writing is first examined; and, if the agent of the government does not approve of it, it is suppressed. This is what Napoleon does with regard to all writings; and, really, I think it much better for the managers of play-houses to be subject to this sort of control, than to be left *free to act* and *liable to punishment for acting*. Here the law is plain; it is here a safe guide: no man can here incur ruin from his ignorance of how far he may go. Here is a person, appointed by the government, to prevent the poor writer from exposing

himself to a punishment heavier than that of a great part of the felons. He is not here told, that he has freedom to write: he is not here told, that he enjoys that precious liberty: he is told, that he is to cause to be read upon the stage just as much as the government agent pleases, and no more.

This "ORANGE BOVEN," as he calls himself, says, that "the *Liberty of the* "*Press* most *happily* and *properly* interests "every THINKING individual of these "realms," of whom, I suppose, he regards himself as one; and, indeed, his remarks do seem to discover no common reach of thought. But, with due submission to this profound gentleman, who, in all probability, ought to thank Mr. Larpent for keeping his balderdash from the public, I would ask, what is the *difference*, the *real* difference, between the state of the *Stage* and that of the *Press?* On the Stage you must utter nothing which an agent of the government has not previously examined and approved of; for, if you do, you subject yourself to punishment. Very well; and what can you do in the other case? Why, through the press you can utter nothing, which the Attorney General does not approve of, whether it be false or true, without exposing yourself to a state prosecution, which may bring on you a punishment more severe than that inflicted on a great part of the felons. You are held responsible for all that you publish, and it belongs, and solely belongs, to an officer, appointed by the government, and removable at its pleasure, to call upon you for that responsibility; to choose his time when to commence proceedings against you; to choose, afterwards, the time for bringing you to trial; to suspend his criminal charge over your head as long as he pleases; and, if he choose, and whenever he may choose, to drop his charge against you, and to relieve you and your half-dead family from your fears. "ORANGE BOVEN" may say what he pleases of Mr. Larpent; but, really, I think that that gentleman fills a very friendly and amiable office.

Here, Sir, I close this part of my subject; and I think, that, in whatever light the matter is viewed, it is impossible to deny, that the teaching of the children of the poor to read is more likely to do harm than good, if by good we mean the enlightening of their minds and making them friends to the rights and liberties of men in society.—I remain, with unfeigned respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, Monday, Oct. 18, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Oct. 18, 1813.

Captain the Earl of March arrived this morning with a dispatch from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy.

Lezaca, Oct. 9, 1813.

My Lord,—Having deemed it expedient to cross the Bidassoa with the left of the army, I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that that object was effected on the 7th instant.——Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham directed the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General Wilson, to cross that river in three columns below and in one above the site of the bridge, under the command of Major-General Hay, the Hon. Colonel Greville, Major-General the Hon. Edward Stopford, and Major-General Howard, and Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre directed that part of the 4th Spanish army under his immediate command, to cross in three columns at fords, above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye, while the latter should carry those on the Montagne-Verte, and on the height of Mandale, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.——The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those by them.——I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of all the troops. The 9th British regiment were very strongly opposed, charged with bayonets more than once, and have suffered; but I am happy to add, that in other parts of these corps our loss has not been severe.——The Spanish troops, under Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre behaved admirably, and turned and carried the enemy's entrenchments in the hill with great dexterity and gallantry; and I am much indebted to the Lieutenant-General, and to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and to the General and Staff Officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.——Lieute-

nant-General Sir Thomas Graham, having thus established, within the French territory, the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who had arrived from Ireland the preceding day. While this was going on upon the left, Major-General C. Baron Alten attacked, with the light division, the enemy's entrenchments in the Puerto de Vera, supported by the Spanish division under Brigadier-General Longa; and the Mariscal del Campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's entrenchments and posts on the mountain called Da Rhune, immediately on the right of the light division, with the army of reserve of Andalusia.——Colonel Colborne, of the 52d regiment, who commanded Major-General Skerrett's brigade, in the absence of the Major-General on account of his health, attacked the enemy's right in a camp which they had strongly entrenched: and the 52d regiment, under the command of Major Mein, charged in a most gallant style, and carried the entrenchment with the bayonet. The 1st and 3d cacadores, and the 2d battalion 95th regiment, as well as the 52d, distinguished themselves in this attack.——Major-General Kempt's brigade attacked by the Puerto, where the opposition was not so severe; and Major-General Charles Alten has reported his sense of the judgment displayed both by the Major-General and by Colonel Colborne, in these attacks; and I am particularly indebted to Major-General Charles Alten for the manner in which he executed this service; the light division took twenty-two officers and four hundred men prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. ——These troops carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands; and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the hermitage; and on a rock on the same range of the mountain, with the right of the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning, before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp of Surra. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right; and, as soon as the concentration commenced, Mariscal del Campo Don Pedro Giron ordered the Battalion de las Ordenes to attack the enemy's post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. Those troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill which protected the right of the camp of Sarre, and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments sent from the 7th division by Lieutenant-Gen. the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschalar, for this purpose. ——Don P. Giron then established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the rock of the Hermitage. It was too late to proceed further last night, and the enemy withdrew from their post at the Hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre during the night.——It gives me singular satisfaction to report the good conduct of the officers and troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia, as well in the operations of the 7th inst. as in those of yesterday. The attack made by the battalion of Las Ordenes, under the command of Colonel Hore, yesterday, was made in as good order, and with as much spirit, as any that I have seen made by any troops; and I was much satisfied with the spirit and discipline of the whole of this corps.—— I cannot applaud too highly the execution of the arrangements for these attacks by the Mariscal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, and the General and Staff Officers under his directions.——I omitted to report to your Lordship in my dispatch of the 4th inst. that upon my way to Roncevalles on the 1st inst. I directed Brigadier-General Campbell to endeavour to carry off the enemy's picquets in his front, which he attacked on that night, and completely succeeded, with the Portuguese troops under his command, in carrying the whole of one picquet, consisting of 70 men; a fortified post on the mountain of Arolla was likewise stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword. ——Since I addressed your Lordship last, I have received dispatches from Lieutenant-General Clinton, in Catalonia, to the 3d inst. The General was still at Tarragona, and the enemy were in their old position in the Lobregat.——Lieut.-General Lord W. Bentinck had embarked for Sicily on the 22d of September.——I send this dispatch by my Aid-de-Camp, Captain the Earl of March, whom I beg to recommend to your Lordship's protection.——I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

I enclose a return of the loss incurred in the late operations; and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the army under Lieut.-General Lord Wm. Bentinck, in the affairs at Ordal, on the 12th and 13th ultimo.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. in the Passage of the Bidassoa, and forcing the Enemy's Lines, on the 7th and 9th of Oct. 1813.

Royal Artillery. 1 rank and file wounded.—Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 8 rank and file wounded.—3d Guards, 1st Batt. 9 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.—Royal Scots, 3d Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 4 serjeants, 15 rank and file, wounded.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 staff, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 captain, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. 8 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 62 rank and file, wounded.—38th Ft. 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjt. 18 rank and file, wounded.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 1 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, wounded.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 9 drummers, 60 rank and file, wounded.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 drummer, 2 rank and file, wounded.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. 1 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.—95th Foot, 1st Batt. 10 rank and file wounded.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 23 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 67 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. 4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 17 rank and file, wounded.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 1 lieutenant, 6 rank and file, killed: 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 6 serjeants, 57 rank and file, wounded.—2d Light Batt. Kings German Legion. 4 rank and file killed; 3 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 29 rank and file, wounded.—1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 8 rank and file wounded.—2d Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 lieutenant, 8 rank and file, wounded.—5th Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.—Brunswick Oel's. 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 18 rank and file, wounded.

Total British Loss.—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 69 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 12 captains, 22 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 33 serjeants, 3 drummers, 419 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, missing

Total Portuguese Loss.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 41 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 152 rank and file, wounded; 8 rank and file missing.

General Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 110 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 13 captains, 24 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 1 staff, 48 serjeants, 4 drummers, 571 rank and file, wounded; 13 rank and file missing.

Accurate returns have not been received of the Spanish loss, but it is estimated at 750 killed, wounded, and missing.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed and wounded on the 7th and 9th of October, 1813.

British killed.

95th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenants Hill and Campbell.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Lieutenant Klanck.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Shawe.

Portuguese killed.

1st Cacadores. Lieutenant-Colonel Algeo, and Captain Joachim Ant. De Cunha.—3d Cacadores. Lieut. Joao Pinto, Ensign Jose Pinto, and Joq. Navarro de Andrade.

British Officers wounded.

4th Foot, 1st Batt. Surgeon J. Gordon, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Jervoise, slightly; Lieut. Dale, severely; Lieuts. Sheppard and M'Adam, severely; Lieuts. C. Campbell and Lemesurier, slightly; Lieuts. Brooks and Stirling, and Ensigns Nash and Kenny, severely.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. Captains Main (Major) and Douglas, Lieutenant Hunter, Ensign Fraser, severely; Captains P. Campbell and Sheddon, slightly.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Hart, severely; Captain Gibbons, severely (since dead); Lieuts. Ridgeway and Fry, severely; Lieuts. Budgeon and Madden, slightly.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieut. G. Vickers, severely.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Captain Huizemann, slightly; Captain Rautenburg, and Lieut. Wahrendorf, severely; Lieuts. Lemers, Atkins, and Marweden, and Ensign Gibson, slightly.—2d Line ditto. Lieut. A. Hesse, severely.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Rogers, slightly—Brunswick Light Infantry. Major Fragstein, slightly; Captain Wolfradt, severely; Captain Wackholz, slightly; Lieuts. Theide and Greisheim, slightly; Lieuts. Schneider and Gruttemann (2d) severely.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

17th Line. Lieut. John A. Mathizon.—1st Cacadores. Major Antonio Lobo Teix. Barros, slightly; Lieut. M. J. Antonio Sobral, slightly; Ensign M. Ten D'Almeida, slightly, Ensign Dom. M. Coelho, Ensign Joao Ant. de Millo, severely; Ensign Francisco Taveira, severely.—7th Cacadores. Joaq. Seciro, severely; Ensign Man. Martins, severely.—8th Cacadores. Captain Jose Valley, and Ensign P. J. P. Sirre, severely.

GOTTENBURGH MAIL.

BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 26, 1813.

On the 21th, at break of day, two Saxon officers appeared at the Swedish advanced posts before Worlitz, and informed them, that their battalion would come over to our side. Col. Bjornstierra, accompanied by some hussars, went to the front of the battalion to give it a reception. Its Commander, the Major Von Bunau, declared, in the name of his whole troop, that it requested to fight under the standard of his Royal Highness, for the liberty of Germany. This battalion is the first of the King's regiment; its force amounts to eight

officers, and 360 men. It entered Worletz with fixed bayonets and drums beating, and will bear the name of the first battalion of the King of Saxony's Legion. In three days at farthest it will be completed to 800 men. The Cossack Officer, Obrus, who was detached with 30 men on the 23d, near Goldwitz, took one Captain, two officers, and 40 Saxon dragoons prisoners, after a slight engagement.——Six Swedish gun-boats, under the command of Captain Kruger, have cannonaded the town of Stettin, the suburb of Damm, and the batteries which connect both those places, with good effect.——On the 24th Aug. three guns at Damm were dismounted, Lieut.-Col. Fermain, his Adjutant, a serjeant-major, and several soldiers were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the enemy's side. On the 30th Aug. the gate of Damm was broke down by cannon-shot, and on the 1st Sept. the fire was directed against the town itself. The boats had a few men killed and wounded in these affairs.——To draw off the attention of the garrison of Wittenberg from the side where the trenches were opened, and therefore to lessen our loss, General Bulow received orders to bombard the place from the opposite side. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, he caused the suburbs to be attacked. The judicious dispositions made by General Herchleldt, caused the attack to be attended with complete success. The suburbs were taken, and the enemy driven back on all points; we had only a few men wounded, not a single one killed. The attack does great honour to General Herchfeldt.——The trenches were opened on the side of Luthersbrunn, in the night between the 24th and 25th. The bombardment commenced on the same night, and several places were set on fire. The fire continued from ten o'clock in the evening till five o'clock in the morning. The fire was perceptible from the steeples of Leipzick and Dresden. At the same time a second parallel was opened on the side of the castle. Count Woronzow's cavalry keeps Halle, Querfurth, Eisleben, Bernburg, and Halberstadt garrisoned. A detachment has been at Quedlinburg. A part of this cavalry has formed a junction with the great Bohemian army, and is marching into the rear of General Lefevre, who was skirmishing with Gen. Thielmann. Every thing is in the greatest confusion at Leipzick. This city can no longer raise the contributions of money, provisions, and horses, which are demanded of it from all sides.——The people are reduced to such a degree of misery, that the Authorities who carry the command, have every thing to fear. The French soldiers are tired and weary of a war without an object, which they call the Coffee and Sugar War.——General Czernitzcheff is gone with 3,000 horse on a private expedition.——Major Hellwig, of General Bulow's corps, has on the left bank of the Elbe opened a communication with the van-guard of General Schulzenheim, at Dessau.——The Field Marshal Count Stedingk causes considerable works to be thrown up, above Rostau, and between the Elbe and Mulde. General Winzingerode is forming the town of Acken into a fortress. The military Government between the Oder and the Vistula has placed the whole of the Landsturm on the right bank of the Oder, under the orders of the General commanding the sieges of Stettin and Kustrin. This Landsturm will form a mass of about 55,000 men, in a line of about seven German miles.——The Landsturm on the left bank of the Oder will in the same extent produce an equal number of men. This force is certainly not necessary in conjunction with the troops of the line, to hasten the surrender of those places. Consequently, in a line of fourteen German miles, there is already organized a mass of one hundred thousand Burghers, who are all ready to fight for the protection of their homes.——When Magdeburgh shall be enclosed, the Landsturm of that force will be called out; at every step that the Allied Army moves forward, it will find masses to assist it.——The letters received from Dresden, state, that the Prince of Neufchatel is very much displeased, and that he has made the most urgent remonstrances to prevail on the Emperor Napoleon to make peace. Had his counsels been followed, humanity would have had less to bemoan.

BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 30, 1813.

On the 27th Sept. the enemy commenced making his retreat from Grossenhayn, to cross the Elbe at Meissen, and it is asserted that he is even preparing to evacuate Dresden.——Deserters assure us, that the military magazines of that city are already burnt, and that the inhabitants find themselves exposed to the most dreadful misery. ——General Count Tauenzien, without the least delay, detached his light cavalry in pursuit of the enemy; strong detachments are intended for the left bank of the Elbe. That General's infantry has happily joined

Blucher's corps d'armée. The head-quarters of the latter were removed to Elsterwerde on the 28th. General Benningsen has been at Zittau since the 25th. By the united activity of the three corps, it is hoped the enemy will soon be forced back into the country between the Elbe and the Saale.——Whittenburgh continues to be strongly bombarded. In the night between the 27th and 28th, the town was on fire in several places, a tower of the castle was on fire and fell in. Exclusive of the bombs, rockets were likewise used under the very able direction of the English Capt. Bogue. ——The garrison answered our attacks with their artillery, but entirely without effect; they may, perhaps, attempt a sally, but General Bulow is before that fortress with 30,000 men, and if it should be necessary can be strengthened with upwards of 40,000 more.——The distress in Magdeburg has reached its utmost height. Upwards of an hundred families, who were totally without sustenance, have left the city. A great part of the garrison, which is composed of all nations, is sickly. The animosity of the Saxons and Westphalians against the French military has broke out into violent disturbances: they have fired on each other with small arms, and the French have even been obliged in their defence to turn the cannon on the mutineers. The Emperor Napoleon has given his Generals orders to take Dessau, let it cost what it will. Information of this was received in sufficient time to give Major Gen. Schulzenheim timely notice to evacuate the place, and retire by degrees upon the works at the *tete-de-pont*. This was performed on the 27th, between 12 at noon and 2 *p. m.* The enemy did not undertake any thing against General Von Schulzenheim. Col. Bjornsterna, who was at Worlitz, received orders to fall back on the right bank of the Elbe. The day before yesterday the party covering the workmen at the *tete-de-pont* reconnoitred nearly as far as Dessau. Those posts of the enemy who had ventured out of the city were drove into the streets, and the reconnoitring party returned behind the entrenchments. In this skirmish we had 20 men killed and wounded.——We soon after received information that the enemy at Dessau had received reinforcements, and was advancing against the *tete-de-pont*. Field-Marshal Count Stedingk sent Colonel Bjornsterna against him with 1,000 infantry, some cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. The enemy hastily retired into the town, and shut the gates. A few young officers and soldiers, led away by too much bravery, threw themselves, in despite of the enemy's shower of bullets from the houses and walls, on a gate, and endeavoured to cut it open with axes, but nails and iron bands rendered this impossible. Col. Bjornsterna ordered his troops to fall back to the *tete-de-pont*. When he had reached the distance of 100 yards, the enemy opened the gate, and fired on him with three pieces of artillery. The Colonel halted, returned the fire with his artillery, and marched on the enemy, who returned back into the town, and fastened the gates after them.——Our loss consists in two officers killed, and some wounded, and 3 or 4 privates killed, and about 40 wounded. Col. Bjornsterna had 3 horses killed or wounded under him.——In the evening, the enemy again left the town, and took his direction towards the bridge, across the Mulde, which was intrusted to a battalion under the command of Colonel Aldercreutz. This brave officer crossed the bridge, attacked the enemy, and drove him briskly back into the town, the gates of which were then closed.——At nine o'clock yesterday morning the enemy shewed himself with a corps of about 7 or 8,000 men in the vicinity of Oranienbaum, between the Mulde and the Elbe. As we had drawn our posts in, the enemy shewed symptoms of marching against the entrenchments, and forcing them. Lieut.-General Baron Sandels put himself at the head of three battalions, went out of our lines, and straight upon the enemy; he overthrew him, and drove him briskly upwards of a quarter of a German mile back. As this General had received orders to return back to the *tete-de-pont*, he executed them with such precision as could not have been excelled on the place of exercise. The fire of musketry against the tirailleurs continued for some hours, and the enemy undertook nothing further. According to the report of the country people, the enemy has lost upwards of 600 men. We had one officer killed, 10 wounded, and about 300 privates killed and wounded.——Field Marshal Count Von Stedingk would have passed the night in the *tete-de-pont*, and it required all the persuasion of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince to prevail on him to abstain from that resolution.——Lieut.-Col. Mauvetz, who had been detached as a partisan to support the operations of Gen. Tettenborn, has forced himself into Brunswick, surprised the troops there, and made one Colonel, and 400 officers and soldiers prisoners.——The Rus-

sian Captain, *Barotzi,* was attacked at Halle, by *troops superior in numbers to his* own, but *that* brave officer manœuvred so well, *that he* drove back the enemy, and made *some* prisoners.——A detachment that was sent against Merseburg found that town already evacuated by the enemy.——General Count Woronzow having learnt that the enemy had turned himself towards Cothen, caused the Captains Prescott and Lowenstern to march against him with a detachment of Cossacs. They threw themselves on three squadrons of Polish Uhlans, overthrew them, and took the commanding officer and 40 men prisoners.——The Emperor Napoleon's communication with France is cut off to that degree, that his messengers are obliged to be escorted by whole divisions.——It was hitherto only the light troops that carried on this kind of warfare, but latterly the inhabitants of several districts have begun to follow *the example of the Spaniards and Russians,* in making common cause *with* the military of the Allies.——*The* desertion from the enemy's *army is very great:* thirty or forty men daily come over to us.——We have intercepted several dispatches from Count Von Dernoth, the Danish Minister at the Court of Saxony, to M. Von Rosencrantz. As these were intended to give the Danish Court the needful information concerning the state of affairs at Dresden, care will be taken that they shall arrive at their destination.

French Documents.

(Continued from page 768.)

express reservation, with regard to such of its stipulations as may be affected by it.—2. That he will not in any wise refuse to make a convention relative to the offers and the acceptance of the Austrian mediation.—3. That, finally, the undersigned is charged and provided with the necessary full powers to regulate the terms of these two acts, and to sign them.——The undersigned seizes this opportunity of renewing to the Duke de Bassano the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Metternich.

Gitschen, 22d June, 1813.

No. X.—The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs, has conveyed to the knowledge of the Emperor and King, the note which his Excellency Duke de Bassano, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, did him the honour of addressing to him from Dresden, on the 15th of this month, and his Imperial Majesty has directed him to reply to it by the following explanation:——The Emperor caused notification to be made in the month of February last to the principal Belligerent Powers, of his offer of interference for the re-establishment of peace, convinced, that without a just political equilibrium, the repose so necessary to Europe could not be completely ensured; and not less convinced that this equilibrium is directly connected with a maritime peace, his Imperial Majesty's wishes necessarily pointed to such a peace. He had the satisfaction of finding his interference accepted by the Powers to which he had offered it, England alone declined it.——The progress of events induced Austria to extend her interference to an actual mediation. The Emperor addressed his offers of it to the principal belligerent Powers. Nevertheless his Imperial Majesty always deemed it necessary to await the epocha when his mediation would be formally accepted, to make a new attempt with the British Government. This step has taken place at this moment.——Immense forces have, however, approached each other; the armistice is nearly terminated, and armies, in presence of each other, too directly oppose the prolongation of a simple armistice, for the Emperor to admit the possibility of the immediate assembling of a Congress, to which would be called all the Powers of Europe, including therein Plenipotentiaries from the Regency at Cadiz, and of the United States of America. How is it, in fact, to be supposed, that the indispensible preparations, the discussion of the forms to be given the Congress, the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, and the preliminary negociations on the basis of the pacification would not draw out into a length, which would render necessary a very different dislocation of the armistice? And how could the possibility be admitted, that either of the belligerent parties would yield up, without any guarantee, advantages of which it might believe it had an assured pledge, in the actual position of its forces?——In this state of affairs, the Emperor applied himself to reconcile the proceedings in favour of a general pacification with the actual conjunctures. His Imperial Majesty proposed, that there should be negociated, under his mediation, a peace between the principal Powers of the continent, which might of itself serve as the basis to a general pacification.——This first peace would place the Powers in an attitude which would

permit them to await the assembling of a General Congress. It would directly lead to a maritime peace, in such manner, that this would be the completion of the continental peace. In fine, there is no doubt but that this negociation might be easily terminated before the expiration of the armistice, and as the castle of Gitschen in Bohemia offers itself as being at once the nearest and most central place between the two great head-quarters, his Imperial Majesty does not hesitate in proposing to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, to send a negociator on his part to the said castle of Gitschen. The undersigned has orders to add, that the same proposals have just been addressed to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to his Majesty the King of Prussia. It will, without doubt, be sufficient to have announced the intent of his invitation, to prevent his Majesty the Emperor of the French from entertaining the least doubt of its in anywise entering into the views of the Emperor of Austria, to confound his mediation freely accepted by the Powers, with formalities which would lead to the exclusion of negociators charged to defend directly the interests of the high contracting parties. His Imperial Majesty has always shewn himself a too zealous defender of the rights of Sovereigns and of the principle of the independence of Powers, to believe it to be necessary for him to give assurances, that he respects both the one and the other, even to their minutest concerns.——The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency M. the Duke of Bassano the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Gitschen, June 22, 1813.

No. XI.—*Note from the Duke de Bassano to M. the Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has imparted to the knowledge of his Majesty the Emperor and King the first note, which was yesterday transmitted to him by his Excellency the Count de Metternich, bearing date the 22d of this month. His Majesty the Emperor and King has perceived with satisfaction that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria persists in the same sentiments and disposition which dictated the stipulations of the Treaty of Alliance, of 14th March, 1812.——But his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, desiring an express reservation with regard to such of the conditions of the said Treaty which he deems not to be applicable to existing circumstances; and having furnished M. the Count de Metternich with the necessary powers for negociating a Convention to that effect with the French Government, his Imperial and Royal Majesty has directed the undersigned to declare, that he is in like manner furnished with full powers to negociate, conclude, and sign the said Convention.——The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 27, 1813.

No. XII.—*Note from the Duke of Bassano, to the Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, &c. having received instructions and powers, to negociate, conclude, and sign the reservations which his Majesty the Emperor of Austria deems necessary to make to the Treaty of Alliance of 14th March, 1812, and wishing, agreeably to the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor and King, to accelerate this negociation as much as possible, instantly enters on the subject, and begs his Excellency Count de Metternich immediately to transmit him the *projet* of reservations desired by his Court.——The Treaty of Alliance is composed of nine Articles.——By Art. 1, the two high contracting parties engaged to pay the greatest attention to maintaining the good intelligence so happily established between them, their states, and respective subjects.——His Majesty the Emperor of Austria now undoubtedly remains in the same disposition. Nevertheless, the position of the Austrian army in Bohemia, which keeps its cordon before the French army, and which, contrary to established usage, interdicts the passage to the French officers and agents, although furnished with regular passports, constitutes a change in the relations, contrary to the tenor of that Article. If this stipulation is to subsist, it will be requisite on both parts, to take without delay the necessary measures for preventing every thing that might change the good intelligence, and come to an understanding on the subject of the posting troops on the respective frontiers.——By Art. 2, the two contracting parties guarantee to each other the integrity of their present territories. His Majesty persists in this guarantee, as far as concerns him. The undersigned has the honour to beg of Count de Metternich whether Austria equally persists in it, or if the 2d Article of the Treaty is to be placed among the reservations.——The 3d Article stipulates the obligation taken by the two contracting parties, of mutually succouring

each other, in case that, notwithstanding the good offices employed by one or the other, either of them should be attacked or threatened.——Articles 4 and 5 determine the quality of the succours, and the time when they must be furnished. His Majesty, constant to his principles, considers these stipulations as useful, and in the spirit of the alliance. The undersigned will, at any time, have the honour of explaining himself on the modifications which Austria may wish, as soon as they shall be made known to him.——The 6th and 7th Articles relate to the reciprocal guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the principles of neutral navigation.——The undersigned equally desires to know the reservations of which Austria considers these two articles are susceptible. With regard to the secret articles, the reservations of which they may be the object, will be a corollary of those which the open Articles must be liable to, and on which it is necessary preliminarily to know the views which his Excellency Count de Metternich may have to present.——The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

No. XIII.—*Note from the Duke of Bassano, to Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, the 2d Note, which was yesterday transmitted to him by his Excellency Count de Metternich, dated the 22d instant.——His Majesty the Emperor and King experienced real satisfaction from the explanations contained in that Note, in regretting the time which had elapsed since signing the armistice, and which might have been so usefully employed in the work of peace; he is convinced, according to the declaration which has been made known to him of the sentiments with which his Majesty the Emperor Francis is animated for the rights of Sovereigns, that these delays cannot be imputed to Austria. ——His Imperial and Royal Majesty was equally satisfied in learning that his Excellency Count de Metternich was clothed with the requisite powers for negociating a Convention, relative to the acceptance of the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and he has, in consequence, ordered the undersigned to declare that he is in like manner provided with full powers to negociate, conclude, and sign the said Convention.——The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 27, 1813.

No. XIV.—*Note from Count de Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.*

The undersigned Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has received the two notes which his Excellency the Duke of Bassano did him the honour of addressing to him this morning.——The attitude of Mediator undoubtedly can only be conceived in the most complete independence. If the political independence of Austria cannot be affected by the spirit of the alliance of the 14th March, 1812, an alliance purely defensive, and founded directly on the preservation of the peace of the continent, and on the desire of the re-establishment of a maritime peace, is not, however, the same with the letter of that treaty.——The undersigned being able to refer to his note of the 22d June, in reply to that of the Duke of Bassano of the same date, proposes to his Excellency to dispense with, at a moment so important to humanity, all discussions on particular articles of the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, and to place the reservation relative to the said treaty in a declaration common both to Austria and France, similar to that of which the undersigned has herewith the honour to annex a *projet*.——The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Dresden, June 28, 1813.

The title of Mediator importing the most entire liberty, and not admitting any obligation which might be found in opposition with the interest of one or other of the parties interested, their Imperial and Royal Majesties, the Emperor of the French, &c. and the Emperor of Austria, &c. equally animated with a desire to concur, by all the means in their power, to the most speedy re-establishment of peace, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, by the offer he has made of his mediation to the Belligerent Powers, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, by his acceptance of the mediation of Austria,—their said Imperial Majesties, on the other hand, not wishing, by the act of mediation, in the least manner to prejudice the existence of the alliance established between them by the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, have mutually agreed to declare, that such stipulations of the said treaty as might affect the impartiality of the Mediator shall be suspended during the whole course of the

negociations, expressly reserving, to cause the said stipulations to be revived, except the modifications, which, by mutual agreement, they may judge necessary to apply to them, after the pacification which at the actual moment forms the first object of their Imperial Majesties care.

No. XV.—*Note from Count de Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.*

The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has received the note his Excellency the Duke of Bassano did him the honour of addressing to him yesterday. ——The dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, as they are found expressed in that note in favour of opening, in the most speedy manner possible, negociations, and the desire of the Austrian Cabinet to second the work of peace by every means in its power, has determined the undersigned to address to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, for establishing both the offer of Austrian mediation, and the acceptance of that mediation by France, the annexed official paper purely and simply stating his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty's offer of mediation.——The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Count de METTERNICH.
Dresden, June 29, 1813.

[Here follows another note from the same, and of the same date, announcing that the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia had accepted the mediation of Austria, and requesting the Duke of Bassano to inform him of the French Emperor's determination.]

No. XVI.—*Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to Count de Metternich's Note of the 28th June, on the Subject of the Alliance.*

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, Count de Metternich's note of yesterday.——The proposal contained in that note tends to place in reservation, not only some articles of the treaty of alliance of the 14th March, 1812, but the whole of the treaty itself, which appears in opposition to the declarations made up to this day by the Court of Vienna, and even to the dispositions expressed by Count de Metternich in his preceding note of the 22d of this month.——It is not in the power of any one to cause to exist, what does not exist; thus it could not be said the treaty of alliance existed, if all its stipulations were placed in the reservations. ——His Majesty thought that these reservations, which were to be the object of the convention to be concluded, merely referred to some articles which were deemed by the Court of Vienna inapplicable to present circumstances; but as they must embrace, as the note of the Count de Metternich authorizes to believe, the very letter of the whole treaty, his Majesty can only consider the wish of the Court of Vienna as equivalent to a renunciation of the alliance. ——The treaty of the 14th March, 1812, had been concluded in the opinion of its being favourable to all parties. His Majesty, who does not wish to render his alliance expensive to his friends, makes no difficulty in renouncing that which united him to Austria, if such be the wish of his Majesty the Emperor Francis. This change in the alteration between France and Austria will not make any alteration in the friendship and good understanding resulting from the last treaties which established peace between the two powers.——The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke de BASSANO.
Dresden, June 29, 1813.

No. XVII.—*Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to that of M. de Metternich, of the 20th June, on the Subject of the Mediation, with a Projet of a Convention.*

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, the note of his Excellency the Count de Metternich, of this day's date, relative to the offer which the Court of Vienna made of its mediation.——His Imperial and Royal Majesty has charged him, in reply to the said note, to present the annexed *projet* for articles, as a simple sketch which may serve in the negociation for which the Count de Metternich and the undersigned are respectively furnished with full powers.——Count de Metternich will perceive by the tendency of the projected dispositions, his Majesty's desire to replace on its basis Europe, shaken by 30 years of war, and to substitute for separate powers a general peace, negociated, not in the cabinet, but before all Europe, and in the face of all her nations.——It was in this manner they acted at Munster, at Nimeguen, at Ryswick, and at Utrecht; the

powers were not arrested by the complication of interests, and the delays inseparable from a general negociation; and even at Osnabruck, where they had besides to conciliate religious ideas, which are always so delicate, and from their nature so very little susceptible of modification, all difficulties were surmounted by time and perseverance.—Why, then, when they are certainly of less consideration, should we now despair of attaining complete success?——His Majesty prefers Vienna or Prague for the place of Congress, as being large cities, where all the negotiators might be assembled.——He refers to the Mediator for adopting such measures of policy as may enable the Plenipotentiaries to enjoy the privileges and honours which belong to their character, and to the dignity of the Sovereigns whom they represent.——The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 29, 1813.

Annexed to No. XVII.—*Sketch of a Convention for the offer and acceptance of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.*

Dresden, June 29, 1813.

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria offers his mediation for a general peace.——2. His said Majesty, in offering his mediation, does not intend to present himself as an arbitrator, but as a mediator, animated by the most perfect disinterestedness, and the most complete impartiality, aiming solely at conciliating the differences, and of facilitating, as far as shall depend on him, a general pacification.——3. This mediation shall extend to England, to the United States, to the King of Spain, to the Regency of Cadiz, and to all the powers of the two belligerent masses.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will propose to them the city of Vienna, or that of Prague, for place of Congress.——4. His Majesty the Emperor of France accepts for himself and his allies, the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, such as it is proposed to him by the foregoing articles. He likewise accepts for the place of Congress either of the cities of Vienna or Prague, whichever may best suit the convenience of the other belligerent powers.——5. The French, Russian, and Prussian Plenipotentiaries shall assemble in the said city, within the first five days of July, under the mediation of Austria, for the purpose of commencing negotiations, and either by preliminaries, or by a convention, or by a particular treaty of peace, put a stop to the effusion of blood, which afflicts the continent.——6. If on the 20th July one of the two belligerent powers should denounce the armistice, conformably to the convention of the 4th June, the negotiations of the congress shall not thereby suffer any interruption.——7. The present convention, &c.

No. XVIII. *Projet of Articles for Application of the Mediation of Austria to a General Peace, agreed to with M. de Metternich, and taken by him.*

Dresden, June 30, 1813.

Their Majesties, &c. having come to an understanding by the convention of the 30th June, relative to the negotiations to be entered into under the mediation of Austria, for a continental peace, and judging it proper likewise to agree on what regards the negotiations for a general peace, have nominated, &c. &c.——Art. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria makes the offer of his mediation to all the Belligerent Powers, for assembling a Congress of general pacification, which shall fix on a solid basis the interests of all the powers of Europe, which have been shaken for 25 years past.——Art.... For this purpose a general Congress shall be convoked to meet either in the city of Prague, or Vienna, at the choice of the parties concerned.——Art.... The United States of America shall be invited to send plenipotentiaries thither. For Spain there shall be admitted plenipotentiaries from the King of Spain, and from the Regency of Cadiz.——Art.... Every Plenipotentiary of such Belligerent Power that has accepted the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria towards a general peace, who shall present himself at the place of negotiation, will be admitted.

No. XIX.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. being animated with an equal desire to come to a re-establishment of peace, and his said Majesty the Emperor of Austria, having to this purpose offered his mediation towards a general peace, or in default of that, to-

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Irish Press.——That the press in Ireland is full as *free* as the press in England, there is, I think, but little doubt. Nevertheless, some transactions, said to have taken place in that Island, are worthy of notice, if, in the present state of things, it be worth any man's while to spend a moment of his time in reflections upon such a subject as that of the *press*.——From a statement in the Morning Chronicle of the 20th instant, it appears, that Mr. Saurin, the Attorney General in Ireland, some time ago, prosecuted a Mr. Magee, proprietor of a news-paper in Dublin; that the unfortunate man was convicted; that he was imprisoned before judgment, bail having been refused; that, after having laid in jail for four months, waiting for his sentence, he was brought forth and sentenced; that he was then sent to another jail, but for how long a period we are not told.——Here, though the facts are, upon a bare statement of them, sufficiently terrific to those who hold unruly pens, there is nothing *new;* nothing which we are not in the daily habit of seeing, except with regard to the refusal of bail, and I know not precisely how far the power of the Attorney General may extend in that respect; but, I know, that the Judges, in England, have the power to commit as soon as a verdict is found, and to keep the wretched writer or printer in jail till the hour for sentencing him; for this was done in the case of Mr. Eaton.——But, what follows is *entirely new* to me, though I thought that I had pretty well understood all the powers of the Attorney General and the Judges with regard to the press.——We are told, that the paper, in which Mr. Magee offended, has been *extinguished* by a refusal to let him have *stamps* on paper to print upon, and that there is an *act of parliament,* authorizing this refusal.——The passage, which I now allude to, is as follows:——"Immediately after "judgment was pronounced, Mr. Magee "was served with notices from the Stamp-"office, that stamps should no longer be "issued to him. Of course his Paper "must stop—of course *his* Journal must be "extinguished—and this act of Power, "this *novel*, unprecedented act of power, "was wielded not only against the guilty, "but against an innocent Paper; for Mr. "Magee being the owner of *The Herald* as "well as *The Evening Post*, and the stamps "being interdicted to him in person, of "course both his Papers must stop publi-"cation *instanter*. No time was given, "even to sell out—and Mr. Magee was "compelled to transfer the property of both "Papers under all the difficulty and disad-"vantage of an instantaneous notice. Mr. "Magee appeals from this unprecedented "proceeding to the press of both countries "—to the opinion of the public in whose "service he has suffered, and to the justice "of Parliament, to which he will resort. "He makes no further comment for the "present—and as his suffering in this re-"spect has been beyond example, he trusts "it cannot pass observation without censure "and redress. The *public will perceive* "the strong distinction between punishing "and extinguishing the Press."——To be sure, this is an effectual way of putting a man to silence. But, it is, it seems, quite agreeably to *law;* and, therefore, the Morning Chronicle, which is continually boasting of the super-excellence of our laws, and of the *freedom of our press*, ought not to call it "a *novel* and *unprecedented* act of "power."——Mr. Magee, we are told, "appeals to the *opinion of the public*, in "whose service he has suffered." Poor man! "He appeals to *the justice of the* "*Parliament*, to which he will resort." Poor man! "He appeals *to the press* of "both countries." Alas! Poor man!——To the *press!* and to what press? To the person, amongst others, to whom he has transferred his two papers! Does he expect, that that person, unless he be gifted with wings, will attempt to censure the conduct of his prosecutor or of his punishers? Paltry, then, is it for any one to hold out to his readers, that this unfortunate man, has any hope of meeting with defenders in those who conduct the press in either country.——"The *public*," we are

told, "will perceive the *strong distinction* "between *punishing* and *extinguishing* the "*press*."——If the *public* perceive, at this time, any thing at all about the matter, I am very much deceived. Supposing the public, however, to give, by accident, a glance at Mr. Magee at the bottom of his prison; supposing them to turn their eyes, for a moment, towards the iron bars which secure his residence, they will be more sharp-sighted than I am, if they do "*per*-"*ceive* the *strong distinction* between *pu*-"*nishing* and *extinguishing* the press." For my part, I think, that the Irish Attorney General, in enforcing the *law*, upon this occasion, has acted a friendly part towards the miserable object of his prosecutions; for, he has now, at any rate, put him into a situation where he can no more offend in the same way; and, if the poor creature should survive his imprisonment, he may still be *free* to solicit the alms of charitable and compassionate souls.——The state of the *Stage*, which, as we have recently seen, is under the immediate and absolute control of an agent of the Government, who permits or interdicts at his sole pleasure, appears to me to be preferable to that of the *Press;* and I am sincerely of opinion, that, with a Licenser of the press, the latter would, in fact, be *freer* than it now is. Because, in that case, every writer, being *quite sure of impunity* for any thing that he might write and submit to the Licenser, would never *write in fear;* and, I dare say, that, in numerous cases, a Licenser would suffer to pass much of what is now suppressed by the fear, under which every one must write, who is exposed to such dreadful punishments.——BLACKSTONE, though a very able hand at drawing distinctions, has failed in this particular. He says, that our press is *free:* "that is to "say," says he, "it is subject to *no* "*previous licenser;* every man may write "and publish *what he pleases;* but, then, "he must be *responsible* for so doing."——I am quite *free* to trespass upon my neighbour's land: and, if he be weaker than I, I may, if I *please*, knock him down into the bargain. But, then, I am *responsible* for these acts, and am liable to be punished for them in my purse and in my person.——Therefore, properly speaking, I am *not free* to do these things; I may *not do them if I please.*——BLACKSTONE, who, in most other cases, is very fond of showing how *safe* men are under the guidance of the laws, and to point out how clearly men's rights and duties are defined, cuts the matter short with regard to the press, and merely says what I have related above.——I am free, quite free, to eat and drink and sleep; I am quite free to walk along the high-way; I am quite free to whistle; I am quite free to buy or sell, the money or property being my own, and provided I pay the tax imposed on the sale or purchase by the government. I am free to do these things, because there is no one who can *punish* me for doing them. But, the same cannot be said of writing or publishing, because those are acts for which a man may be punished; and, because there are *no laws* to point out *what I may* and *what I may not* write or publish without exposing myself to punishment.——If there were *boundaries;* if there were land-marks to guide the writer: if the law told him, that he must keep himself within the bounds of *truth;* that he must not pass that boundary without incurring punishment: if he were told, that he must not censure any man in power; that he must find fault of no act of the government; that he must never censure any foreign potentate, unless we were at war with him; and so on. The writer would then know what he was about; and he would, as far as the law permitted him to go, be *free* to write. But, while there is no boundary; while all is left to the opinions and the taste of others, can any man be said to be *free* to write?——Besides, there is the *power of prosecution*, lodged absolutely in the breast of one man, appointed by the Crown, and removable from his office at any moment when the Crown pleases.——This man, the Attorney General, can prosecute any writer for *any thing*. He has nothing to control him but his own discretion. It matters not what the writing be, he can, if he pleases, without consulting any one, prosecute any writer, or any printer, or any publisher, for any thing.——He is not limited as to *time*. He may, if he please, go twenty or eighty years back and prosecute a man for what he *then* wrote or published; so that he, who has once written or published, is, for his whole life time, liable to prosecution for having so done. If Hume, for instance, were now alive, he might, if the Attorney General pleased, be prosecuted for the essays, which he wrote 50 or 60 years ago; and so may any of the Booksellers, who now publish his works.——When the prosecution has been commenced; when a writer or publisher has been charged with a criminal act; when it has become notorious that he stands accused in the

courts as a criminal: when this has been done, the Attorney General may, if he please, suspend any further proceeding for one, two, three, or any number of years. Thurlow did not bring Mr. Horne Tooke to trial till about *two years* after he commenced the prosecution against him.——On the other hand, the Attorney General has the power of *withdrawing the charge*, of putting *an end* to it, at his pleasure. There is no one to call him to account. He may charge and discharge at his sole will and pleasure.——He may bring to trial and the accused may be convicted; and, even after that he may drop the matter if he pleases. He may call the poor wretch up for judgment at once if he pleases, at the very next term: he may let him remain undecided upon for any number of years; and may, at last, call him up; or, he may never call him up at all.——The laws, passed during this reign, renders it impossible for the author of any work to escape exposure. Every printer or publisher is now compelled to keep one copy of every thing that he publishes, with his name written upon it, and is bound, if called upon by the Attorney General, to declare who the author is, or, at least, by whose authority he has printed it or published it. The proprietors of news-papers are compelled to deposit with the Stamp Commissioners an *affidavit* of their *names* and *places of abode*, as are also their printers and publishers. No press can send out any thing privately, for no man must have a press and types without a previous declaration and enregisterment. All the printing presses are now enregistered; and nothing, even a ballad, can be published without bearing the printer's name, under a terrible penalty in case of disobedience of the law.——If the author of a news-paper remove his residence from one Street to another, or even from one door to another, he is compelled to go to the Stamp Office and give information of, and even swear to, the fact.——I will now leave the reader to judge, whether the *punishment* or the *extinguishment* of the press is best for the cause of truth and justice.

* * *

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS.——This Declaration, which was issued at Frankfort on the 1st instant, and which is, perhaps, the most important Document that ever was issued in Europe, merits the serious attention of every man who feels the least interest in the welfare of the country.——After inserting it, I shall make on it such remarks as appear to me likely to be useful.——"The French Government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the Senatus Consultum to that effect contain an appeal to the Allied Powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.——The Allied Powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe, and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.——Victory has conducted the Allied Armies to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the Sovereigns and Princes of Germany, has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other States of Europe. The views of the Powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, honourable to each.——The Allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wish that France may be happy,—that French commerce may revive,—that the arts, those blessings of peace, may again flourish; because a great people can *only* be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The Powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her Kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.——But the Allied Powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy, themselves. They desire a state of peace which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty

"years.——The Allied Powers will not "lay down their arms, until they have, "attained this great and beneficial result, "this noble object of their efforts. They "will not lay down their arms, until the "political state of Europe be re-established "anew,—until immovable principles have "resumed their rights over vain preten- "sions—until the sanctity of treaties shall "have at last secured a real peace to "Europe."——Thus, we see, then, that the Allies are willing to acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of France; that they are willing to confirm to France all the means of being a great nation; that they are ready to leave an extent of territory, which France, under her *kings*, never knew; that they wish to see her commerce revive, and that they have no wish to do any thing that shall be humiliating to her, while they are resolved themselves to be independent and secure.—— It would seem, from this, that *wise* men have, at last, got at the ears of the Allied Sovereigns; that the madness of Anti-jacobinism is banished from their councils; and that they are really desirous of obtaining and securing honourable peace.—— This State-Paper is the very best that I ever read. Concise, clear and modest. It is paying it a very high compliment to say, that it is, in all respects, the very reverse of the Declaration which preceded the Duke of Brunswick, in 1792; but, it merits, fully merits, that compliment.——That such a paper, though coming from our own allies, should excite the rage of the war-loving tribe who conduct our press, is perfectly natural; and, accordingly, they, who recommended to the allies, the cry of "*Buo-* "*naparte and War: the Bourbons and* "*Peace*," have fallen upon it, with the utmost fury. They here see, that the Bourbons are left out of view; that the allies speak of "*His Majesty the Emperor* "*of the French*;" and that they have no idea of "clipping the wings of France for "ever;" nay, that they express a wish to see the *commerce*, and, of course, the *navy* of France, revive.——This was too much to be borne by men, who had been asserting, in the most positive manner, that *no peace could be made with Napoleon*, and who foolishly imagined, that the allies, who had been fighting to prevent one single power from being mistress of the *land*, would take effectual measures for making another single power mistress of the *sea* for ever.——English arrogance has made it habitual for us to look upon all the other powers of Europe as existing merely for our use and benefit. It is not, therefore, very surprising for us to meet with a commentary like the following (in the Courier news-paper) upon this most admirable Declaration of the Allied Powers.—— "The State-Paper, purporting to be the "declaration of the Allied Powers (we can "hardly believe to be genuine) finds its "chief panegyrists among the Opposition, "the Whigs, the Old Whigs, as they call "themselves. They tell us the policy of "this Declaration is the policy which the "Whigs of England have so strenuously "recommended. They are in the right, "for their policy has always been to re- "commend peace with Buonaparte almost "upon any terms. This Declaration con- "sents to make peace with the 'French "Emperor,' leaving him in possession 'of "an extent of territory which France never "knew,' that is, *of the means and resources* "*of the finest part of Europe, and a popu-* "*lation of above thirty millions*, and the "Party are quite satisfied. The allies have "no intention of touching the 'Head of the "Fourth Dynasty, the most consummate "captain of the age'—the object of the "warm and frequent panegyrics of the "Whigs, and all their apprehensions are "removed.——These paragraphs of the "Whigs are censure in disguise. *Timeo* "*Danaos et dona ferentes.* Wherever we "find the Whigs praising any measure, "our first impulse is to suspect that it is "neither patriotic nor wise. For what "policy have they ever pursued or con- "sulted that has not been in direct oppo- "sition to every measure and every prin- "ciple that have at length placed the "Allies in this commanding position? *If* "*war be the element in which we desire to* "*live, we are likely to have our wishes* "*fully accomplished. For if Buonaparte* "*accept this Declaration, it will be impos-* "*sible for us to disarm*: for who can ex- "pect peace to be permanent? Do we "think, that because he has been beaten, "he is tamed? that disasters have changed "his nature, and inspired him with the "desire and love of peace? That he will "put aside at once, that 'study of revenge, "immortal hate?'—No, no, the very pen "with which he signs such a Treaty of "Peace, will the next moment subscribe "some order, some decree that shall lay "the foundation for future war. But it is "asked, and with a strange tergiversation "of principle, by some of those who were "the loudest for making no peace with him,

" 'how is it possible for France, confined " within moderate bounds, and under the " destructive sway of a Buonaparte, ever to " acquire greatness or strength?' In the " first place, do they call ' an extent of " territory which France under her kings " never knew,' confining France within " moderate bounds? *All the evils which " have cursed the world for the last twenty " years came from France, with no larger " extent of territory at first than old France.* " Yet, forsooth, with additional dominions, " she is to be quite harmless—quite ' con- " fined within moderate bounds!' And " Buonaparte, with such an empire and " population, is to be perfectly innocent " and innocuous. The panegyrists of this " *unwise Declaration* have made this " notable discovery, that it is better to " leave Buonaparte Emperor of the French, " because his sway is likely to be destruc " tive to France. He is ' the Simoom of " the desert,' and will therefore be ' fatal " to the vegetation' of the country. Oh, " curious policy and *cunning Allies!* But " if this be their meaning, how do they " reconcile it with their Declaration, that " they " wish France may be happy, that " French *commerce may revive*, that the " arts, those blessings of peace, may again " flourish.' Let them beware, that the " ' Simoom of the desert' does not carry " its blasting influence again among them. " It will carry it if this Declaration be " acted upon. In whatever light we view " it, it has *nothing cheering*, nothing *noble*, " nothing *grand* in it. It cannot lead to " *safety* or *honor*, and no Peace made " under it is likely to be real or perma- " nent."—— No. These men are for eternal war, unless France, " the *finest part of* " *Europe*," be destroyed! What presumption! What *insolence!*——The Allies are here called *unwise;* by way of mockery, they are called *cunning:* and it is asserted, that there is nothing *cheering*, *noble*, or *grand*, in their conduct.——We may be sure, that there are *others* who think so besides the miserable tool who puts this trash upon paper, and who thus raises his puny and spiteful voice against the language of moderation, dignity, and peace. ——What would we have *more* than this Declaration stipulates for? It says, that the Allies will not lay down their arms, till the independence of all the nations of Europe be settled on a solid basis. But, this does not suit the furious Antijacobins. They would destroy France; they would reduce her to be of no weight in the scale of nations. At any rate, they would destroy Napoleon. They here avow the principle, that no peace is to be made by us, that shall leave him any thing like *power*. They are quite prepared to fall upon the Allies with all manner of abuse, unless they will keep on fighting until France is so reduced as to be unable ever hereafter to give *us* any alarm.——These impudent men forget, apparently, that *we* made a peace with Napoleon, leaving him in possession of almost all that he *now* possesses; aye, and we received at *his* hands the island of *Ceylon*, belonging to our friends, the Dutch; and that of *Trinidad*, belonging to our friends, the Spaniards.——Who has forgotten the rejoicings which that peace occasioned? I saw, at the Lord Mayor's Feast, the Tricolored Flag of France entwined with that of England, hanging over the magistrate's chair. We boasted of the friendship of Napoleon; and we heard the very same writers, who are now calling for vengeance on France, proclaiming, that *the two great nations* would keep the rest of the world to its good behaviour.——There is a madman, who writes in the *Times*, who expresses his wish that France could be completely *conquered*. That, he says, is the only way of making *us* quite safe. But, if that be impracticable, *at this moment*, he is for reducing her to a state of perfect imbecility, which, he says, is absolutely necessary to *our* welfare.——How this raving wretch must be comforted by the Declaration of the Allies! A cell and a straight-waistcoat ought to be prepared for him without loss of time.——This maniac tells his readers, that, ever since the *unfortunate* Battle of Hastings, France has been the *curse* of England. The madman forgot, that it was that battle, which gave us our present almost-adored line of sovereigns. *George III.* traces his descent from *William the Conqueror*. This being an undoubted fact, the madman might, I think, have looked upon the Battle of Hastings as *fortunate*. France, at any rate, gave us a race of kings; and, jostle and shuffle and wriggle and twist as long as we will about the matter, we are now under the sway of the descendants of *the Conqueror of our Country*, that Conqueror being a *Frenchman!*—— " All the evils," we are now told, which " have cursed the world for the last twen- " ty years, came from France, with no " larger extent of territory at first than old " France."——If *evils* they have been, (and that is a question), did they come

from France, or, from those who chose to dictate to her as to her internal government? Who began that war? Not the French, certainly. War was made upon them, and their country was actually invaded, for the openly-avowed purpose of compelling them to relinquish their design of changing the nature of their government; and, because they repelled the invaders, and afterwards punished them, France is to be accused of all the sufferings which the contest has occasioned; and (oh! impudence unparalleled!) France is to be reduced to a species of petty principality, lest, in any case, she should disturb the world again!——The truth is, however, that the allies see the matter in a very different light. They do not wish to see England wholly without a rival. They do not wish to see her freed from the awe, which a powerful neighbour is able to excite.——We are continually smelling after the *fleets*. We seem to see nothing but the fleets in the Texel and at Antwerp. We are all impatience to see them *destroyed*. We predict, that they will be *set fire to*. And, do we imagine, that the Allies are such fools as not to perceive our drift? Do we imagine, that all the powers of the Baltic wish to see the sea wholly at our mercy for 40 years to come? If France be deprived of her fair share of power, there will be nothing to keep us in check, unless, indeed, it be the weight of our enormous Debts and Taxes.——It is the interest, not only of the people, but of the governments, of the Continent, to have peace. It is not so clearly the interest of the present system in this country, unless France could be first almost annihilated. Because France, relieved from her debts, having none but her current expenses to support, giving toleration to all religions, and having abolished the heaviest clogs upon agriculture, must present an object, which an English eye will look at with envy; and, what is more, if a few years of experience should show, that property and persons are secure in France, that country, between which and this the intercourse will be free, will inevitably become the receptacle of many English people of fortunes too small to support the load of taxes which will here be to be paid. At present, and of late, this island has been the depot of all the moveable wealth of the Continent, and it has engrossed all the profits of trade. Peace; and especially such a peace as is contemplated in the Declaration of the Allies, will produce wonderful changes in these respects. It will send thousands of capitalists out of the country; it will send their wealth away along with them; and, of course, it will diminish our means of paying the heavy taxes which must, in any case, continue to be raised as long as the national debt shall exist.——The war has been enormously expensive; but, it has, at the same time, created enormous means. On the ground that all the sea coast of Europe was under the influence of France, we have shut up all that coast, leaving no free trade in Europe. That ground would, at once, be removed by peace. The several maritime States would pour forth their vessels, and vessels, too, built and navigated cheaper than ours.——The effect would be nearly the same, whether we agreed to the peace or chose to continue the war, unless we were to make war against all Europe in a mass.——Peace, therefore, is, to our system of things, less evidently a good than it is to the Powers in alliance with us against France. It is not so manifest that our importance in the scale of nations would be augmented by peace, or, indeed, that it would be supported at its present height. When the terms of a peace came to be discussed, we should have to give up a great deal; for, it never would be endured, that we, who have called upon all the world to make war against the grasping ambition of France, should keep all that we have, by any means, been able to lay hold of. ——This is a view of the matter, which the flaming Anti-jacobins seem never to take. They seem never to glance this way. They seem to look upon all the other Allies as being made for our sole use, and as fighting for no other purpose, than that of enabling us to domineer over all the other maritime powers.——It is to be observed, that *the ministers*, though they had no scruple to say, that the *Declaration, dated at Frankfort*, was authentic, did not say, that it was *issued with their knowledge*, or, that it had *their approbation*. There is, therefore, some reason to suppose, that they do not approve of it, especially if we give any weight to the language of their most strenuous supporters. If, however, they do not approve of it, they will, as yet, at any rate, take care not to make known their disapprobation in a very decided tone; for, if they were to do that, a separate peace would, in all human probability, be the consequence, leaving us in a much worse situation, than we were before any of the successes of the allies took place. Yet, the Declaration must be

very grating to them in some particulars. It expresses a desire to see the *commerce* of France revive; it expresses a readiness to leave France a greater extent of territory than she ever knew under her kings; and, of course, it expresses a readiness to make to us a most formidable rival in commerce and marine power. Look then, at this rival, possessing the finest part of Europe, with a population of thirty millions of the most active people in the world, more closely than ever connected with the formidable maritime and commercial nation on the other side of the Atlantic; look at her in this state, and you will not be surprised if our ministers begin to *dread* the *possible consequences* of the late successes. ——At a peace, the question upon which we are at issue with America, must be discussed. The rights of nations upon the seas, are of as much consequence, as those upon the land. The other maritime states will, in all likelihood, be on the side of America, their own rights being involved in hers, and each of them entertaining the hope of becoming a neutral state, and of profiting by the rights of neutrality.——The commerce with America, which will be more divided than before, is of great importance to all the maritime states, whose opinions upon the subject we shall be less than we have been, in a situation to treat with contempt. While France had so much power; while all these states were in bodily fear of her, they were compelled to yield to us any point that we insisted on. The case will be different now. Each of them will feel itself stronger, and will be no more inclined, to yield the sea to our absolute command, than they have been to yield up the absolute command of the continent.——France, in a state of peace, will be enabled to confer enormous *commercial advantages!* Her population, her produce, her means of purchase and of consumption, will make her friendship of the utmost consequence to every maritime state. The intercourse between her and America alone, upon a free sea, must produce the most important results; and, the advance which every sort of manufactory will have made in America during these years of separation from us, will make the latter a rival in that respect, as well as in a fighting marine, especially when we consider the advantages which an absence of pauperism and of taxation, present to emigrating manufacturers.——I grant, that all these considerations are sufficient to make a minister of England hesitate upon the subject of a peace, which would leave France with great power and with the fair prospect of prosperity. But yet, as she cannot be *destroyed*, and as the allies are ready to leave her great and prosperous, what are we to do? Why, the wise way is, to agree to the proposition, and content ourselves with the hope of being able to keep pace with her in a race of commerce and the arts. ——There are men, for I have talked with such, who really say, that *war is now our element*; that our debt, our taxes, our currency, our State maxims and influence; that all these have been wound up to a war height, and that they cannot subsist in peace; that fleet, army, military schools, &c. &c. &c. must all be kept up, or, that the whole system will go to atoms. It is, however, comfortable to reflect, that the ministers have not adopted this terrible notion; for, if they had, they would not have been so zealous in pushing on the war against Napoleon.——I remember hearing a staunch Anti-Jacobin say, more than three years ago: "Yes, yes; a war for the *deliverance of Europe* is very good; but, "if Europe *be delivered* and France not "annihilated, *we are undone.*" This really seems to be the opinion of the writers, on whose labours I have been commenting. Now that the means of peace, *real peace*, approach us, they seem alarmed. They seem not to have been prepared for any such event. Like the old lady, who, after whining over a long list of killed and wounded in Spain, and inveighing against Buonaparté, as the cause of all this bloodshed, upon being desired to comfort herself with the hope of peace, exclaimed, "Peace! how do you think, then, that "my three poor sons are to live upon half "pay!" They were captains, or lieutenants, probably; and the affectionate mother wished, without doubt, to see them Generals or Colonels.——Ah! this *deliverance of Europe*, which the City of Edinburgh, in their address to the Regent, attributes to Divine Providence, will cause many a man and many a family in England to entertain thoughts which never before came into their heads.——For these reasons, and others that could be mentioned, it is, that the Declaration of the Allies, though dictated by the soundest policy, is, perhaps, in England, the most unpopular Document that ever was published. There are so many hundreds of thousands who *live by the war*; and, who, if peace were made, must be at a loss how to live in so easy a manner, that

he who starts obstacles to peace will not want for applauding hearers.——In speaking of this Declaration we should always bear in mind, that it is not *we*, but the *continental powers* who have gained the recent victories. If Holland be free, it is to be attributed *to them.* They ran a great *risk;* we were exposed to *no risk at all.* We were snug behind the sea, while their very capitals were exposed to destruction. This being the case, they had a right to offer terms of peace; they, whom we professed to wish to see *delivered,* had, surely, a right to declare what was the extent of the deliverance that they wanted. It is not for *us* to complain that *they* are not sufficiently *safe.* We always were talking about our *disinterested* views. We wanted nothing *for ourselves,* no, not we. That was not in our nature. What we wanted was, the *deliverance of Europe.* But, now, behold, when Europe *is* delivered, and the Powers of Europe Declare what will satisfy them, we start up and say: Aye; but that does not satisfy *us!*——It is useless to continue the subject further at present. A short time will show what the real views of the several Governments are, and we shall then have something more authentic whereon to comment.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 23d *Dec.* 1813.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Tuesday, Oct. 22, 1813.

Foreign Office, Oct. 22, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from Lieutenant General the Honourable Sir Charles William Stewart, K. B. and from Edward Thornton, Esq.

Toplitz, Oct. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—The affair I mentioned in my dispatch of the 29th ult. near Altenburg, has turned out to be of more importance than was at first imagined, and the Hetman Platow, with his usual ability and gallantry, has accomplished a very brilliant exploit against a considerable body of the enemy. ——This corps was under the orders of General Lefebre Denouette, and consisted of some French light cavalry, the Polish uhlans of the guard, and a brigade of light dragoons, under the orders of General Pirot. Generals Keiseiski and Kruteck were also in command. The force consisted of eight thousand cavalry and seven hundred infantry, one squadron of Mamelukes, and a small party of the Tartars of the guard, under the orders of Colonel Murot. The whole were attacked by Platow, and completely put to the rout.——General Keiseiski is reported by the prisoners to have been killed. Fifteen hundred prisoners, five guns, and forty officers (three of the staff), are the fruits of this victory.—— The army has broken up from hence, and is in movement to the left. The corps of General Count Wittgenstein was yesterday at Kommatau, and that of General Kleist near Brux.——The Austrians are marching upon Chemnitz. There is a report from the enemy that Napoleon, attended by the King of Saxony and family, set out for Leipsig upon the 28th ult.; the head-quarters are said to be removed there.—— The French corps, under Marshal Augereau, have marched from Bamberg to Coburg, having left in a considerable force at Wurzburg.——I have reason to believe the Russian and Prussian army exceed eighty thousand men, which will now be assembled on the Chemnitz and Freyberg line; to these may be added the corps of Kleinau of ten thousand men, together with all the Austrians.——General Bennigsen's corps, which has been reviewed this day, is in a very efficient state as to appearance; but I have no exact information as to the numbers arriving.——A reinforcement of seven thousand men of the Prussian corps of General Kleist is upon the road from Prague. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Chas. Stewart, Lieut.-Gen.

Viscount Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Zerbst, Oct. 4, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that General Pozzo di Borgo has received intelligence from the head-quarters of the armies in Bohemia, under date of the 24th ultimo, stating that the corps of General Bennigsen having joined the Grand Army, the Allied Sovereigns had come to the resolution of making a movement by their left from Bohemia, and that this movement should be executed on the 1st of the present month.——This intelligence determined the Prince Royal to attempt the passage of the Elbe. The bridge at Rosslau had been already completed, while the works of the *tete-de-pont* on the left had been traced out, and were in a state of progress. Detachments of Swedish troops were in possession of Dessau, and the town

(To be continued.)

FRENCH DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from page 800.)

wards a continental peace, and His Majesty the Emperor of the French having manifested an intention of accepting the said mediation, has thought proper to confirm the said acceptation by a Convention: In consequence whereof, their said Majesties have nominated as their Plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, M. Hugues Bernerd, Count Maret, Duke of Bassano, &c. &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, M. the Count Clement Wenceslaus, of Metternich, Wirteburg, Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, &c. &c. his Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, after having exchanged their respective full-powers, have agreed on the following articles:——Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria offers his mediation towards a general or continental peace. ——2. His Majesty the Emperor of the French accepts of the said mediation.——3. The French, Russian, and Prussian Plenipotentiaries shall meet in the city of Prague before the 5th of July.——4. Considering the insufficiency of the time remaining to run till the 20th July, being the term fixed for the expiration of the armistice, by the convention signed at Plaiswithz, on the 4th June, his Majesty the Emperor of the French engaged not to denounce the said armistice before the 10th August, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria reserves to himself to obtain the concurrence of Russia and Prussia to the same engagement.——5. The present convention shall not be made public.——It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Dresden within the term of four days.——Done and signed at Dresden, June 30, 1813.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO, (L.S.)
The Count of METTERNICH, (L.S.)

No. XX.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Gitsenen, July 3, 1813.

MONSIEUR THE DUKE.—I shall send to M. the Count de Bubna, two letters written by his Imperial and Royal Austrian Majesty, in his own hand writing; the one of which is in reply to that of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, bearing date 10th June, and the other carries the ratification of the Convention of the 10th.——This officer will address himself to your Excellency for the presentation of the said letters, and for forwarding them to their high destination, according as your Excellency may find it most convenient.——His Majesty makes it a pleasure to accede to the Emperor's desire relative to the place of negotiation, and he has immediately given orders for having every thing prepared at Prague for the reception of the negotiators. New dispositions requiring always several days, the meeting can scarcely take place before the 8th of the month. I have hastened to apprise you, therefore, of this circumstance, in order that the simultaneous arrival of the negotiators may take place in the course of the 8th July. I address the same information to the ministers of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to those of his Majesty the King of Prussia.——I pray your Excellency to accept, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXI.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.* *Brandeis, July* 8, 1813.

By my letter of the 3d of this month, I had the honour of informing your Excellency of the invitation which we address to the Ministers of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to those of his Majesty the King of Prussia, for the meeting of the respective Negociators at Prague; the replies of Count Nesselrode, Secretary of State, and of the Chancellor Baron Hardenberg, dated the 6th, have been received here this morning by Couriers. They both state, that the term of *eight* days, which we had proposed, being too near, for this interval to suffice for the time requisite for the preparations and instructions, and for the journey, the Russian and Prussian Negociators will, without fail, repair to Prague in the course of the twelfth. I presume, after what your Excellency has done me the honour to tell me, *that* this enlargement of the time of meeting will be equally convenient to you. The arrangements on our side are ready for the convenient reception of the Negociators, at the place of their meeting.——Accepted, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXII.—*Extract from a Letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Count de Metternich.*

Dresden, July 9, 1813.

The Count de Narbonne had just set out to repair to you, in order to obtain intelligence concerning the nomination of the Russian and Prussian Plenipotentiaries, the opening of the negociations, and the prolongation of the armistice, when Count de

Bubna transmitted me the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to transmit to me yesterday.——Our Plenipotentiaries will, without difficulty, be at Prague on the 12th, though those of Russia are not known to us.——That matter is of little importance, but it is not the same with what regards the prolongation of the Armistice. It is indispensable that we should know to what we are to hold ourselves, and we expect with impatience the return of the courier charged with that letter.——His Majesty had thought that, agreeable to the 4th article, of the Convention of the 30th June, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria had reserved to cause Russia and Prussia to agree to the engagement which we had taken; you will charge yourself with this object, and make yourself acquainted with the arrangements adopted. The prolongation of the Armistice ought to have been published in the towns and to the army. I beg your Excellency will inform me what you have done, and what you have learnt on this subject. On our part, the Prince of Neufchatel writes to our Commissioners at Neumarkt, the letter which I am about to communicate to Count Bubna.——We should have taken this step immediately, if we had not believed that you were charged to do it. Having undertaken it, it is of importance to us to know whether our enemies have done so likewise. If they have not, and if they should refuse to take the same engagement with us, the position which we should have wished to clear up will find itself again embarrassed. His Majesty has cause to regret that you have not been more explicit, if from thence a fresh loss of time should ensue.——The Emperor desires that Count de Narbonne should remain at Prague, or go to Brandeis, if his Majesty the Emperor of Austria would be inclined to permit him to be at the same place with himself. His Majesty wishes, in order to accelerate the business, that his Ambassador should be in readiness to receive the communications which you may wish to make to him.

(Signed) The Duke de Bassano.

No. XXIII.—*Copy of a Letter from the Count de Metternich to the Count de Bubna.* *Prague, July 12, 1813.*

At the moment that I was going to send off the present courier, I received the note which the Duke de Bassano addressed to me on the 9th July.——That I may not detain the present Messenger, I reserve having the honour of answering him officially till to-morrow. I request you, however, to inform him particularly, that, according to a courier who arrived to me last night, from Reichenbach, the Courts of Russia and Prussia have officially recognized the term of the 10th August next as the term of the negociation, and that they do not on their part denounce the Armistice before that time. It is evident, that to treat for a prolongation of the Armistice, according to military forms, belongs to the Commission at Neumarkt.——I have with pleasure observed, by what the Duke of Bassano has informed me, that orders have already been transmitted to the French Commissioners to communicate with the Commissioners of the enemy. I beg you to discharge this Commission immediately, in conjunction with the Duke of Bassano; and to receive the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Metternich.

No. XXIV.—*Copy of a Letter from the Count de Metternich to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Prague, July 12, 1813.

The Count de Narbonne yesterday transmitted me the letter, which you did me the honour of addressing to me on the 9th instant. Occupied in expediting a Courier to the Count de Bubna, I have charged that General to inform your Excellency, that we have just been officially informed by the Courts of Russia and Prussia, that they have admitted the 10th August as the term of the negociation.——The Privy Counsellor d'Anstredt arrived here this morning, as has likewise Baron d'Humbolt this afternoon. It is with regret that we still find ourselves deprived of the presence of the person charged by his Majesty the Emperor of the French to assist in the negociations, and I flatter myself with his arriving very shortly.——The Emperor being at Branders in the strictest incognito, the abode of the Diplomatic Corps at this place, which offers no other convenience than the Castle, occupied by his Imperial Majesty, cannot take place. We shall be much gratified in retaining the Count de Narbonne here; and I shall be careful to continue with him the most intimate connexion.——I beg you, &c.

(Signed) Metternich.

No. XXV.—*Copy of a Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Count de Metternich.* *Dresden, July 16, 1813.*

I have received the letter which your

Excellency did me the honour to transmit to me on the 12th instant. I had proposed to myself to answer it yesterday, but dispatches just arrived to us from Neumarkt, and which I hastened to communicate to Count de Bubna, caused me to defer it till to day. Fresh letters from the same Commissioners arrived at that instant, announcing to us, that Messrs. de Schouwaloff and Kreusemarck have received from the General-in-Chief of the Combined Armies the necessary powers for concluding the convention relative to the prolongation of the armistice, it is therefore probable that this important business may be terminated tomorrow.——His Majesty having learnt, that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria would have found it agreeable that the conduct of Russia in the nomination of her Plenipotentiary should not be imitated by us, and knowing, besides, according to what you did me the honour to write me on the 8th, that the proposal of nominating the Duke of Vicence had been agreed to by your august Master, it would the more operate in fixing the Emperor's choice, I shall this evening present for his signature the powers which are to be transmitted to the Duke of Vicence and the Count of Narbonne, for the negociations of the peace. ——The Duke of Vicence having provisionally united his office of Grand Equerry to that of Grand Marshal of the Palace, the arrangements which must be made previous to his setting out, require that he should still remain here; his departure will not, however, be long deferred.——Accept, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

No. XXVI.—*Copy of a Letter from Count de Metternich to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Prague, July 16, 1813.

Desirous of accelerating by every means in our power, the most speedy meeting of the Negociators at Prague, I hasten to request your Excellency to lay before his Majesty the Emperor of the French the official declarations of the 29th June (11th July), and 11th of this present July, which I have just received by a Courier dispatched from Trachenberg, which bring on the part of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, through the medium of his Excellency the Secretary of State, Count Nesselrode, and on the part of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by his Excellency the Chancellor Baron de Hardenberg, the most formal acceptance of the prolongation of the armistice till the 10th August next. The previous declaration which Lieutenant-General Count de Bubna was charged to transmit on this subject to your Excellency, therefore receives by the Official Note which I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency on the 12th instant, as well as by the present communication, the most authentic confirmation of the entire execution, according to both its sense and letters of the engagements entered into by us, agreeably to the 4th Article of the Convention of the 30th June last.——I beg your Excellency to accept, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Letter from the Count de Nesselrode to the Count de Stadion.

Trachenberg, June 29, *(July* 11*)*, 1813.

On my return from Ratiborsitz, I did not fail to submit to his Majesty the Emperor the proposal which your Excellency was charged to make to us relative to the prolongation of the armistice to the 10th August.——Faithful to his engagements, of not coming to any determination on subjects of such great importance, without having first consulted on them with his allies, his Imperial Majesty deferred replying to them, as he was about to have an interview with the Prince Royal of Sweden, which was fixed for the 9th of this month. His Royal Highness arrived the day before yesterday at Trachenberg. His Imperial Majesty has had the satisfaction of finding the dispositions of that Prince entirely coinciding with his own, with regard to Austria.——In consequence the two allied Courts have determined, with his concurrence, to give his Majesty the Emperor of the French a fresh proof of amity and confidence, by prolonging, even to the detriment of their military interests, the Armistice, till the 10th August. M. M. d'Anstedt and de Hombolt will this day receive orders to regulate every thing relative to this prolongation, under the mediation of your Court.——I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Count de NESSELRODE.

Letter from Baron de Hardenberg to Count de Stadion.

Trachenberg, July 21, 1813.

On my return from Ratis[illegible], I lost no time in laying before the King, my Master, the proposals which your Excellency has been charged to make to us concerning the prolongation of the Armistice until the 10th August. His Majesty deferred replying thereto till he had conferred

on them with his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, with whom he was to have an interview at Trachenberg on the 9th, and with the English Ministers.——In concert with the two allied Courts, he is happy in giving his Majesty the Emperor of Austria a new proof of friendship and confidence, in prolonging the Armistice till the 10th August, of which M. de Humbolt will in consequence be informed.——I beg your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

No. XXVII.—*Copy of a Letter from the French Commissioners at Neumarkt, to the Russian and Prussian Commissioners.*

Neumarkt, July 11, 1813, half after two in the morning.

Gentlemen,—We have the honour to inform you, that his Highness the Prince Vice-Chancellor and Major-General informs us, that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria having offered his mediation, and the opening of the negociations at Prague on the 12th inst. and the prolongation of the armistice until the 10th August, in order that there may be an interval of forty days between the commencement of the negociations and their conclusion; his Majesty the Emperor and King has acceded to this proposal. We are therefore authorized, Gentlemen, to propose that a Convention shall be signed between you and us, relative to the prolongation of the armistice till the 10th August.——Accept, Gentlemen, &c.

(Signed) FLAHAULT DE MOUSTIER.

No. XXVIII.—*Copy of the Answer of M. M. the Commissioners, Counts de Schouwaloff and Krusemark, to the Letter of the French Commissioners.*

Neumarkt, July 11, 1813.

Gentlemen,—We received the letter which you did us the honour of addressing to us this day, at two o'clock in the afternoon. Not having any orders or authorization whatever relative to the important object of which you give us information, we must confine ourselves to assuring you, that we shall hasten, without loss of time, to transmit your letter to his Excellency the General in Chief.——Accept, &c. &c.

(Signed) The Counts SCHOUWALOFF and KRUSEMARK.

No. XXIX.—*Extract of a Letter from Messrs. the Generals du Moustier and Flahault, to his Highness the Prince Vice-Constable and Major-General.*

Neumarkt, July 17.

Monseigneur,—We have the honour of transmitting you the copy of a letter which the General in Chief of the Combined Armies has written to the Russian and Prussian Generals. Your Highness will thereby perceive that the General in Chief does not admit of the prolongation of the armistice until the 10th August.——Accept, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) DE MOUSTIER,
Gen. FLAHAULT.

Extract from the Answer of the General in Chief of the Combined Armies, to the Russian and Prussian Commissioners.

Reichenbach, 4th (16th) July.

Gentlemen,—I had the honour of receiving your letter, bearing date the 3d (15th) of this month, as well as the *projet* of a Convention which was thereto annexed.——I see that two difficulties will prevent the conclusion of the latter.——The first is that concerning the day on which hostilities should recommence. Having received very positive orders on this head from the Emperor, previous to his departure from the army, I cannot exactly conform myself to the proposal.——We cannot consent to enlarge the term to the 10th August (new style) for recommencing hostilities, if the preliminaries of peace should not be signed by that time. The two modes of settling what relates to that point, are, either to stipulate as is pointed out in Art. 1. of your *projet*, that no mention shall be made of a denunciation, or to add that it shall be necessary to denounce the armistice on the 4th of Aug. (N. S.), to be able to recommence hostilities on the 11th Aug. (N. S.); that is to say; on the moment after midnight, between the 10th and 11th, the armistice shall have ceased, and it shall be allowable again to act hostilely. I am able to make no change in this, if it were my wish; in consequence it is useless to revert any more to this point.——The second difficulty concerns the officers to be sent to places occupied by French troops, &c. &c.

(Signed) The General in Chief, BARCLAY DE TOLLEY.

No. XXX.—*Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners Dumoustier and Flahault, to his Serene Highness the Prince Major-General.*

Neumarkt, July 26.

Monseigneur,—We have the honour to transmit you the supplementary treaty relative to the prolongation of the armistice to the 10th August.——Accept, &c.

(Signed) The Generals Commissioners,
DUMOUSTIER and DE FLAHAULT.

[Here follows the supplementary treaty, which has already appeared.]

No. XXXI.—*Copy of a Letter from Count Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.*

Prague, July 22, 1813.

M. le Duc,—Count de Narbonne has committed to me the dispatch which your Excellency addressed to him on the 19th inst. as well as the documents annexed to it, concerning the discussions which have taken place at Neumarkt, relative to the armistice.——I have given an account to the Emperor of the new delay the arrival of the Duke of Vicenza has experienced. It is by express orders from his Majesty that I write directly to your Excellency, to beg you to convey to the knowledge of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, the painful impression which this delay has produced upon him.——The Emperor, in addressing the offer of his mediation to the Belligerent Powers, was not alone influenced by the desire of peace; he was equally impelled to it by the necessity of causing, as soon as possible, those expenses to cease, which frequently, even more than war itself, bear upon nations, during that intermediary state, which is neither war nor peace.——His Imperial Majesty did not demand the prolongation of the armistice of Pleiswitz. He, however, did not hesitate to employ his good offices to induce the allied Powers to admit an additional term of 20 days to be added to the presumed term of the negociations, which, considering the distance of the respective head-quarters, and the conferences necessary to make these same Powers agree to the prolongation of the armistice, could scarcely be opened before the 12th July.——The engagement which, by Article 4 of the Convention of the 30th of June last, his Majesty the Emperor of the French took to the mediating Power, not to denounce, previous to the 10th August, the existing armistice, was transmitted by us to the allied Powers.——Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, acceded to the proposal of Austria, and we did not delay conveying to his Majesty the Emperor of the French the official information of their formal engagement on this subject. What could remain to be wished by the Belligerent Powers to enter into a negociation at Prague? By what other more legal means could the engagement of France and the counter-engagement of the Allies not to denounce the armistice before the 10th Aug. have been rendered obligatory on one side or the other? What other assurance could France have regarding the determination of the Powers? What more certain guarantee could she, in fine, have received, of the entire and perfectly reciprocal sincerity of the time stipulated? Orders were, however, expedited to the French head-quarters, to the Commissioners at Neumarkt. A new discussion took place in this manner, by the side of the most formal guarantees. This fact was somewhat surprising, but we were far from suspecting it would occasion delays the most important to the cause of peace. Now foresee the possibility that the Plenipotentiaries of the mediating Power, and those of the allied Powers, assembled at Prague on the 12th July, the day agreed upon for the arrival of Plenipotentiaries from both parties, should be still there. On the 22d of the month, not only without the French Plenipotentiary being there, but even in the most complete uncertainty respecting the time of his arrival.——An official note, which Baron d'Anstett has just addressed to me, leaves me in no doubt, that at Neumarkt the differences which had arisen between the Commissioners will be settled there. Ten precious days have not, however, been the less lost to the negociations at Prague; they cannot be laid either to the charge of the mediating Power, which has fulfilled to the utmost extent the engagements which she had contracted with France, or the Allies, who in diplomatic forms have accepted the prolongation of the armistice, and whose negociators arrived here on the day agreed upon.——The meeting of the respective Plenipotentiaries had, no doubt, been sufficient not to leave discussions to be entered into elsewhere upon questions before determined between the Cabinets.——It remains for me to request your Excellency to be so good as to let me know, as soon as possible, the time when the French Plenipotentiaries will repair hither, his Imperial Majesty, earnestly desiring that no new incidents may be assigned as a reason for a loss of time, which is irreparable.——I pray, &c.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

No. XXXII.—*Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Bassano to Count Metternich.*

General de Bubna has just transmitted to me your Excellency's letter, dated 22d of this month. Having on the same day sent M. de Narbonne his powers and instructions, I had beforehand satisfied the request which you made to me in that letter. It is there-

t object, and I have not had oc-
ay it before his Majesty.—r-
rd to the details into which you
ght proper to enter, I shall con-
ply to reminding you of the facts
otice herein annexed.*——I have
r to offer you, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE DE BASSANO.

1, *July* 24, *in the evening.*

o this letter is annexed references to
s notes, letters, and dispatches, ac-
ing to their dates, which have been
en at length in the course of this corres-
ndence.]

Note from Count de Metternich to the Plenipotentiaries of France.

The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, desiring to see the negociations which should conduce to the pacification of the Belligerent Powers, opened with as little delay as possible, between this time and the near approaching term of the armistice, has the honour of addressing himself to their Excellencies Messrs. the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, by inviting them to concert with him on the mode to be adopted for the negociation; only two present themselves; that of conferences, or that of transactions by writing.——The first, where the Negociators, by assembling in regular sitting, retard the conclusion long beyond the necessary time, by the embarrassment of etiquette, by the delay inseparable to verbal discussions, by the drawing up, and comparing of the *procès verbaux*, and other difficulties; the other, that which was followed at the Congress of Teschen, according to which each of the Belligerent Courts addressed its *projets* and proposals, in form of Notes, to the mediating Power, who communicated them to the adverse Power, and in the same manner and form, transmitted the replies to such *projets* and proposals, by which all these inconveniences were avoided. The annexed copy in extract will shew their Excellencies, the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, the method which was observed on that occasion.——Without prejudging the instructions which their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of France may have received on this subject, to which Austria has already drawn the attention of that Court, the undersigned has the honour, on his part, to propose this method, for the double motive of the advantage above described, and the brevity of the time fixed for the duration of the negociations. The mediating Court finds itself more especially inclined to prefer this abridged method, from the consideration that the two high Powers now actually in negociation are the same whose Plenipotentiaries met at the Congress of Teschen, and she flatters herself that she sees in the happy issue of the transactions at that time, the pledge of a satisfactory result from the present.——The undersigned eagerly embraces this first opportunity of offering to their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and Count de Narbonne the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.

To their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries of France.

Prague, July 29, 18[illegible]

Forms observed in the Negociations of Peace at the Congress of Teschen, in 1779.

The instructions of the Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers, as known to the mediating Ministers, directed to treat for peace, without any apparatus of Congress, without any formality or etiquette whatever, and solely to abide by the ordinary proceedings and usages of society.——At the moment of the meeting, the Envoys legitimated themselves with the Mediator, and the Mediator's Minister legitimated himself to them. The Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers from that time addressed their *projets* of peace to the Mediator, and through his intervention received the answers.——The Plenipotentiaries did not, during the whole duration of the Congress, hold a single general conference, but they nevertheless met every day among themselves. It was not till the day of signing the treaty of peace, that the Plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent Powers assembled, for the first and last time, in a general sitting, with the Mediators, to exchange their respective full powers, with the signed treaties.

No. XXXIV.—*Note from Count de Metternich to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned, Minister of State, and for Foreign Affairs, to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, Plenipotentiary from the mediating Court, has received the reply which their Excellencies the Duke de Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne, Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, have

ted, to the Note which he had the of addressing to them on the 29th, them to concert with him on the be adopted for the negociations. e has transmitted this reply to the tentiaries of Russia and Prussia, has the honour to send annexed the that of those Plenipotentiaries to xcellencies the Duke de Vicenza and unt de Narbonne.——The under- sts the delay which will result progress of the negociation from the tion which their Excellencies have at they were under to submit to their s a matter of form, on which he had they would themselves have been to decide, in the anterior ences in like manner with Messrs. Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia. ng always essential to lose no time g for the negociation, after the arrival of the orders which their Excellencies expect from their Courts, and to be able, immediately after, to proceed on business, the undersigned has the honour to invite them in the interval to proceed to the exchanging of their full powers, and to inform them that he shall address the same invitation to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia.——He hastens on this occasion to offer to their Excellencies the Duke of Vicenza and the Count de Narbonne the renewed assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.

Prague, July 31, 1813.

[Here follow two Notes, one from M. Anstett, the other from M. de Humbolt, to Count de Metternich, accepting the method of carrying on the conferences by writing, as the best adapted for saving time and conducting the negociations to a happy termination.]

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to the Count de Metternich.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries from his Majesty the Emperor and King have the honour to reply to the Notes which have been transmitted to the Count de Metternich, Minister of State and of Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Plenipotentiary of the mediating Power. ——The Convention of the 30th June, by which France accepted the mediation of Austria, was signed after the two following points had been agreed upon:—1. That the Mediator would be impartial; that he had not, nor would not, conclude any Convention, even eventual, with a Belligerent Power, during the whole time tion should 2. That did not present himself an but is a Concili tor, to arrange and reconcile parties. The negociations was, at the same ti ect of an explanation between Bubna and the Duke of Bassano. thought right to understand each ot forehand on this subject, because, negociation of the armistice of the 4th Russia had shewn her intentions, and it to be understood that she wished to negoci tions, not with the object of p but w th the view of compromising Aust and extending the misfortunes of war. form of conferences was fixed.——The undersigned cannot but express their astonishment and their regret, that although they have for some days been at Prague, they have not yet seen the Russian and Prussian Ministers, and that the conferences have not even been opened by the exchange of the respective powers, and in fact that time so precious has been employed to discuss ideas equally unexpected as incompatible with the assembling of a Congress, as they tend to establish that the Plenipotentiaries must negociate without knowing each other, without seeing each other, and without speaking to each other.——The question proposed by the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, in his note of the 29th July, when he invited the undersigned to concert with him upon the mode to be adopted for the negociation, whether that by conferences or writing, was previously determined by explanations which accompanied the Convention of the 30th June.——However willing, as far as depends on them, to remove all difficulties and conciliate pretensions, even the least founded, the undersigned propose to the Plenipotentiary of the Mediator, to exclude neither modes of negociations, and to adopt them both conjointly. For this purpose they would treat in regular conferences, which should take place once or twice a day, either by notes transmitted while sitting, or by verbal communications, which should or should not be inserted in the Protocole, according to the demand or requisition of the respective Plenipotentiaries. By this means, the usage of all times would be followed, and if the Russian Plenipotentiary persisted in wishing to negociate for peace without speaking, he would be at liberty to do so, and could by notes make known the intentions of his Court.——The undersigned flatter themselves their proposal will conciliate all parties, and that the

ie conferences will be no longer

CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.
L. NARBONNE.
Aug. 6, 1813.

M. de Metternich to the French Plenipotentiaries.

undersigned Minister of State and eign Affairs of his Imperial Majesty postolic King, Plenipotentiary from ediating Power, immediately upon the eition of the note which their Excellen the Duke of Vicenza and the Count de bonne, Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty Emperor of the French and King of ily, did him the honour of addressing to m on the 6th of this month, made a communication of that document to the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Prussia. He has just received from them their replies, bearing date the 7th, of which he has likewise the honour herewith to subjoin a copy for the information of their Excellencies the French Plenipotentiaries. The undersigned hastens to renew to their Excellencies the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) The Count de METTERNICH.
Prague, Aug. 8, 1813.

Note from M. d'Anstett to his Excellency Count de Metternich.

The undersigned has received with the note of yesterday the copy of the document transmitted by the French Plenipotentiaries to the mediatory Plenipotentiary, of which he wished to give him communication, conformable to the impartial and open procedure which he has constantly followed. There is a dignity in affairs, and in the discussion of great interests, from which it is not permitted to depart, whatever might be the provocation.——Russia knows what she owes to herself, and the undersigned will not here dwell upon either the false assertions, or the form of the French paper, each paragraph of which is either an accusation against the mediating Power, or an insult to Russia, a contradiction, or a subterfuge. Nevertheless Europe ought to know from whence the obstacles proceeded which have prevented the accomplishment of so salutary a work as that which should have taken place at Prague. It is on this point exclusively that the undersigned demands the publication of facts—a publication which equally interests the dignity of mediation which his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias accepted in such a frank and positive manner. With regard to the accusation, that Russia merely sought by the negociations to compromise Austria, no persons can know better than the Minister of his Imperial and Royal Austrian Majesty, by whom the armistice was proposed, how it was accepted, so that it is possible to say whom the insult touches nearest; whether a wise, puissant, and enlightened Court, which was not aware of such a stratagem, or Russia, which has proved by facts, since her armies passed the Vistula and the Oder, that she demanded no more than to offer her hand to a reasonable and solid peace, and to agree to an arrangement which should have for its result the happiness and tranquillity of nations. Austria had prepared the elements for it, by charging herself with the mediation: but it appears it was not the intention of his Majesty the Emperor of the French to permit their developement. These truths stand in no need of demonstration, and the undersigned confines himself to repeat officially to his Excellency the Mediator's Plenipotentiary what has already formed the subject of his preceding official Notes:—that being convinced that a mode of negociation which is strictly conformable, whatever the French Plenipotentiaries may say to what was done at the peace of Teschen, and having solemnly accepted it, he persists in it.——He will ask, at the same time, and to destroy, by a single remark the vain and sophistical verbosity of the French Note, which is the party that wished for peace, and which is the party that did not wish for it?——The undersigned has been at Prague since the 22d July, and has doubly legitimated himself on his powers, and it was on the 6th August, that is to say, four days before the fatal term, that the French Plenipotentiaries opened the active negociations to establish contradictory forms by themselves, in order, in fact, to lose sight of the grand object which appeared to have brought them to Prague.——The undersigned has had no other view in this present Note, than to expose to the mediating Power the manner in which he consi-

(*To be continued.*)

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